

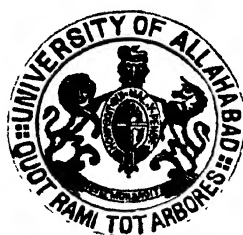
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(SELECT PAPERS)



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PREFATORY NOTE

We are at last ready with the Second Volume of the Proceedings, containing Select Papers. The variety of subjects and the complications of printing are responsible for this delay. Some papers which were very short have through mistake already appeared among Summaries and they are omitted here. The papers included in this volume have all been seen through the press by my learned friend and colleague, Pandit Kshetresāchandra Chatṭopādhyāya, M.A. To him our gratitude is due in unstinted measure: no detail has been too small for him, no labour too heavy. He has received the willing co-operation of Messrs. M. Naimur Rehman, M.A., Syed Muhammad Zamin Ali, M.A., and Baburam Saksena, M.A. I desire on behalf of the Committee to offer to them our warm thanks.

Our best thanks are due to the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, who have taken great pains over the printing; pages 831—870 have been printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

The papers have been printed with extreme care, but, owing to the variety of their subject-matter and the complications of diacritical marks, it is possible that some errors have crept in. We can only ask for forgiveness.

To the Joint Secretaries of the Conference, Professor P. K. Achārya, M.A., Ph.D., D. Lit., and Maulavi Muhammad Ali Nami, M.A., thanks are due for valued help.

AMARANATHA JHA,

Secretary.

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SECTION I
VEDA AND AVESTA

SECTION.—VEDIC AND AVESTIC.

(1)

“BRĀHMAN-BARESMAN-BRICHT-BHRĀJ.”

S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.,

Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona.

Brāhman, the pivotal word on which the whole of Indian philosophy—and particularly the Vedānta philosophy—turns, is one of the knottiest problems of Indology, which has at one time or other engaged the attention and taxed the patience of practically all leading Orientalists. Amongst Indian commentators themselves the controversy as to the real ultimate nature of Brahman the Absolute has been raging fiercely for the last over a thousand years, and shows no signs of abatement yet, although it must be admitted that what the modern descendants of the mighty schoolmen of India have to offer, is for the most part a *réchauffé* of the same age-old arguments supported by the same set of texts. To modern European Sanskritists belongs the credit of having taken the controversy away from the *ultimate* denotation of the term *brāhman* and directed it rather to a determination of the *original* meaning and derivation of the term. The most important contributors to the discussion include the names of Roth, Haug, Geiger, Griswold, Hillebrandt, Deussen, Oldenberg, Strauss, Osthoff, Geldner and others. The controversy is still going on and it will be some time yet before we hear the last word about it, if indeed we are ever to hear it at all. As this controversy is carried on through the medium of journals, reviews, reports, Festschriften, and other independent pamphlets mostly written in German and not easily accessible in India, it may perhaps

serve a useful purpose to present a bird's-eye-view of the whole, suggesting at the end a view-point which may perhaps give a new turn to the whole question.

The controversy may conveniently be divided into four stages, the dominant trait of each being represented by each of the four words which I have used in the hyphenated title of this paper. I have called these 'stages' but they should have been styled 'schools,' seeing that champions of most of these views are still carrying on the controversy from their peculiar point of view. The earliest of these is the one to which currency was given by the great lexicographers, Böhtlingk and Roth, who derived the word from the root *brh*—*barh*, to fatten or strengthen, and gave as the first denotation of the term "the god-ward striving devotion which appears as an impassioned longing or as an exuberance of spirit, and particularly the pious expression of it in the service of the divine." From thence the word was taken to mean the holy prayer or formula, especially magical formula, and thence again the holy wisdom or theology, and the sacred scriptures as embodying the same. This derivation of the term was endorsed in the main by Grassmann, Bergaigne, Deussen and others, the last-named scholar slightly varying the phrase and putting forth "prayer conceived as the will of man striving upwards towards the holy or the divine" as the primary meaning of the term, deriving it in this sense from *brh*, to swell. So too Geldner in the *Glossar* takes the word to denote originally "the mysterious power which inspires the poet and makes him a Seer" and enables him to exercise a sort of a compelling authority as that of a magician over gods and other divine potences. This view possessed the field for a long time and has passed over into beginner's books like Delbrück's *Vedische Chrestomathie* and Lanman's *Sanskrit Reader*. Its main weak-point consists in the fact that, contrary to the normal rule in such matters, it sets forth an abstract notion as the primary denotation of the word, which, only later, becomes

concrete in its secondary and tertiary significations. Then too, as Hertel has recently pointed out, the view makes the fundamental mistake of bringing over to the interpretation of Vedic terms certain preconceived notions about modern Christian religiosity as contained in the terms holiness, devotion, piety, penance, etc., which are hardly consonant with Vedic ideas; and, secondly, of ignoring the clear bearing of a number of Upaniṣadic texts on the interpretation of the same. Very few scholars now endorse the views of Böhtlingk-Roth in their undiluted form.

Next in the field is the view of Haug who derived the word from *brh*, to grow, and gave growth, increase or strength as the primary sense of the term, formed with the addition of the affix *man* which makes nomina agentis as well as nomina actionis. Then, according to Haug, the word came to signify the means of securing this growth, viz., worship, prayer, or ritualistic formula, the subsequent stages in the denotation of the word following the usually accepted line of evolution. Particularly interesting in this connection is the way in which Haug tried to postulate "a latent power not unlike electricity which is excited within us at the time of the performance of the holy ritual with the help of the usual utensils of worship and other paraphernalia." It is a similar mystic power which, according to Haug, pervaded the whole Nature and which mediated the transition in meaning from *brīhman* the prayer to *Brāhman* the Absolute. This view was accepted by Wackernagel and in part by Hillebrandt, but its best statement in a somewhat modified and improved form is given by Griswold, who, starting with the root *br̥h* (Indo-European *h₁rgh*) in the sense of growth, upward extension, and strength, took the word to primarily denote "anything raised upward, be it the hand, the offering, the twig of holy *baresman* or *barhis*, or the prayer objectively conceived,"—the earlier three denoting what Griswold styles the *visible* prayer to be distinguished from the normal *audible* prayer.

This *objective* 'prayer or holy word' led the way to the conception of the *subjective bráhma*n in the sense of the holy wisdom, and from thence to the *immanent bráhma*n in the form of that transcendent Energy which produces the world-order. The important point to note here is the attempt to connect Vedic *bráhma*n with the Avestic *baresman*. As cognates in other languages Griswold mentions the Old Irish *bri*, *breg*, meaning a mountain, which connects itself with Armenian *berg*, and German *Berg* or *Burg*. Brhaspati, the Lord of Prayer, thus originally meant merely, according to this view, 'the Lord of the Mountain.' As regards the Indian use of the word *bráhma*n Griswold tells us how the "Rigveda emphasises its *form* and function, the Atharva Veda its *power* and potency, the Bráhmaṇas the *sacredness* and religious use of the term, and the Upaniṣads the *power* that resides in the sacred word and also in the heart of all things."

Haug and his school had recognised the great part which the belief in the presence of a mystic magical power played in the evolution of the concept of *bráhma*n; but following the then unquestioned priority of the Rigveda over the Atharva Veda (which was regarded as a degeneration from the Rigveda) he was prevented from regarding the idea of magic as primitive to the notion of *bráhma*n. Pischel, Hillebrandt, Söderblom, Strauss, Osthoff, and above all, Oldenberg brought forward many a datum culled from the study of the evolution of primitive religions to prove that belief in a mysterious magic fluid or potency filling the whole world and induced to make itself manifest in a given substance by the use of charms, incantations, specific magical movements and the like is the common property of all primitive faiths, citing in support the Malanesian belief in what is known as the 'Mana.' *Bráhma*n was accordingly taken to embody this 'Zauber-fluidum' par excellence, Brhaspati, 'the Lord of Prayer,' denoting originally the expert magician or 'medicine-man' who knew how to

operate with the 'Fluid' in the most efficacious manner.¹ As words cognate to *bráhman* in this special sense Oldenberg mentioned the Irish word *bricht* which meant magic, as also the Icelandic word *bragr*, meaning poetry. Until quite recently this 'magical-fluid' conception of *bráhman* enjoyed the widest vogue, and it is the view that we find expressed for instance in standard books of reference like the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Unfortunately for the theory, however, Oldenberg himself modified his view subsequently. In a paper presented by him some four years before his death, after a historical investigation into the use of the word *bráhman* in the Rigveda and in the later Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, he concludes by declaring that "the word *bráhman* cannot be traced back originally to the conception of a certain 'fluid' which dwells alike in the holy word, the holy ritual and the holy man. The root idea in the term is rather the holy word. By the side of this real concrete word there arose the hypostatizing of the sacred and magical wisdom concerning specific formulæ. It is only inasmuch as the holy word was seen to be living and working in the priest, in the sacrifice, and and in the cosmic existence that *bráhman* began to appear as a potency which constitutes the essence of the Brahmins and which regulates all cosmic happenings. In *Bráhman*, as we have proved already, we have to see an Indian expression to denote the conception of that world-pervading, mysterious, supernatural power which to-day students of Comparative Religion prefer to name by the Malenesian term 'Mana.' *Bráhman* in fact has become alike to the 'Mana.' Originally however it *was* something different."

The latest theory in the field is that of Hertel who has yet to make his final decisive contribution to the controversy. Hertel tries in the first place to adduce a number of Upaniṣadic

¹ It was thus that Hillebrandt explained the identity of Brhaspati with the dread "Wizard Moon who pursues his work in the dark and continually changes his aspect."

passages where the idea of the *Brāhman* as a fire-light substance is most clearly expressed. Such passages are the well-known story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa in Chāndogya, iv. 1, where a stream of light, capable of burning one who would touch it, is said to issue from a holy or meritorious person; the passage in Bṛh. Up., iv. 3 ff., where the discussion starts with the query “kim-jyotir ayam Puruṣaḥ” and concludes by declaring the Ātman to be a light unto itself; and passages enough in other Upaniṣads where the Ātman-Brahman is spoken of as ‘jyotirmaya,’ as ‘paramain jyotiḥ,’ as ‘jyotiṣām jyotiḥ,’ as ‘taijasa,’ as ‘tejomaya,’ and so forth. Hertel may also have referred to the various definitions of *Brāhman* given in the Ārṣeya Upaniṣad, which I have edited and translated for the first time (Transactions, 3rd Or. Conf., Madras, pp. 31ff.), as also to the mantra which the teacher recites while initiating the pupil (Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, i. 20f). Hertel presses into service likewise the ordinary notions connected with ‘tapas’ and ‘Brahmavarcas,’ the conception of the Sun and the Moon as the eyes or the gateways of the eternal Cosmic Light on the other side of the vault of Heaven, as also the current use of words primarily denoting physical light and warmth to signify the glow, the light, or the illumination of reason and the like.¹ Hertel concludes that the Upaniṣadic *Brāhman*, viewed in the individual as well as the cosmic aspect, was conceived as a fire-light substance pervading the whole universe; and that this notion belongs not only to the Upaniṣadic period, but is Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European in its origins. He points in this connection to the Fire-worship in the Avesta, identifying Bṛhaspati who dispels darkness and discovers the Sun (Rigveda, ii. 23. 3) with Ahūra Mazdāh who puts down the hated fiend of darkness (Druh = Druj). He refers to Yasna, xvii. 11, where five kinds of fire are distinguished: the ordinary temple-fire, the fire in the body

¹ Compare passages like Kena, iv. 29, where the mind and the lightning are said to be the symbols of *Brāhman*.

of man and beast, the fire dwelling within the plant, the fire of lightning, and the fire in the Paradise of Ahūra Mazdāh; and also to the Fire-philosophy of Heracleitos of Ephesos. In more recent times, after a critical review of all pertinent passages Hertel has sought to establish that the Vedic words 'Yakṣá, dhēnā, and vāsu as also the Avestic words *cithra*, *daēnā*, and *vohu* primarily denoted the same fire-light substance which is manifest in *Brāhman*.

After having settled the dominant notion in *Brāhman* Hertel proceeds to consider the etymology of the word, which he brings into relation with Greek φλέγω, Latin *flagro*, *flamma*, *fulgeo*. The Sanskrit root *bhrāj*, according to Hertel, presupposes an Indo-Germanic **bhleg* or **bhleg* which is the parent alike of Greek φλέγω, Sanskrit *Brāhman*, and German *blecken*. This etymological equation seems to be the least convincing part of Hertel's thesis. Sanskrit *bṛh* would probably demand an Indo-Germanic **bhrgh* rather than **bhlag*. Nor does Hertel seem to have as yet adequately explained just how it is that the word *Brāhman* in its oldest available use in the majority of the Rigvedic texts means nothing more than a hymn or prayer,¹ which, by Hertel's showing, can only be the possible tertiary meaning of the term. It is true that Hertel has urged lately that Vedic words like *ádribarhas* (Rv., x. 63. 3), *barbṛhāṇúsyā ádreḥ* (Rv., v. 41. 12), and *dvibárhas* (several times in the Rv.) should be taken to denote not firmness or strength, but shining splendour, the mountain for instance being regarded as the source and fountain-head of the morning red. But that does not solve the main difficulty above referred to. Hertel's view certainly serves to bring into relief the important part played by the Sun, Fire, and other luminaries in the evolution of the pantheistic conception of the Absolute; and it may well be that on that

¹ As a clear case in point reference may be made to Rv., vi. 38. 3-4, where half-a-dozen synonyms of prayer are associated with 'brāhman.'

view we can obtain a *prima facie* more satisfactory answer to some of the questions that he poses in his "Die Methode der arischen Forschung." p. 14 f, but to try to apply the one self-same explanation to solve almost every philological, philosophical or religious problem under the sun would be a methodological error. In primitive faiths variety is just as much in evidence as uniformity and inconsistency just as much as philosophical consistency.

So far we have presented three outstanding conceptions of *brāhman*: the ritualistic, as developed by Haug and Griswold, the magical as postulated by Osthoff and Oldenberg, and the conception of *brāhman* as a fire-light substance, advocated by Hertel. I am not however prepared to say that we have to decide in favour of any one of these to the absolute exclusion of the other two. As regards the first two of these conceptions I have elsewhere¹ tried to show that the change of spirit that is noticeable as we pass on from the Rigvedic to the Atharvavedic period is best explained as the result of the contact and fusion of two opposite racial cultures; and if that view be accepted, we can say that the Rigvedic use of *brāhman* as a simple prayer, the Atharvavedic use of it in the sense of a magical formula, and the Brāhmanic elevation of it into the mystic power of the sacrifice, and even into the mysterious cosmic force may represent *one* line of evolution followed by the word. Similarly, I cannot help confessing that Hertel has adduced enough documentary evidence to establish the conception of *brāhman* as a fire-light substance as *another possible line of evolution*. If we now assume, as I myself have done elsewhere,² that the transition from the Brāhmanic to the Upaniṣadic period was motivated by a further shifting of geographical background and a consequent fusion of divergent cultures somewhat on the analogy of the earlier transition

¹ History of Indian Philosophy by Belvalkar and Ranade, Vol. II, The Creative Period, pp. 10—29.

² Op. cit., pp. 77—83.

above referred to, we can easily explain the ultimate merging together of these *two* lines of denotative evolution of the term *bráhmaṇ* just postulated. Because two streams eventually converge and flow together, we have no right to assume that originally they had the same starting-point. Starting with the idea of a ritualistico-magical fluid it is at least possible to imagine a stage in which Fire-Light was believed to contain the Zauber-fluidum in a transcendent degree, and so taken to constitute the most important denotation of the term 'bráhmaṇ.' But the other process by which a fire-light substance came to mean, in the earliest Indian texts, a simple prayer, somewhat passes one's comprehension.

(2)

INDRA IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THE AVESTA AND BEFORE.

KSHETREŚA CHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA, M.A.,

Lecturer, Allahabad University.

इन्द्रं देवं नमस्कृत्य वृत्रहत्याविचक्षयम् ।

तद्रूपं प्रलकालीयं निरचेतुमयमादरः ॥

Rev. Dr. Zimmermann of Bombay communicated to the last Conference a paper on Varuṇa in the Ṛgveda and his Avestic parallel, Ahura Mazdāh. Following in his track, I propose to place before you my impressions about another important god of the Ṛgveda, Indra, and his cognates in the Avesta. In spite of the very large amount of work that has been done on Vedic and Avestic religions, there is still room for fresh work, at least by way of re-study of old problems. Indra's character in the Ṛgveda seems very simple to the casual reader but the more serious student admits¹ that in spite of such a surface simplicity his nature and origin are not so very easy of comprehension. This is especially due to the great number of qualities Indra combines in himself. We have therefore a number of theories about his original character,

¹ E.g., Bloomfield in *Religion of the Vedas*, p. 174, classes him among 'opaque gods.'

none of which satisfy all the known data. Apart from the difficulty about the real nature of *Zarathuštra's* reform, which the *Avesta* largely reflects, we have problems about the origin and significance of the different divine spirits in that text and among them of *Vərəθrayna* and *Indar*. This last problem is further complicated by the fact that whereas *Vərəθrayna* is a Spirit of Light, *Indar* is a Spirit of Darkness, though both correspond to the Vedic *Indra* in some way or other. Haug's theory of an Indo-Iranian religious schism will give us no real help. I propose here a solution of these problems.

The early Indian authorities (the compiler or compilers of the *Nighaṇṭu*, *Yāska*, *Śaunaka* and others) agree in making *Indra* a god of the atmospheric region and as essentially connected with rains and thunder. This explanation is largely true. European scholars were at first not agreeable to this view.¹ But since Roth's time,² European opinions are tending towards the traditional view.³ But is the traditional explanation adequate? We have *Indra* frequently invoked in the *R̥gveda*

¹ Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II. 470, took *Indra* to be the bright blue sky, but in *Chips from a German Workshop*, II. 91, as the chief solar deity; Ludwig (*Die philosophische Anschauungen*, p. 33) understood him to be chiefly a god of the sky.

² St. P. Dict., vol. I, p. 802. Roth had, however, before this taken him to be a god of the cheerful sky of day (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1847, p. 72).

³ Cp. E. D. Perry in *J. A. O. S.*, XI, 117—208; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 54.

in connexion with battles, either against non-Aryan enemies or against Aryan enemies.¹ Some scholars have therefore taken him to be simply a god of war.² But would 'god of war' fully explain Indra's character? The connexion with raining is not satisfactorily explained by this hypothesis. The *vajra* may or may not be a good symbol for physical might,³ but how does one account for "the letting loose of the seven rivers"? There is no necessary connexion between a god of victory and the phenomenon of thunder or raining. Ares and Zeus, for example, are two distinct deities in the Greek pantheon. The solar theory of Hillebrandt and others is not warranted by the text of the R̥gveda and has nothing to recommend it. We have therefore to form a hypothesis which will explain both Indra's certain connexion with rain and thunder and his as certain connexion with war and victory.

First of all we have to note that there is another god of rain in the R̥gveda,⁴ Trita Āptya, who is later forgotten and who is also not very frequently sung in the R̥gveda. We have also his Avestic parallel in \ominus rita (and \ominus raētaona of the Āθwya clan). And the etymology of the name Trita Āptya seems to connect the god with atmospheric waters. The probability therefore is that T. Ā. was an old rain-god whom Indra ousted. We have next to consider whether Indra's connexion with raining was original or not. The R̥gveda will not here give us

¹ E.g., I. 7. 5, VI. 25. 6, VI. 26. 2, VI. 46. 1, VII. 34. 3, etc.
 Compare II, 12, 8, यं ऋद्धंसी संयंती विद्धयेते परेऽवर उभया अमित्राः । समानं चिद्रथमातरिषवासा नाना हवते स जनासु इन्द्रः॥

² Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, p. xvi ; Griswold, *Religion of the Rigveda*, pp. 177 ff., etc.

³ Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁴ A third may be cited in Parjanya.

any direct help for we are trying to understand pre-Ṛgvedic conditions. Let us turn to the parallel text of the Avesta and see if we can get any help from there. This comparison has its limitations, for unless we are sure that we are comparing sister cultures or institutions and not cultures or institutions related as original and derivative, we cannot be confident about our conclusions. But if the result of our comparison with the Avesta is confirmed by some indications in the Ṛgveda itself, we can confidently assume that we have succeeded in getting at pre-Ṛgvedic (*urarische*) conditions.

Turning to the Avesta we find Vərəθrayna in the Sīrōzah, the Yašts, the Āfringans and (once) in the Vendidad, whereas Indar is found only once in the late text of the Vendidad (X. 9).¹ Indar's characteristics are not mentioned in that passage, whereas we have for Vərəθrayna not only earlier reference but also full description. We can therefore take this Vərəθrayna for comparing with our Ṛgvedic Indra. Now Vərəθrayna in the Avesta is most certainly the angel of victory.² He does not appear as in any way connected with raining.³ We have a separate deity in the Avesta for raining, viz., Tištar, the star Sirius, whose appearance signalised rains in certain parts of Iran. Indra's connexion with victory therefore seems more original than his other aspect of rain-giving. The name or epithet Vṛtrahán is usually taken to mean "Killer of the cloud-demon Vṛtra." But that sense would not suit the Avestic Vərəθrayna. We have therefore to look about in the Ṛgveda for some more suitable meaning of the word *Vṛtrá*. The word is used in that text in three distinct significations (1) a particular demon that keeps away the precious

* ¹ Vend., XIX.42—44, where the name of Indar occurs again, seems to be an interpolation, for the Pahlavi text does not contain this passage.

² Dhalla, Zoroastrian Theology, pp. 112 ff. The Bahram Yašt amply proves this.

³ Though Darmesteter's words in the Introduction to his First Edition of the Vendidad (S. B. E., IV, lxiv) seem to suggest that,

rain waters from man till Indra kills him and releases them, (2) enemy, Aryan or non-Aryan, and (3) (probably) battle.¹ It is usually believed that *Vṛtrá* means in the *R̥gveda* only a demon and that the word is a proper name. But the text of the *R̥gveda* tells us an altogether different story. The word is used in the sense of a demon only 62 times² and in the sense of a human foe 69 or 70 times,³ that is, not less frequently than the former, and in the probable sense of battle or some occasion where strength is manifested and victory achieved five times.⁴ If statistics can give us any satisfactory data, we can confidently assume that the sense of 'enemy' is more original than that of a particular demon. Etymology here lends support to the indication of statistics. *Vṛtrá* seems to be formed from a root *vṛ* with the affix *tra*.⁵ This root has

¹ See Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, columns 1334-5.

² The number 63 of Grassmann should be corrected to 62, for in R. V. II. 19.4, वृत्र might mean 'foes in general.' The references are I. 23.9, I. 32. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, I. 33. 13, I. 36. 8, I. 51. 4, I. 52. 6, 8, 10, 15, I. 54.10, I. 56. 6, I. 61. 6, 10, 12, I. 63. 4, I. 80. 2—4, 5, 10 (twice), 11, 12, 13, I. 85. 9, I. 103. 8, I. 121. 11, I. 165. 8, I. 174. 2, II. 11. 9, 18, II. 14. 2, II. 30. 2, 3, III. 32. 4, III. 33. 6, IV. 17. 1, VI. 20. 2, VI. 44. 15, VI. 68. 3, VI. 72. 3, VIII. 6. 6, VIII. 12. 22, 26, VIII. 76. 2, VIII. 93. 7, VIII. 96. 7, VIII. 100. 7, IX. 61. 22, X. 89. 7, X. 104. 10, X. 111. 6, X. 113. 2, 3, 6, X. 116. 1, X. 124. 6, 8, besides a fairly large number of cases as the first member in a compound.

³ To Grassmann's references we must add III.53.11 (राजावृत्रं जैवन्तम्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः) and perhaps II.19.4 सो अमृतीन् मनवे पुरुषीन्द्रो दाशहाशुवे हन्ति वृत्रम्). The references would therefore be I. 4. 8, I. 8. 2, I. 53. 6, I. 84. 13, I. 102. 7, II. 19. 4, III. 30. 4, III. 30. 22, III. 37. 56, III. 53. 11, III. 59. 1, IV. 17. 9, IV. 22. 9, IV. 24. 10, IV. 41. 9, IV. 42. 7, V. 42. 5, VI. 16. 34, VI. 17. 1, VI. 19. 13, VI. 22. 10, VI. 26. 8, VI. 29. 6, VI. 33. 1, 3, VI. 44. 14, VI. 58. 2, VI. 59. 3, VI. 60. 1, 6, VI. 73. 2, VII. 19. 4, VII. 22. 2, VII. 23. 3, VII. 25. 5, VII. 30. 2, VII. 48. 2, VII. 83. 1, 9, VII. 85. 9, VII. 92. 4, VIII. 9. 4, VIII. 15. 3, 11, VIII. 17. 8, 9, VIII. 27. 4, VIII. 49.2 (i.e., Vāla-khilya, 1. 2), VIII. 88. 4, VIII. 90. 4, VIII. 93. 9, VIII. 96. 18, VIII. 98. 9, IX. 4. 10, IX. 17. 1, IX. 23. 7, IX. 88. 4, IX. 109. 14, IX. 110. 1, X. 49. 6, X. 69. 6, X. 80. 2, X. 83. 7, X. 152. 3, i.e., in 58 different hymns, whereas वृत्र in the sense of a demon occurs in only 39 hymns (mostly outside the family books). There are besides some cases of वृत्र meaning a foe in compounds.

⁴ In I. 7. 5, VI. 25. 6, VI. 26. 2, VI. 46. 1, VII. 34. 3.

⁵ Compare दात्र, चित्र, etc., from √दा, √ci, etc.

got in the Ṛgveda, two meanings 'to cover' and 'to choose.' The latter sense will not explain the word 'Vṛtrá'; we are therefore limited to *vṛ* 'to cover,' 'to surround.' 'Vṛtra' would therefore mean 'he who surrounds' = 'the encompassing or beleaguering foe.'¹ Passage to sense (3) is now easy to understand—the fight is an action connected with the enemy—'वृत्रम्' meaning वृत्रसम्बन्धि कर्म, an easy लक्षणा. We may now take *vṛtrá* when used for a demon not as a proper name, as Śambara, Namuci, etc., for example, are, but as a common name, used for the enemy *par excellence*, the demon that keeps away rains. 'Enemy' is therefore the most original of the significations of the word 'Vṛtrá' in the Ṛgveda and Vṛtrahán and Vṛṭharaṇa should mean 'the Killer of the Foe,' 'the Victorious One.'

But have we reached far enough for the pre-Ṛgvedic Indra? We have to get at an element that will explain the other aspects of Indra in the Ṛgveda. I have already said that 'god of war' or 'god of victory,' will not explain the connection with rains. Let us therefore see what else the Ṛgveda says about our victorious god Indra. The text frequently tells us that he is an aider of the Aryans, particularly against non-Aryans.² Indra is therefore the national god of the Aryans, a fact already realised by scholars.³ Cannot this represent the most original aspect of Indra known to us? Passage from the national god to the god of war is very easy and to the god of rain is not very difficult either. The nation has to live by warding off the attacks of foemen and must needs be praying to the nation's god for victory in war. After the Aryans settle down among the non-Aryans, they also fight among themselves and Indra is therefore addressed in R. V., VI. 22. 10, VI. 33. 3, VI. 60. 6, VII. 83. 1, X. 69. 6

¹ It is probably from this same root that the name 'वरुण' ('the encompassing sky') is formed but with a better association.

² Compare among other passages I. 7. 9, II. 12. 4, 5.

³ E.g., Macdonnell, Vedic Mythology, p. 64. See also Roth, St. P. Dict., I. 802.

as killing both *Dāsa vṛtrās* and *Ārya vṛtrās*. Human beings have to protect themselves from human enemies whether belonging to the same community or to any other. But they have also extra-human 'enemies' to cope with. They have to live on grains which cannot grow without rains. If rains fail, life becomes impossible. But why do rains sometimes fail or why is there unbearable heat before rains? The primitive mind is full of demons and this has certainly been the case in large parts of Asia. Our ancestors therefore posited Śambara, Namuci and all that host of demons as responsible for want of rains. But who would ward them off? Surely, the national god, if anybody at all. We find therefore Indra as especially busy over the annual chastening of the atmospheric *Vṛtra* of man. He is the national god, he is consequently most pre-eminent among the gods and this and his connexion with war and victory explain all the imagery of the 'mighty bull' Indra fighting with the 'wily serpent' *Vṛtra*. National gods, tutelary deities of villages and cities and even patron saints automatically become responsible for rains.¹ Indra's connexion with raining may therefore be only adventitious and due to this simple circumstance. But in course of time this aspect gained the ascendancy and all other aspects of Indra, except his pre-eminence among the gods, were forgotten. That Indra really stepped into the shoes of *Trita Āptya* in his rain-giving aspect is borne out by some statements in the *Rgveda* itself, e.g., I. 52. 5, अग्निं स्ववृष्टिं मदे अस्य युज्यतो इत्वीरिव प्रवयो सन्नुस्तयः । इन्द्रो यदृज्री वृषमाथो अग्नंसा भिन्नद्वलस्य परिधीरिव जितः ॥, where Indra is said to be performing what is taken to be his usual feat like *Trita*.²

¹ Compare *Golden Bough*, Abridged Edition, Chapter V.

² Geldner (*Der Rigveda*, erster Theil, Göttingen, 1923, p. 59) translates the second half as "durch den Soma kühn geworden des Vala Schranken sprengte gleich *Trita*." The इत्वी is to be connected with जितः

We have not yet understood what natural phenomenon, if any, is behind the *urvarische* national god Indra. The etymology of the word इन्द्र has puzzled several scholars. The various explanations offered by Yāska (Nir. X. 8) show that even he was not sure about it. Roth derived it once (in 1846) from √इष् इन्ष् 'to glow up, or to ignite,' and later (in 1852—5) from √इन् or इन्ष् 'to press,' 'to urge,' 'to have power over,' etc.² But Max Müller's view that it is formed from इन्दु (drop) seems much more probable.⁴ This इन्दु probably does not mean the rain-drops as Max Müller surmises without any warrant but the drops of the Soma juice, as in the text of the R̥gveda. The Soma juice belongs especially to Indra, who is sometimes called in the R. V. *the* Soma-drinker.⁵ Indu is asked to flow to Indra—इन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव (IX. 112—114). This Soma is often endowed with the Vṛtra-slaying and other feats of Indra.⁶ One therefore feels tempted in identifying Indra with Indu and in supposing that he was originally the holy Soma plant, raised into the status of a god, to whom in later times the juice of the plant was offered. The Soma service would then mean the offering of the god unto himself, a custom anthropologists find in vogue among many primitive peoples.⁷ Of course such ideas would be repugnant to many Vedic scholars but we should not reject them on a-priori grounds. But still reject them we must and that for two reasons. First of all, the fact that Indra is supposed as performing his feats in the intoxication of Soma will afford a ready explanation for Soma's connexion with those feats: it is on account of the Soma that Indra

¹ In Zeller's Theologisches Jahrbuch, p. 352 n. (Perry, J.A. O.S., XI, 118).

² St. Petersburg Dictionary, I, 802.

³ Lectures on the Science of Language, II. 473, n. 35.

⁴ Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 66.

⁵ Cf. यः सोमपा निषितो बभ्रवाहुः...स जनासु इन्द्रः in II. 12. 13.

⁶ Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 110. Compare R.V., I.91, where Soma is invoked in terms of Indra.

⁷ See Frazer's Golden Bough, Third Edition, Part V.

is so brave and therefore it is the Soma that, according to a primitive psychology, really kills demons, etc. We have a similar case in Bṛhaspati, the personification of the efficacious power of prayers, who is sometimes endowed with the Vṛtra-slaying feats of Indra,¹ apparently because prayers are believed to strengthen the hands of Indra. Secondly, the Avesta does not make it likely that the Soma worship goes back to *urarische* times, though that is the usual view of scholars. But as the question is very important, let us discuss it with a little fulness.

The Gāthās of the Avesta make no reference to the Haoma and the silence is probably significant. Zaraθuštra makes mention of how he will worship his Lord when success attends his activities in Ys. 44.18; but we find there "ten mares male-mated and with them the camel"² and not Haoma too as the article of offering. Several scholars assume³ that Zaraθuštra himself rejected Haoma worship and he speaks against it in Ys. 48.10 and that the rite was so popular that it entered into even his own religion after he was no more. But this view is purely subjective and is also based on a wrong reading. Westergaard's reading "kadā ajēn mūθrem ahyā madahyā," which has given rise to this view, is to be rejected in favour of, "kadā...ahyā magahyā." Reichelt's *guru* Bartholomæ clings to Westergaard's reading, because, there are several good and old manuscripts in its favour,⁴ but there are more manuscripts and some equally good in favour of *magahyā*⁵ and, what is decisive, the Pahlavi commentary

¹ E.g., IV. 50.5 The *gavī* referred to here is probably that of the Maruts.

² The Gāthas of Zarathushtra in Metre and Rhythm, by L. H. Mills, Leipzig, 1900, p. 67.

³ E.g., Reichelt in his Avesta Reader, pp. 93, 95, 202, 284.

⁴ Altiranisches Wörterbuch, 1114. The mss. are Pt 4, K5, J 2, Mf 2.

⁵ The excellent Jp1 (17th century) and the famous O2 (17th century), besides L2, L3, Jm 3, Dh1, M11 and Bb1 (also the P.V.). See Geldner's critical notes (I, 171) and the description of the manuscripts in the Prolegomena. The references are to the English Edition (Stuttgart, 1886).

knows only of this reading. The Pahlavi comment on the passage is thus translated by Mills, "When *is* that dispensation *coming* in which those *persons shall have* set in motion (expelled) that pollution (excrement) in that magianship [*which exists* in (or 'through') that unalloyed wickedness]."¹ Whatever may be the exegetical value of the Pahlavi commentary, its readings have much greater weight than those of the Avesta Sadeh, which are all considerably later than our Pahlavi Gāthās. The Gāthās therefore do not seem to refer to the Haoma. It is therefore not very likely that Zaratustra should have known the Haoma rite.

Turning next to the later Yasna, we find, of course, three entire Chapters (IX—XI) in praise of Haoma. But probably even they show Haoma to be a late innovation in Iran. *Why else should the Haoma Yašt (Ys. IX) make Haoma surprise Zaratustra by his presence and ask him to worship him and press him?* If Zaratustra knew of the rite already, why would he need this admonition? It is true that four persons are there mentioned as having worshipped Haoma in the past, but as they mostly belong to the realm of mythology and as most of these names have got Indian analogues, we need not take these statements seriously. It is only the name of Pourušāspa, Zaratustra's father, that belongs to history but as Zaratustra is here described as taught about the circumstance of his own birth, which he should have known already, we should not suppose that even Zaratustra or his father had any real connexion with Haoma. I therefore consider that the Haoma was introduced in Iran in post-Zaratustrian times but that its cult was endowed with a Zaratustrian support, like all other elements of the later Magian religion. This is probably what

¹ Mills, *Five Zarathushtrian Gāthās* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 300. Compare also Neriyaosangh's version, कदा उर्यायवन्ति उर्यायानां (for 'magih' in the Pahlavi) कदा निनेलता (निनेलतया) निकुटतरा नयन्ति (Bharucha's edition, p. 111), a hopeless muddle of the Pahlavi.

Ys. 42(4), a supplement to the Yasna Haptaṇhātay, tells us.¹ The Fire-priests who "come from afar" probably introduce the cult in Iran. And they may have really come from India.²

We cannot therefore say that Indra had any connexion (far less identification) with Soma in the *urarische* period. We should therefore suppose that originally he was simply the national god of the Aryans, which aspect was preserved with but little alteration in the Avestic *Vərəθraϋna* and that by early-Rgvedic times he had developed a secondary aspect, besides that of god of victory or war, viz., being the god of rain, which was later specialised to the obscurity of his more original aspects. Indra as Indra (associated with Indu) is Indian and not Aryan *and so also the name*. We, therefore, fail to infer any natural phenomenon from Indra's Rgvedic connexion with Soma. For any other natural phenomenon we have no data and we have to remain contented in our ignorance. The Aryan Indra or, more accurately, Vṛtrahan may not have been a nature god at all.

We have now to consider the case of Indar, a demon, in the Vendidad. I shall be very brief here. Haug's theory of an Indo-Iranian religious schism is more ingenious than reasonable. It cannot explain why one god should be split up into a Yazata and a Daēva. But the fact of Indar's demonhood is there. This I try to explain by supposing that we have here an individual writer's attempt at matching the Yazatas by Daēvas after turning into demons some of the gods of the neighbouring tribes for whom these people must

¹ "We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar, and to the flood-streams of the waters, and to the great flights of the birds, and to the *approaches* of the Fire-priests, as they approach us from afar and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore."—Mills (S.B.E., XXXI, p. 291).

² I have here the support of C. P. Tiele; cf. his *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum* (German translation by G. Gehrich), Vol. II, part 1, pp. 61-2.

have been cherishing no kindly feelings. Milton's *Paradise Lost* would here come to one's mind. Milton filled up Satan's fiendish camp with gods of peoples neighbouring the land of Israel. We have here only a poet's fancy. We cannot suppose from Milton's words that there was a religious schism between the Israelites and their neighbours leading to migration or any such result which Haug surmises for the Iranians and the Indians. Of course religious difference there was and so was it present in more or less degree in the case of the Iranians of the time of the *Vendidad* and their neighbours (including the Indians). But that difference need not necessarily prove that the Iranians separated from any of these peoples in some earlier time *on religious grounds*. We should note that in Fargard X of the *Vendidad*, demons other than Indar, etc., are mentioned, e.g., Tauru and Zairi, who cannot be said to belong to India. These make a theory of a religious schism with only the Indians untenable. We are therefore forced to believe that a writer's fancy is responsible for Indar's demonhood. Of course that writer must certainly have been cherishing no kindly feelings for Indra or his country (India). This may be as much due to difference in religious practices or social customs¹ as to political reasons. Politics is a fruitful source of alienation of feelings and misinterpretation of facts. Indians and Iranians seem to have been rival powers politically during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era. A certain contempt for India and things Indian is quite natural in Iran of Parthian or Sassanian times when most of the *Vendidad* seems to have come into existence.² And then the character of Indra had considerably degraded in India too by this time. During this age the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva were monopolising most of the religious attention of Indians and

¹ The Indian practice of burning or burying the dead must have been an abomination in the eyes of Iranians of Parthian and Sassanian times, who had been thoroughly Magianised.

² See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 183ff.

Indra was occupying only a nominal suzerainty over other gods. Purāṇic stories of Indra's questionable doings like his amours with Ahalyā may well have repelled the puritanic sense of the Zoroastrians. The Indra that the Zoroastrian writer objects to is perhaps the Indra of the Purāṇas and not that of the Ṛgveda or of pre-Ṛgvedic times. He also makes a demon of the Nāsatyas being probably misled by a wrong etymology, viz., *na satya* ('not true').¹ Non-importance of the divine twins in India in the age of the Vendidad may also have helped in this misunderstanding or wilful alteration. Whom Sauru, another demon in the same passage of the Vendidad, corresponds to is not very clear. The phonetic equivalent of the word may be Śāru (dart) or Śārvá (a name for the god Rudra)—etymologically connected with Śāru). But Śāru as the name of a god (god of death?) does not seem to occur in Indian literature and Śārvá is a name for Rudra that comes into existence only in the age of the Śukla Yajurveda (and the Atharvaveda).² Sauru's Indian counterpart, if he had any at all, does not therefore go to the time of the supposed religious schism. A religious schism cannot thus be responsible for the bifurcation of the ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians and the wilful alteration by them of the connotations of some religious names or terms. Why only some names were picked out and others left is more than one can understand. The changes in meaning of Asura-Ahura and Deva-Daēva can be easily explained by ordinary Semantics, like Greek δαιμόνιον, English 'ghost,' etc. We can fortunately trace the whole semantic history of the word *ásura* in India. The fact that the earlier texts of the Avesta show no trace of hostility towards India or things Indian³ also makes

¹ Darmesteter, S.B.E. IV (1st edition), p. lxxii.

² See Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 75.

³ We have instead a hit at the Magis in Ys. 48,10.

Haug's theory devoid of all support.¹ We should therefore follow the majority of present-day European scholars in burying this theory in oblivion. Indar's demonhood in the Vendidad should therefore be explained as the result of the writer's personal fancy. But after the work was accepted as a canonical text, later writers would repeat this and by the times of the Pahlavi writings Indar came to occupy a definite place in the Zoroastrian pandemonium. Parallels for similar happenings may be easily cited from India.

To recapitulate, the earliest aspect of Indra of which we have any trace is that of the national god. If Indra had any other aspect before he was a national god of the Aryans we do not know. Nor do we know its contrary. We have at the present day no certain data for that early age. This national god of the *urarische* times develops as a god of victory and as a god of rain. The former aspect we find in the Avestic *Vərəθraγna* and both in the R̥gvedic Indra. The aspect of the rain-god received in later times an especial development in India, so much so that the other aspect became wholly obscure. In the course of time, Indra degenerated in India and we find puritanic Iran labelling this Indian Indra as a demon. It should be noticed here that though the *god* Indra seems to go back to the age when all the Aryans² were living together as one people, the *name* 'Índra' probably dates from after the Indians and the Iranians separated, when the former began developing a Soma cult. This Soma ritual may have entered Iran from India and have received there some modifications at the hands of the Zoroastrians.

¹ See Darmesteter's Introduction to his translation of the Vendidad (1st Edition), part IV, §41 (S.B.E. IV, pp. lxxix—lxxxi). It is much to be regretted that Darmesteter did not include the whole of this valuable Introduction in the Second Edition. Had he done this, people would not have been misled by the theories of Haug.

² I use the word Aryan in the limited sense that is now in vogue and not in that of Indo-European.

UPANIṢADIC PROSODY.

P. G. GOPALA KRISHNA IYER.

*Lecturer in English, University College, Rangoon.**Upaniṣadic Metre.*

The traditional method of teaching the Vedas has been guilty of neglecting their metrical aspect. The Vedic reciter or reader is punctilious in the matter of his accents; but his appreciation of rhythms, at least as judged from the way he recites or reads, is very little. Not that he is to blame; it is extremely difficult to bring out both accent and rhythm (metrical) at the same time; and the preservation of the accent at all costs has certainly been of the greatest service to posterity. But it is hard to resist the conviction that in early times Vedic poetry was recited in a manner that brought out its metrical rhythms also. For, if it did not, there could have been no prosodic development. There is, however, overwhelming evidence to such a historical development. It is quite possible to enunciate the principles of metrical structure and trace the lines of metrical development—that is, to write a history of Sanskrit Prosody.

The early metrical Upaniṣads are of great importance to the student of this Prosody. On the one hand they contain some of the very best achievements of the Old Dispensation; on the other, they represent the transition to the New or an Earlier stage in this transition. There are passages in them, the metrical art of which leaves one wondering, if after all, the classical poets and particularly the dramatic poets did not make a fatal mistake in giving up the older Triṣṭubh altogether¹ and developing in its place, by a process of

¹ Kālidāsa indeed used it once with tremendous effect in the *Sakuntala*, IV, 'अमी वेदिं परितः कृतधियाः etc.' But he used it as a conscious archaism.

disintegration, the four times repeated pāda rhythms 'of their prosody.

The intensely dramatic dialogue between Naciketas and Death that forms the prologue to a great philosophical poem—the first two and the final chapters of the Śvetāśvatara are veritable prosodic treasures (if indeed manner can be assigned an entity distinct or apart from matter in great poetry). These poets understood the art of continuous versification varying and modulating their rhythms to 'the requirements of the moment and achieving in the result organic metrical wholes—which on the large scale is the essence of epic form and on the small scale the essence of lyric and dramatic forms. There is, besides, a goodly sprinkling of perfect lines and stanzas on occasions when they rise to the 'highth of their argument'—the description of the Indescribable Brahman. The Muṇḍaka is the work of a comparatively inferior craftsman, rather mechanical in his verses; but he seems to have been something of a bold experimenter. The composer of the Kena shows more command. Like the Kaṭha and Śveta poets, he has an impressive opening—including a short poem with the magnificent refrain

तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि, नेदं यदिदमुपासते

○ — — — — — ○, — — ○ ○ ○ ○ — — —

the achievement of which consists in the contrast between the emphatic hammer strokes of the successive longs of the first half and the skipping shorts of the second half, suggesting the summary dismissal of the false notions of the Brahman. The Īśa has no distinction about it—but it is so short that no opinion of the poet's formal skill can be formed.

As features of the transition, the student notes the twelve-syllabled Triṣṭubh, the lessening of hiatus and the split semi-vowel, the steady though sure emergence of the Upajāti stanza¹ by the time of the Śvetāśvatara, the gradual ascendancy of the

¹ There is one Varṇastha stanza (III-15); and one Upa 4 + Śa 7 stanza (V-11) in the Kaṭha.

Śālinī over the Vātormī groups, the greater freedom in the disposition of the caesura noticeable as he passes from the Kaṭha to the Śveta, the experiments (probably) of the Muṇḍaka poet who could not have stood alone, the disappearance—or all but disappearance of the Vedic Anuṣṭubh of four pādas (with di-iambic endings), and the very near approximation of the octosyllables to the Epic Śloka.

The distinguishing feature of the Old Triṣṭubh is its free combinations of various pre- and post-caesural metrical groups in the same stanza. Using a later terminology, we can describe the principle as a free interchange of Upajāti¹ and Śālinī-Vātormī groups and lines. When these and similar terms are used in connection with the Vedas and Upaniṣads, it must be remembered that the Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Śālinī, Vātormī and other metres were later developments from the Older Triṣṭubh and not basic entities out of which the older poets concocted mixed rhythms, as the compilers of prosodic manuals will lead or mislead one to believe. To the Vedic poet, the caesura was the pivot of the line, on either side of which could be used one of many metrical groups. In fact this is the *raison d'être* of the caesura as apart from the sense pauses. They were thus able to vary the pace of their verse to an extent that was impossible in later Triṣṭubh poetry.² Note, for instance, the effect of the gradual slackening of speed in the following stanza, until it ends in the slow full-volumed Śālinī of the last pāda.

¹ Against the demands of strict accuracy, the term Upajāti is used here to denote the rhythms of the later Indravajrā, and Upendravajrā and their Jagatī forms.

Epic and classical poetry however found *partial* compensation for this in its greatly supple Śloka, in the very free movement almost amounting to disappearance of the Upajāti caesura and the multiplicity of metres,

एतत्सुखं यदि मन्यसे वरं	Śā 4 + Upa 6 (Jag)
दृष्टीं च वित्तं चिरजीविकां च	Upa
महामूर्खो न चिकेतस्त्वमेधि	Vā
कामानां त्वां कामभाजं करोमि	Śā (Kāṭha I. 24) ¹

The same effect is seen in the closing stanza of the justly famous Yoga-piece² (Śve. II. 15) which slows down from pāda to pāda till the triumphant Śālinī close, suggesting as it does the lapsing into the All. The whole passage deserves to be studied in great detail for its prosody; it has all the smooth facility of the best classical verse and retains enough of the older and freer art to produce subtle rhythmic modulations. It is also notable for its skilful distribution of secondary pauses; in one stanza, (10), the verse actually *runs on* from pāda to pāda.

¹ For an explanation of these symbols, see p. 34.

² Here is the passage, which will bear repetition many times.
Śve. II. 8-15.

त्रिरुद्धतं स्थाप्य समं शरीरं हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा संनिरुद्धय ।
 ब्रह्माद्भुपेन प्रतरेत विद्वान् स्रोतोसि सर्वाणि भयावहानि ॥
 प्राणान्प्रपीड्येह स युक्तचेष्टः क्षीणे प्राणे नासिकयोच्छ्वसीत ।
 दुष्टाश्चयुक्तमिव बाहमेनं विद्वान् मनो धारयेताम्रमतः ॥
 समे, शुचौ, शर्करावह्निबालुका-विवर्जिते, शब्दजलाश्रयादिभिः ।
 मनोनुकुले, न तु चक्षुपीडने गुहा विवाताश्रयणे प्रयोजयेद् ॥
 नीहारभूमाकानलानिलानां खद्योतविद्युत्स्फटिकाशनीनाम् ।
 एतानि रूपाणि पुरःसराणि ब्रह्मण्यभिव्यक्तिकराणि योगे ॥
 पृथग्यप्युत्तेजोऽनिलस्त्रे समुत्थिते पञ्चात्मके योगगुणे प्रवृत्ते ।¹
 न तस्य रोगो न जरा न मृत्युः प्राप्तस्य योगाग्निमयं शरीरम् ॥
 लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्यप्रसादं स्वरसौष्टवं च ।
 गन्धःशुभो मूत्रपुरीषमरूपं योगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति ॥
 यथैव बिम्बं मृदयोपक्षिप्तं तेजोमयं भ्राजते तत्सुधातम् ।
 तद्वात्मतत्त्वं प्रसमीक्ष्य देही एकः कृतार्थो भवते वीतशोकः ॥
 यदात्मतत्त्वेन तु ब्रह्मतत्त्वं दीपोपमेनेह युक्तः प्रपरयेत् ।
 अन्नं भुवं सर्वैतत्सर्वैर्विशुद्धं ज्ञात्वा देवं मुच्यते सर्वपापैः ॥

These poets also made poetic capital out of their freedom, tho' sparingly used, to use a Jagatī in a Triṣṭubh stanza.¹ One can point to the sudden accession of eloquence in the Jagatī close of Kāṭha I. 23. This entire speech of Death is no less notable for its metrical perfection than the Śveta piece mentioned above. It is well worth quoting :

शंतायुषः पुत्रपौत्रान् वृणीष्व बह्वृन्पशून् हस्तिहिरण्यमरवाङ् ।
 भूमेर्महदायतनं वृणीष्व स्वयं च जीव शरदो यावदिच्छसि ॥२३॥
 एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरं वृणीष्व वित्तं चिरजीविकां च ।
 महाभूमौ नचिकेतस्त्वमेधि कामानां त्वां कामभाजं करोमि ॥२४॥
 ये ये कामा दुर्लभा मर्त्यलोके सर्वान्कामाश्चक्षुदतः प्रार्थयस्व ।
 इमा रामा सरथा सनूयाः नहीदृशा लंभनीया मनुष्यैः ॥
 आभिर्ग्रमन्ताभिः परिचारयस्व नचिकेतो मरणं मानुषादीः ॥२५॥

The solemnity of Death's appeal crowned by his over-flowing pity is well suggested by the slow swell of the Śālinīs and Vātormīs reaching a climax in the hypermetrical Vaiśvadevī opening (— — — — —) of the penultimate pāda and the abrupt fall of the pyrrhic opening of the final pāda. Even the long ninth, that goes against the grain of the Triṣṭubh, almost invariably a cause of cacophony, is in this last verse made to serve a splendid purpose. So does Naciketas's violent exclamation in answer (26) रवोभावा ! मर्त्यस्य यदन्तकैतत् displace the caesura for once to fine effect. Nor did these poets disdain the (to *them* humbler) aids of alliteration and assonance on occasion. One feels the pointed sting and decision in the sound of .

जीविष्यामो यावदीशिष्यसि त्वं वरस्तु मे वरणीयः स एव ।²

¹ The Jagatī is the regular 'hypermetrical' Triṣṭubh got by splitting its final long (intrinsically or prosodically so) into an iamb producing a pleasing overflow effect.

² The whole of the dialogue is, if one may say so without irreverence, an exhibition-piece—a magnificent model of dramatic verse conversation of the stately order.

or the arresting tone of enquiry in

केनेचितं पतति प्रेषितं मनः केन प्राणः प्रथमः प्रैति युक्तः ।
केनेचितां वाचसिमां वदन्ति चक्षुः श्रोत्रं क उ देवो युनक्ति ॥

Change of metre was another effective device. Often it denoted a change of topic. In the second chapter of the *Kaṭha* is a wonderful change of metre from *Triṣṭubh* to *Anuṣṭubh* in the course of Death's speech. He has been slowly leading to the central doctrine of the Brahman by characteristic approaches on the negative side; then when he feels that the youthful seeker's mind has been rendered sufficiently receptive for the grand initiation, that the moment for transference of occult power has arrived, he utters the Om at the end of a *Triṣṭubh* series and abruptly *declares* the Brahman in a couple of full-weighted *Anuṣṭubhs*

एतद्धेतवाचरं ब्रह्म, एतद्धेतवाचरं परं etc. (*Kaṭha* II. 16, 17.)

The psychological moment fructified, the thrill of the initiation over, he relapses into *Triṣṭubh* and continues the negative characterisation in न जायते म्रियते वा विपरिवर्तते etc. So towards the end of the third chapter following the parable of the chariot picturesquely elaborated in *Anuṣṭubhs*, comes the exhortation in a broken mixed stanza

वसिष्ठत जाग्रत, प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत
क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गे पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति

which the Swami Vivekananda chose as a bugle call to rouse his decadent countrymen.

Enough has now been said to indicate the high quality of the verse in these early metrical Upaniṣads. It must however be pointed out that the appreciation of the earlier prosody requires some preliminary effort on the part of the reader fresh from the classical rhythms. He has first to get the *pāda rhythms* of the classical metres out of his head and accustom himself to the rhythm of the individual metrical

groups and their more important combinations, especially those that do not occur in later poetry. Otherwise his ear after hearing an opening of four longs will expect a Śālinī sequel, and, when instead of this an Upajāti group is heard, it gets confused and seems to hear disturbed or broken rhythm; similarly, when a Śālinī or Vātormī group (of 7) follows an opening with a short third, which he would naturally expect to be completed in Upajāti measure.

We shall therefore proceed to the formal theory of Upaniṣadic metre first.

The Anuṣṭubh.—The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh is well on the way to the Epic Śloka of two ardhas or hemistiches; each ardha being made up of two halves, a prior and a posterior, which have respectively for their normal second feet $\cup - -$ \cup and $\cup - \cup \cup$. Hopkins in 'The Great Epic of India' has a full and final presentment of the Epic and Purāṇic Śloka. (The present writer deals with the classical Śloka in the course of an article on Aśvaghoṣa to be shortly published in The Journal of the Burma Research Society.) We shall only note here that the Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh shows traces of the Vedic stanzaic practice, that is, an occasional prior pāda with a di-iambic end (the Gāyatrī stanza and the 'trochaic' Anuṣṭubh have disappeared). There are also instances of all the possible kinds of Vipulās¹ in the odd pādas, the ण's and ण's not being negligible. And also the later restrictions or restricting tendencies in the matter of caesura opening feet and finals in Vipulā verses have not yet set in.²

The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh has evolved into the Śloka form; but it is much freer than the later orthodox type and—

¹ A Vipulā is a variation on the normal second foot of the odd pāda. $\cup \cup \cup \cup$, (ण) $- \cup \cup \cup$, (ण) $- - -$, (ण) $- \cup - \cup$ (ण) $\cup \cup - \cup$ (ण) $- - \cup \cup$, (ण) $\cup - \cup \cup$, (ण di-iamb). Only the first three usually occur in classical śloka.

² For an account of these, *vide* Hopkins' 'Great Epic' and the writer's article above referred to.

less musical on the whole—tho' individual passages as for instance in *Kaṭha III* and *Śvetāśvatara* which have sufficient metrical merit. Other features such as long ('hypermetrical') and short ('catalectic') verses, mixed stanzas of *Anuṣṭubh* and *Triṣṭubh* will be noted and discussed later on.¹

The Triṣṭubh is by far the more important metre and deservedly so. It has got rid of most of the unrhythmical forms in Vedic practice, while retaining all its freedom—indeed, in the matter of group combinations, it is freer. Witness the large number of twelve-syllable *Triṣṭubhs*² (as distinct from the long lines or *Jagatīs*). The term 'contaminated' or hybrid which Arnold gives to such forms (*Vedic Metre*) is certainly inapplicable to the *Upaniṣadic* dodekas; they are not aberrations or abnormals; but quite as legitimate as the 11-syllabled ones.

The caesura, as already pointed out, is the pivot of the line. (As in the *Veda*, it usually falls after the 4th or 5th syllable. But there is a tendency to throw it backward or forward by a syllable, noticeable in the later *Śvetāśvatara*. This is, in other words, a first step in the gradual weakening of the caesura's hold on the *Upajāti*.) There are a number of pre- and post-caesural groups, and theoretically any one of the former may be combined with any one of the latter, tho' in practice only a few of these combinations form the staple of the verse, while some do not occur at all.

The caesura always implied a definite pause; and hence made possible slight variations from the normal in its neighbourhood on either side, without affecting the basic rhythm; for instance a pre-caesural short very often takes the place of a long, the apparent defect in quantity being made up for by the pause; ³ sometimes an extra syllable intrudes after the

¹ See A Note on the *Anuṣṭubh*, pp. 52—7.

² Types I-b, VI Ab, VI Bb for instance. See Table of *Triṣṭubhs*, p. 35.

³ In the *R̥gveda*, pre-caesural shorts probably amounted to fourth of the total number of verses.

pause, the rhythmic variation thus introduced being not much different in nature from that produced by an initial extra.

In the earliest Vedic times, the alternative groups Śālinī 7 and Vātormī 7 (, _ ◡ _ _ ◡ _ ◡ ; , ◡ ◡ _ _ ◡ _ ◡) rose in this way; the poet, concerned primarily with the metrical group, making no difference between a group-initial and a pāda-initial; the Vātormī was perhaps the original type of which the Śālinī was a variant; in the same manner is to be explained the Vedic post-caesural Upajāti group , _ ◡ _ ◡ _ _ , a variant on the normal predominant type , ◡ ◡ _ ◡ _ _ . The present writer is inclined to explain the rare groups (R̥gvedic again) , ◡ _ _ _ ◡ _ _ and , ◡ _ ◡ _ ◡ _ _¹ as due to initial reversal of rhythm after caesura in the Śālinī 7 and Upajāti 7. that is an iambic in the place of trochee.² Classical poets employed the device of rhythm reversal in deriving a number of metres with a lisping close from other metres already established. The Svāgatā derived from the Rathoddhātā is the type of this class.

This is the place to consider the Triṣṭubh which for convenience' sake may be called the Tribrach Medial Triṣṭubh. It has the scheme ◡ _ ◡ _ ◡ ◡ ◡ _ ◡ _ ◡ and is historically of very great importance as the parent of a whole host of classical metres, the chief of which is the Vasantatilaka. Hopkins seems to regard it as a separate type, whereas it is really in most cases an Upajāti 5 with pre-caesural short and in the rest an Upajāti 4 with post-caesural short : ◡ _ ◡ _ ◡ , ◡ ◡ _ ◡ _ _ or ◡ _ ◡ _ ,

¹ There is an epidemic of this group in certain groups of hymns. See for instance the hymns from the 7th book given in Macdonell's Vedic Reader.

² It may be charged to irrelevant pedantry to adduce a parallel from English. Or, one may point to the post-caesural reversal of rhythm in Milton's heroic verse or Chaucer's couplets (trochee instead of iamb) for instance,

○○○—○— . The latter is much rarer than the former; the number of sure cases in the Upaniṣads with ○○○—○— is extremely few. It is only natural that this should be so; even in the R̥gveda post-caesural freedom was exercised much less than pre-caesural; in Upaniṣadic times it had almost become an archaism. That the classical poets and prosodists were aware of this fact is evident from their omission to make of it a separate metre as they did with the Upajāti and Śālinī-Vāṭormī, when disintegrating the older Triṣṭubh.

The following is a list of the metrical groups prevalent in the Upaniṣads, names such as Śālinī, Vāṭormī being really but a convenient borrowing from later terminology.

Pre-caesural.

{	○○—○—,	Upajāti (caesura after 4) opening	Upa 4
	○○—○—,	Do. (caesura after 5) ..	Upa 5
	(○○—○—○—,	Do. caesura after 6 ..	Upa 6.) Not normal.
{	○—○—○—,	Śālinī-Vāṭormī opening	Śā 5
	○—○—○—,	Vaiśvadevī opening	Vai 5
{	○—○—○—,		Short Second A
	○—○—○—,		Short Second B "

Post-caesural.

{	,—○○—○—○	Upajāti close of 7	Upa 7
	,—○○—○—○	Do. of 6	Upa 6
	(,—○○—○—○	Do. of 5	Upa 5.) Not normal.
{	,—○○—○—○	Śālinī close	Śā 7
	,—○○—○—○	Vāṭormī close	Vā 7
{		Tribrach Upajāti close	Trb 7.

All the pre-caesural groups may theoretically have a short in the place of the final long; and all the post-caesural groups may have their Jagatī variations. It is to be understood that the Triṣṭubh includes the Jagatī for our purposes, the more so as the latter has practically no separate existence in the Upaniṣads.¹

¹ There is one instance of a Vamśastha stanza in the Kāṭha III. 15 following the exhortation वसिष्ठ उवाच. Another occurs in the Yoga-piece in the Śveta (II. 10), There is no other.

The following table graphically displays the various combinations of these groups.

Table of Tristubhs (and Jagatis).¹

	U - U - U - U - Upa 7	U - U - U - U - Upa 6	U - U - U - U - Upa 5 final	U - U - U - U - Trb Upa 7	U - U - U - U - Sa 7	U - U - U - U - Va 7
U - U - Upa 4	1a	1c ?		1f	6Aa	6Ba
U - U - - Upa 5	1b	1d		1g	6Ab	6Bb
U U U U U Upa 6.			1e			6Bc
U - - - Sa 4	2a	2b		2c	7A	7B
U . - - - Vai 5	3a	3b		3c	8A	8B
U U - - Short 2nd A	4a	4b		4c	9A	9B
U . U - - - Short 2nd B.		5b		5c	10A	10B

NOTE.—A line below shows that the type occurs with pre-caesural short also. In what follows, this will be indicated by a numeral below the line. Thus 1a means Upa 4 Upa 7 with pre-caesural short. J indicates Jagati. Thus 1d, j will mean $\cup - \cup - \cup$, $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$. Upa (4) will mean Upa 4 + Upa 7 and so on.¹ 2b, 3a and 5b are doubtful.²

¹ For sporadic occurrences of the archaic groups $\cup - - \cup -$ (pre-caesural), and, $- \cup - \cup - -$ and, $\cup - - \cup' - \cup - -$ (post-caesural), see the metrical notes that follow.

⁹ See examples at the end.

Of these various types the 'pure' Upajātis account for about a third of the verses; the Śālinī-Vātermis and the Upajāti + Śālinīs in equal proportions account for another third; a long way behind these three staple types come the Vaiśvadevī verses (that is, verses that open $\cup - - -$) accounting for a twelfth; the Śālinī + Upajātis with the short seconds make up another twelfth—the rest, about a seventh of the whole, consist of long and short verses ('hypermeters' and 'catalectics') and lines with archaic and other metrical groups. These may be called the abnormals.' Another broad division may be made of the verses into two—those having Upajāti groups and those having Śālinī-Vātermī groups after the caesura. The average percentages [for the three Upanisads Katha^(K), Muṇḍaka^(M) and Śvetāśvatara (Śv)] are 46 and 50 respectively.

Apart from these average figures, a comparison between these three Upaniṣads is not uninteresting.

	Upa	Śā-Vā	Upa-end	Śā-Vā-end
Kaṭha	25	20	45	50
Muṇḍaka	20	20	33	63
Śveta	50	16	60	37

Thus while in the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka, the Upajātis are only a fourth and a fifth respectively of the total number of verses,² they form a full half in the Śveta; the Śālinī-Vātermīs are only a third of the Upajātis in this Upaniṣad. These are signs of a later date;³ as are also the many 'pure' Upajāti stanzas in it, and a smaller proportion of pre-caesural shorts,⁴

¹ The figures are as follows :—Upajātis 34, Śālinī-Vātermī 18, Upajāti-Śālinī 18, Vai + Upa 5, Vai + Śā-Vā 3, Śā + Upa 5, Short Seconds 3.

² All quotations from the Saṁhitās are left out of account.

³ Metrical grounds are probably the least of the reasons for regarding one Upaniṣad as later or earlier than another; in themselves, they ought not to count for much; but as corroboratory or supernumerary testimony they are not beneath notice.

⁴ The figures for K, M and Śv are respectively $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{7}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$.

of Jagatī verses and abnormal lines, and the virtual disappearance of conjuncts that make position and the split semi-vowel, probably also the fact that there are lesser Vātermis than Śālinīs.¹ The great increase in the number of 12-syllable Triṣṭubhs² and a few other not very decisive indications (vide the metrical notes further on) in the Muṇḍaka may point to a date of composition later than the Kāṭha.

But apart from affording slippery evidence of comparative dates, the Muṇḍaka prosody has features that make it different from the rest. These are the high proportion of Śālinī-ends (63 as against 50 and 37), the hypermeters and catalectics with final extras and defects, the occurrence of verses with a post-caesural extra syllable, the very large number of 'abnormal lines,' and last but not least to the student of historical metre the experiments and stumblings that point to later developments (vide notes).

One may also look back on the R̥g-vedic prosody³ and translate advance in metrical art of the Upaniṣad poets over the Vedic poets into technical language. The following are the most important points that emerge. (It must be admitted here that the figures for the R̥gveda are based on a metrical analysis of the hymns in Macdonell's Vedic Reader and therefore open to correction as general statements. But for the purposes of the present comparison they cannot be misleading, since a wide range of variation will not affect the statements below.)

1. Large increase in the number of Upajātis with caesura after the fourth syllable (from less than 2 % to 10 %).

¹ The Vātermī which had the upper hand of the Śālinī all through Vedic times, and which was perhaps the earlier of the two gradually lost its place. In classical poetry it is probably not used except as a conscious archaism or as an item in the metrical pyro-technics of the Mahākāvya poets.

² The proportions are respectively $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$.

³ A comparison with the prosody of the Atharvaveda is bound to be even more instructive.

2. Increase in the number of 'pure' Śālinī-Vātermī lines (to two-thirds as many more) and of Śālinī-Vātermī ends (from 32 to 50 %) and a corresponding decrease in the total Upajāti ends (from 66 to 46).

3. Virtual disappearance of the Upajāti with the long 6th (post-caesural) and the various combinations with its post-caesural group (vide metrical notes for sporadic occurrences).

4. The great decrease of pre-caesural shorts (from 28 to 9) resulting for one thing, in the virtual elimination (or rather due to it) of a number of types of crude rhythm, for instance those with four or five consecutive shorts in the middle.¹

5. Large decrease in hiatus (medial as well as final) and split semi-vowels and the virtual disallowance of broken-backed verses of sundry kinds.²

6. The disappearance of the Dvipadā Virāj and gradually, of the disturbing type with 5 or 4 opening iambs as also the post-caesural group (after 4) ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ _ _ .

7. The great reduction in the number of verses with the Vaiśvadevī opening (from nearly a fifth to less than a twentieth or, counting the twelves, to a twelfth).

8. The diminution of verses with a short second (from 12 to 3).

9. The gradual ascendancy of the Śālinī over the Vātermī. (The former which was only half as numerous as the latter in the R̥gveda is in the Upaniṣads a fifth as much again.)

¹ For instance उप सुव उवसो यज्ञकेतुः R.V. IV. 51,11b. ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ;

∪ ∪ _ _ ∪ _ _ उपो एमि चिकितुषो विष्टुष्टम् VII. 86, 3b.

∪ _ _ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ _ प्रचक्षय; कृणुहि वस्यसो नः VIII. 48, 6b ∪ ∪ ∪ ; ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _

But it is to be noticed that the caesural pause in these cases is an emphatic pause, so that these shorts do not really represent the metrical disturbance, which they will in classical prosody.

² Like परे अवर उभया अमित्राः R.V. II. 12-8b ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ _ _

पृच्छे तदेनो वरुण दिष्ट VII. 86-3a _ _ ∪ _ _ , ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪

यश्चोतारं जिघांससि सखायम् Do. 4b _ _ _ , ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ _

10. The disuse of the various strophic stanzas, and other schemes of more than four lines, naturally brought about by the change in the subject-matter and the circumstances of recitation.

To these is probably to be added a reversal of the positions of the 'earlier' and 'later' caesura (i.e., after 4 and 5) in the matter of frequency. In the Upaniṣads the earlier caesura is appreciably more numerous, while in the Vedas it seems to have been the other way about. But an extensive examination is required before a definite statement can be made.

Equivalence or Resolution.—The phenomenon of Equivalence, whereby two shorts do duty for one long, plays an all-important part in the formation of new classical metres out of the Triṣṭubh. The process which was active as late as the 16th century as is evidenced by the famous '24 metres' of the great Malayalam poet Ezhutthachan has already set in in the Upaniṣads. But as yet its scope is limited to the resolution of only one syllable in a line, initial or medial.¹

Now, since the initial syllable is indifferent, an Anuṣṭubh scheme ○○ — — ○, ○ — — — (यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वम्) or a Triṣṭubh scheme ○○ — — —, ○○ — — — (ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते) may be regarded, not as due to resolution, but to an initial extra short, providing a sort of jumping board that gives initial momentum to the verse. Indeed this may have been the origin of this particular form of the hypermeter; but very soon along with the tendency to standardise the quantity of the initial syllable these opening pyrrhics must have come to be regarded as cases of resolution. Be this as it may, the medial pyrrhics as in — — ○○○○ — — नेदं यदिदमुपासते is a clear case of equivalence. It is to be regretted that the classical poets in their mania for regularity confined the operation of this principle to the formation of new metres and

¹ For a discussion of the (Anuṣṭubh) hypermeter ending in भवति (Kāṭha) यस्य विज्ञानवान् भवति e.g., vide Hopkins' 'Great Epic,' p. 259.

deliberately forbear to explore the prosodic possibilities of modulation of the line within the stanza by resolving a long new and then or by resorting to the other expedients by which the Upaniṣadic poets attained variety.

Hypermeters.

Forty per cent. of the hypermeters are cases of resolution. The instinct of the Sanskrit poet has always been to avoid the spoiling of the metrical groups by insertion of extra syllables into their body (unless it be a case of resolution). And since the cadence is the most characteristic portion of the verse, final extras are sure to be a disturbance (the Jagatī overflow is a different matter) and are avoided for that reason. The experimenting poet of the Muṇḍaka has however a few instances of the final extra (as well as defect). It must be remembered that an extra syllable after the caesura is prosodically on a par with initial extra.

List of Resolutions.

Kaṭha. I 11d. त्वां ददृशिवान् मृत्युमुखात्प्रसुक्तं — UU U —, — U U — U —

216 नहि सुविज्ञेयमगुरोर्धर्मः UU — — U, U U — U —

II 6c. अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी U — —, — U U UU U —

IV 2d. ध्रुवमध्रुवेऽपि न प्रायेयन्ते UU — U, U U — — U —

III 2c. अभयं तितीर्षतां पारं UU — U — U — —

IV 10d. य इह नानेव पश्यति UU U — — U — U

V 6a. हंत त इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि — U UU — U — — U

VI 2a. यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वम् UU — — U U — — —

7a. अव्यक्तास्तु परः पुरुषः — — — U U — UU —

Muṇḍaka. II* 1d. यदेतज्जानय सदसद्गुरोरेषम् U — — UU, U U — U —

III* 2d. अस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः — U UU — U, U U — U —¹

¹ Cf. the classical metre Induvadanā or Varasundarī.

— U U U — U U U — U U U — — which is the above with resolution of penultimate and final extra.

- III² 8d. परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यं ॐ — ॐ —, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
 II¹ 8c. सप्त इमे लोकाः येषु चरन्ति प्राणाः ॐ — — —, ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
Sveta. I 2b. भूताणि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्तयं — ॐ — —, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
 I 6c. पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा ॐ — — —, — ॐ — — ॐ — —
 7d. लीना ब्रह्मणि तत्परा योनिमुक्ताः — — ॐ —, — ॐ — — ॐ — —
 III 9c. वृष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठत्येकः ॐ — — —, ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —
Kena. I 4d. नेदं यदिदमुपासते — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ —
 13a. इह चेदवेदीदथ सत्यमस्ति ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —, ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ —²
Iśa. 12c. ततो भूय इव ते तमः ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — —

List of Hypermeters.

Besides the above, the following cases occur :

Kātha. I 16d. संकां चेमामनेकरूपां गृहाण — — —, ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ —

A very interesting instance of extra before Śālinī 7.

II 16. ते उभे नानार्ये पुरुषं सिनीतः = ॐ — — — —, ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —

Initial extra.

13d. विवृतं सद्य नाधिकेतसं मन्ये ॐ ॐ — — ॐ —, — ॐ — ॐ — — =

Final extra.

This is a doubtful case of final extra.

VI 2c. य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति (quoted from the Br. Ā.)

This is not a hypermeter. The pre-caesural group is an archaic one.

I 6cd. सत्यमिव मर्त्यः पश्यते ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — Initial extra?

सत्यमिवाजायते पुनः ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — Do.?

IV¹ 15b. आसिकं तादृगेव भवति — —, — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — 2 Final extras.

V 6a. य एषु सुप्तेषु जागर्ति ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ. Initial extra.

Mundaka. 2b. अथवा तां पुरोवाचाङ्गिरे ब्रह्मविद्याम्.

— — —, ॐ — — ॐ —, — ॐ — — ॐ — —. This line is made up of Śā 4 + Śā 4 (with initial and final short) + Śā 7.

¹ The Jagatī of this will be the classical Rucirā ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —.

² This is the classical Kōkarata ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —.

The point to be noticed here is the duplication of the opening group. If this and the similar lines noticed below are genuine cases, they provide one of those links that may throw light on the problem of the evolution of the longer metres. The present writer holds, in the absence of a better hypothesis, that this principle of duplication of groups¹ coupled with resolution will explain their derivation. It will be out of place here to dwell at any length on this matter, but some indication is necessary to make the point clear. Take the Mandākṛāntā. According to this theory, it will be derived as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \rightarrow \frac{\cup \cup}{\text{or}} \cup \text{---}, \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \\ \cup \text{---} \end{array}$$

$$\text{Sā 4} + \text{Upa (or Śā)} 4 + \text{Śā 7}.$$

Indeed the example under discussion is just this combination. On this theory again, the middle group of the Sragdharā will be the resolved equivalent of Śālinī 4. Thus $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} = \cup \cup \cup \text{---}$ and its opening group will be a welding of Śā 4 and Upajāti 4, losing a syllable in the process. The Śikharinī will resolve into a Vaiśvadevī opening, an Indravajrā 4 and another Indravajrā 4, the whole being introduced by an initial extra short the jumping board. This group $\cup \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ occurs in these Upaniṣads. The very next case provides an instance.

2c. स भारद्वाजाय सत्यवाहाय ग्राह. $\cup \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \cup, \text{---} \cup \text{---} \text{---} \cup$
 ---. I.E.

6d. तद्भयं तद्भूतयोनिं परिपश्यन्ति धीराः

$\cup \text{---} \cup \rightarrow \text{---} \cup \text{---} \rightarrow \cup \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ (See 2b above.) This is made up of Upa 4 + Upa 5 + Vā 7

¹ This principle or something like it seems to operate largely in the structure of the large blocks of 'prose-poetry'—unmistakable in the great prose-Upaniṣads. The present writer hopes to publish some results on this head by and by.

7b. यथा पृथिव्याम् श्लेषध्वयः संभवन्ति ७ — ७ — —, — ७ ७ —
— ७ — ७. Another interesting case of an extra (long) before
Vā 7.

7c. यथा सतः पुरुषात्केशलोमानि ७ — ७ —, ७ ७ — — ७ —
— | ७. *Final Extra.*

I² 5a. एतेषु यच्चरते आजमानेषु — — ७ —, ७ ७ — — ७ — —
| ७. *Final Extra.*

6a. एह्येहीति तमाहुतयः सुवर्चसः — — — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ —
Resolution?

6c. प्रियां वाचमभिवदन्त्योर्चयन्त्यः ७ — — ७, ७ ७ — — ७ — —

This is either a case of resolution (of the first syllable of Śā 7) or an extra short before Vā 7. Either way the group is an interesting parallel to the tribrach Upajāti 7.

9b. वयं कृतार्थाः इत्यभिमन्यन्ति बालाः ७ — ७ — —, — ७ ७ — — ७ — —
A clear case of extra long before Vā 7.

10d. इमं लोकं हीनतरं वा विशन्ति ७ — — —, — ७ ७ — — ७ — ७.
Same as above.

11d. यन्नामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा — — ७ —, ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
Same as 6c.

12. तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् — — — —, ७ ७ ७ — — ७
— —. Same as 6c.

II¹ 4d पञ्चयां पृथिवीं श्लेष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा — — ७ ७ —, — ७, — ७
— — ७ — —. The opening group — — ७ ७ — was of occasional occurrence in the R̥gveda. It had by this time become quite archaic and was perhaps equated to — — — —. The श्लेष — ७ is an intrusion at the caesura. The poet seems to have spoilt his rhythm in an unsuccessful attempt at joining a formula इत्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा to the stanza.

II² 2e. तदेतत्सत्यं तदमृतं ७, — — —, ७ ७ ७ — Initial extra.

6e. ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानं — — | — — — ७ — — — Initial extras.

III¹ 3d. विरज्जनं परमं साम्यमुपैति ७ — ७ —, ७ ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ An interesting instance of a syllable intruding into the body of a group. This is very near the classical Mattamayūra post-caesural group — — — —, — ७ ७ — — ७ ७ — — which, in effect, is the

Śālinī 7 with the shorts duplicated, making the naturally slow movement slower. It may be regarded as a combination of the group $_ \cup \cup _ _ \cup _ _$ (extra long before Vā 7) and the group in question $\cup \cup _ _ \cup \cup _ _$.

6d. यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं $_ \cup _ _ _ \cup$, $\cup \cup _ \cup _ _$. The scheme being the same as $_ \cup _ _ _$, $\cup \cup \cup _ \cup _ _$ it is better to regard it as this latter type with the caesura thrown forward than to regard the first syllable as an extra.

8d. ततस्तु तं पश्यते निष्कलं ध्यायमानः

$\cup _ \cup _$, $_ \cup _$, $_ \cup _ _ \cup _ _$ This, historically, is Upa 4 + Śā 7 with the first three syllables (a गण) of the Śā 7 duplicated, or ततस्तु $\cup _ \cup$ an extra three syllables prefixed to Upajāti 4 + Śā 7. Now this last combination with a weakening of the caesural pause will be a *tāla* metre, practically repeating the group $_ _ \cup$ four times. The Muṇḍaka verse in question, with a lilt lengthened out stumbles on Daṇḍaka rhythm in fact.

10b. विशुद्धसत्त्वः कामयते यांश्च कामान् $\cup _ \cup _ _$, $_ \cup \cup _ _ \cup _ _$. Extra after caesura.

Svetāśvatara.

III 1a. य एको जालवानीयते ईशनीभिः $\cup _ _ _ \cup _$, $_ \cup _ _ \cup _ _$ Initial extra before the *archaic* opening group $_ _ _ \cup _$. The same archaic group occurs in Muṇḍaka III^a 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्वभूतैर्विभक्ति $_ _ _ \cup _$, $_ \cup _ _ \cup _ _$.

2c. प्रत्यङ्गनास्तिष्ठति संपुकोपान्तकाले

$_ _ \cup _ _ \cup \cup$, $_ \cup _ _ \cup _ _$ Rather interesting. It may be regarded *either* as an *Indravajrā*—with its last three syllables duplicated $_ _ \cup _ _ \cup \cup _ \cup _ _$ | $\cup _ _$ or $_ _ \cup _ _ \cup \cup$ (say $_ _ \cup$ + Upa 4 pre-caesural short) + Śālinī 7. Thus the line is a combination of Upajāti and Śālinī rhythms—and it may be read to yield one or the other rhythm. It is not suggested of course that the poet deliberately made up this complex. He had, like every real poet, the various rhythms 'running in his head' and

sometimes as rhythms would, they fused of their own accord giving birth to such double-faced beauties.

Notes on mixed and other irregular stanzas.

Kaṭha II 14. { अन्यत्र धर्मादन्यत्राधर्माद् — — — — —
Upa 4 + Vai 5?
अन्यत्रास्मात्कृताकृतात् — — — — —, — — — — — Anuṣ-
Is this prose- { tubh.
poetry { अन्यच्च भूताच्च भव्याच्च — — — — —, — — — — — Upa
or { 5 + Sā 4?
यत्तत्पश्यसि तद्दृष्ट्वा — — — — —, — — — — — Anuṣṭubh.

Are a and c to be *restored* to अन्यत्र धर्माच्चाधर्मात् — — — — —
— — — — — and अन्यच्च भूताद्भव्याच्च — — — — —, — — — — — mak-
ing a regular Śloka of the whole ?

III 14. This is the famous stanza beginning उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत
which is a short Anuṣṭubh — — — — —, — — — — — the defect being
made up by the emphatic pause; b is also an Anuṣṭubh, c and
d Triṣṭubhs.

VI 2. 3 Anuṣṭubhs (a and c being hypermeters) capped
by a Triṣṭubh formula.

VI 5. यथादर्शे तथात्मनि । यथा स्वप्ने तथा पितृलोके । यथाप्सु परीव दृशे
तथा गन्धर्वलोके । छायातपयोरिव ब्रह्मलोके From the context this seems
to be a metrical stanza corrupted, the last pāda being left intact.

Proposed Restoration यथादर्शे दृशे तथात्मनि
यथा स्वप्ने पितृलोके तथा च } a normal
गन्धर्वलोके दृशे यथाप्सु } Triṣṭubh
छायातपयोरिव ब्रह्मलोके— } stanza.

Perhaps, it is only prose-poetry.

VI 17. a is Indravajrā, b is Upa 5 + Vā 7, c Anuṣṭubh,
odd 2nd Vipulā or lopped Triṣṭubh, d Dvipadā Virāj, e and f
Anuṣṭubh refrain.

I 17 as in the text reads like prose: एष तेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः
स्वर्ग्यो यमबुध्याथा द्वितीयेन वरेण एतमग्निं तवैव प्रवक्ष्यन्ति जनासस्तृतीयं वरं
नचिकेतो बुध्याश्च.

Now the context as well as the rhythms suggest that it is
corrupt text of an original stanza in metre rather than prose-
poetry. The following *restoration* is *proposed* ;

एष तेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः सुवर्ग्यो
यं द्वितीयेनावृणीथा वरेण
अग्निं तवैतत्प्रवक्ष्यन्ति एतम्
वरं तृतीयं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व

— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —

a regular Upaniṣadic stanza.

जनासः subject of प्रवक्ष्यन्ति is omitted, cf. II 15 c where the same subject is understood.

II 25 consists of 6 Triṣṭubhs; V 8 Hyp-Anu (?) + Vātermī + 4 Anu (Śloka). The first two lines seem to have been originally a Triṣṭubh hemistich.

VI 1 6 Anuṣṭubhs in 3 ardhas.

Muṇḍaka.

I² 2. *Mixed stanza* 2 Anuṣṭubhs + 2 Triṣṭubhs.

3. Looks like prose; divide:

यस्याग्निहोत्रमदर्शमपौरुषेमासं
अचातुर्मासमनाग्रयणमतिथिवर्जितं च
अद्भुतमवैश्वदेवमविधिनाहुतम्
आसप्तमांस्तस्य लोकान्दिनस्ति ।

a. — — — — —. The poet has missed the Vasantatilaka (got from the tribrach medial Indravajrā by duplicating the three syllables—a gaṇa—after the caesura, late) by a hair's breadth, or possibly he has not missed it if one reads हीत्र as हीतर prosodically (analogous to Ind^{ara} and Rud^{ara} of R.V.)

b. — — — — —. A loose verse line. The middle group intrudes into Vai 5 + trb Upa 7 and is possibly to be equated to — — — in the light of later developments.

c. — — — — —. Repetition of the group — — — — —

d. Upa 4 + Śā 7.

This passage is a good example of Upaniṣadic prose-poetry or rhythmic prose which is a testimony to our doctrine of metrical groups.

II². *Mixed stanza*. Divide

आविः सच्चित्तं गुहाचरन्नाम — — — ◡ ◡ —, ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ See note.

महत्पदमत्र एतत्समपितम् ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — — Upa

4 + Śā 7 j

एजत्प्रायश्चित्तिमिषव — — —, ◡ ◡ — ◡ Anuṣṭubh ? or Śā

4 + ◡ 2nd A

यदेतज्ज्ञानथ सदसद्वरेण्यं ◡ — — — ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡, — ◡ — — Resolution.

परं विज्ञानाद्यद्विरिष्टं प्रज्ञानाम् ◡ — — —, — ◡ — — ◡ — —

Vai 5 + Śā 7

a seems to be Vai 5 (with 4th syllable resolved) + Upa 6 opening.

2 Also a *mixed stanza*: *Triṣṭubh hemistich* + *Śloka*.

a. *a* यद्विर्ममद्यदुभ्योऽणु च ◡ — ◡ —, ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡. Probably Upa 4 + catalectic Vātermī with *final defect*. b Vātermī.

6 *Mixed stanza* Śloka + Anuṣṭubh + Triṣṭubh. The irregularities of the pādas in this stanza have been dealt with already.

11 Reads

ब्रह्मैवेदमसृतं पुरस्ताद् ब्रह्म — — — ◡, ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — | — ◡

पश्चाद् ब्रह्म दक्षिणश्चोत्तरेण — — — ◡, — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡

अथश्चोर्ध्वं च प्रसृतं ◡ — — —, — ◡ ◡ —

• ब्रह्मैवेदं दिश्वमिदं वरिष्ठम् — — — —, — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —

The final ब्रह्म in *a* is extra-metrical and *c* is sadly defective. Why not remove it and back it on to *c* where it probably belonged originally? Read अथश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतं च ब्रह्म which is Śā 4 (or Upa 5) + Upa 6.

II¹ 10. *A mixed stanza*. Divide

पुरुष एव इदं दिश्वं कर्म ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — — 1 — ◡ (Anu +)

तपो ब्रह्म परासृतं ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — Anu

एतद्यो वेद विहितं गुहायां — — — —, ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — Vai 5 + Upa 6

सोऽविद्याग्रन्थिं विकिरतीह सोम्य — — — — —, ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡

Vai 5 + trb Upa 7

Śvetāśvatara.

III 10. A mixed stanza. Two Anuṣṭubhs + two Triṣṭubhs (quoted from Br. Ā.)

IV 13. Do. Two Anu + two Triṣṭ (quoted from R. V.)

VI 10. Do.

यस्तूर्वाणाम हव तन्नुभिः — — — — —, — — — — — 10

प्रधानजैः स्वभावतः — — — — — 8

देव एक स्वमादृषोति — — — — — 9

स नो दधातु ब्रह्माव्ययम् — — — — — 9

a catalectic Upajāti with final defect, b Anuṣṭubh, c and d are probably to be *restored to*

देव एक स्वमादृषोति ब्रह्म — — — — —, — — — — — Upajāti

स नो दधातु अव्ययम् — — — — — Anuṣṭubh

corresponding to a and b.

Muṇḍaka II ² 11 (discussed above) shows the same disturbance caused by the misplacing of the same word ब्रह्म.

II 17. The concluding section of II looks like prose and cannot be arranged into anything like a stanza. But it is poetic prose and splits into rhythmic groups as follows :

a यो देवोऽग्नौ योऽप्सु यो विरवं भुवनमाविवेश | b य ओषधीषु
यो वनस्पतिषु | c तस्मै देवाय नमोनमः

a — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — |

b — — — — —, — — — — —

c — — — — —, — — — — —

a is a Triṣṭubh with reduplicated opening.

b Upa 5 + the *Rathoddhatā opening* which is an initially defective opening of the tribrach medial Upajāti.

c Vai 5 (short end) + Upa 4 or if the caesura is overlooked, as it well may, in this Upaniṣad, it is a finally defective Śā 4 + Upa 6.

Miscellaneous Notes.

Kaṭha I 9c नमस्तेऽस्तु ब्रह्मन् स्वस्ति मेऽस्तु. Read सुवस्ति. — — — — —, — — — — —. Opens with the rhythm of the later Bṛhujāṅgaprayāta and ends with the normal Triṣṭubh

cadence. Historically, the line may be referred to an archaic-type $\cup - - \cup -$, $+ - \cup - \cup - -$ with the caesura thrown backward.

II 1b तयो श्रेय आददानस्य साधु भवति. Here भवति is extra metrical and may be dropped.

2c. श्रेयो हि धीरोऽभिप्रेयसे वृणीते

$- - \cup - -$, $\cup - \cup - \cup - -$ Extra short (or long)

after caesura in the old Upajāti with long 6th. The preposition अभि had apparently the privilege of being used in this way. Cf. Muṇḍaka I²c इमां वाचमभि वदन्त्योऽर्चयन्त्यः (already cited).

8a. न नरेणावरेण प्रोक्त एषः $\cup \cup - -$, $\cup - - - \cup - \cup$. An instance of the old reversal of rhythm after caesura. Cf. R. V. X15. 10c. आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः $- - - \cup$, $\cup - - - \cup - -$. This was rare even in the R.V. A possible restoration is एष प्रोक्तो न नरेणावरेण which probably removes the ambiguity of the line (See note 1, p. 347. Hume's 13 Principal Up)

9d. त्वाङ्कुनो भूयान्नचिकेतः प्रष्टा $- - - - -$, $\cup \cup - - - -$ long 9th.

IV 8a. अरण्योर्भिहितो जातवेदाः Scan $\cup \cup \cup -$, $\cup \cup - - \cup - -$ (अरण्यो-)

V 15ab. न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं \cup , $- \cup$, $- - -$ $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup -$.

नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः $-$, $- - \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup - -$.

Both are hypermetrical with initial extras; a is short 2nd B+ Upa 6 j (with faulty caesura) and b is Indravajrā. But it is noticeable that reading सूर्यो and न इमा both these lines start off with perfect Anuṣṭubhs. It is one of those instances of fusion of Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh rhythms.

VI 2c. It is a question where 2c ends. The obvious way is to end it at वद्यतं since what follows is a formula.

महद्भयं वज्रमुद्यतं $\cup - \cup - - \cup - \cup -$. Hyp, Anuṣṭubh.

III 13c. ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत् — ◡, — ◡◡, ◡◡◡◡

This has a mora rhythm. 4 moras to the foot, the first foot defective. It is not suggested however that the poet had it in mind. *Isa 2c* एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति — — ◡◡ — ◡ — — ◡
Resolution.

12c. ततो भूय इव ते तमः ◡ — — ◡◡◡ — ◡ — *Resolution.*

In stanza 8, there is a long 4th pāda. याथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्म्यदधा
क्लृप्त्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः

— — — ◡ —, — ◡◡ —, — ◡ — — ◡ — — The first two groups are archaic Triṣṭubh openings.

Muṇḍaka I¹, 6a यत्तद्, अद्रेश्यमप्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णम्, यत्तद् is extra metrical, and the line is perhaps to be *restored to* अद्रेश्यमप्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णम्. But with the *Muṇḍaka* poet, a restoration is not to be lightly hazarded. He may, for aught one knows, in this instance be indulging in that very rhythm reversal that characterises the *Svāgatā* type of classical metres. By design or otherwise, he has here almost stumbled on the *Svāgatā* rhythm in its characteristic final lisp.

— — ◡ — — ◡◡ — ◡◡ — —
Svāgatā — ◡ — ◡, ◡◡ — ◡◡ — —

I² 2c तदाज्यभागावन्तरेणाहुतीः ◡ — ◡ — —, — ◡ — — ◡ — —

Final defect in Śālinī 7. This is important, as it probably throws light on the derivations of the post-caesural group of the Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The present writer holds that the best way of deriving this metre is as follows :

— — — —, — ◡ — — ◡ — —, — ◡ — — ◡ — —

(Śā 7 duplicated)

— — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — —, — ◡ — — ◡ — —
— — : ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ —, — — ◡ — — ◡ | —

by dropping the final and throwing back of the 2nd caesura and releasing the earlier one. The present *Muṇḍaka* example yields this finally defective Śālinī 7

2d is a very 'short' line. प्रतिपादयेत् भद्रया हुतम्

○○ — ○ — — ○ — ○ — 2 + Śā 7. Has something dropped out?

5c. तन्नयन्येता सूर्यस्य रश्मयः (सूर्यस्य)

— ○ — — —, — ○ — ○ — ○ — . The archaic long sixth.

6b. सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिर्यजमानं वहन्ति

— — ○ — ○ —, ○ ○ — — ○ — ○ .

It is as if the poet regarded a metrical group as in all fours with a pāda and used here the Jagatī form of the opening group Upajāti 5.

II² 5e वाचो विमुञ्चयामृतस्यैष सेतुः Is there *yati-bhaṅga*?

3d लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सोम्य विद्धि is in the same case.

III¹ 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्वभूतैर्विभाति

— — — ○ —, — ○ — — ○ — ○ Archaic opening group.

4d. एष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः — —, — ○ ○ — ○ — — Initial defect of two syllables.

6a. सत्यमेव जयते नानृतं — ○ — ○, ○ ○ — — ○ — Finally defective Vā 7.

6d यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं — ○ — — — ○, ○ ○ — ○ — — is best regarded as short 2nd B + trb Upa 7 with faulty caesura.

III² 6 d मुच्यन्ति as passive is a sacrifice to metre ?

II¹ 3cd खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी is to be read as a continuous hemistich. Otherwise scansion becomes unnecessarily awkward with pause after आपः. Śvetāśvatara IV 21 is a similar case.

Śvetāśvatara.

I 6 d जुष्टस्ततस्तेनामृतत्वमेति Long 6th Upajāti.

9 a ज्ञाज्ञौ द्वावजावीशानीशौ Upa 5 + Śā 4.

II 11a नीहारधूमाकानलानिलानां Long 6th Upajāti.

15b दीपो पमेनेह युक्तः प्रपश्येत् — — ○ — —, ○ — — ○ — — is Upa 4 + Śā 7 with caesura thrown forward.

- III 9b यस्माच्चाणीयो न ज्यायोदित कश्चित् (न short before ज्य) is Śālinī with caesura thrown forward.
- IV 3a ऋचो ऋचरे परमे व्योमन् (वियोमन्).
 ◡ — — ◡ —, ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡. The opening group is archaic.
- 15c यस्मिन्मुक्ता ब्रह्मर्षयो देवताश्च. Vaiśvadevī with caesura thrown backward. (It is possible to explain otherwise all these cases of 'faulty caesura,' however.)
- V2b. विश्वानि रूपाणि योनीश्च सर्वाः — — ◡ — — ◡, — — ◡ — —
 Upa 4 + Śā 7 with caesura after 6. The effect is to produce Upajāti rhythm that changes into Śālinī at the 7th syllable, a pleasing variation.
- 5 c सर्वमेतद्विश्वमघितिष्ठत्येकः Short 2nd. B + trb Upa 7 with caesura thrown forward.
- 6 b तद्ब्रह्मा वेदयते ब्रह्मयोनिं Vā with caesura thrown backward.
- 11c कर्मानुगान्यनुक्रमेण देही — — ◡ —, ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —
 Archaic post-caesural group.
- VI 2b. ज्ञः कालकालो गुण्यी सर्वविद्यः — — ◡ — —, ◡ — — ◡ — —
 Upa 4 + Śā 7 with caesura thrown forward.
- 9c. स कारणं कारणाधिपाधिपः ◡ — ◡ —, — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
 Jagatī of Upa 4 + Upa 6 (long 6th — ◡ — ◡ — —).
- 21a तपः प्रसादाद्देवप्रसादात् Dvipadā-Virāj ?
- 21b च ब्रह्म ह श्वेताश्वतरोऽथ विद्वान् — — ◡ —, — — ◡ ◡ —
 ◡ — — Upa 5 + Upa 7 with caesura thrown backward.
- 22d नापुत्रायाशिव्याय वा पुनः Hyp. Anuṣṭubh with two extra initials.

A Note on Anuṣṭubhs.

Total number of lines in the 4 Upaniṣads = (about) 406.

First Foot (that is first 4 syllables)

	Iamb.	Pyrrhic	Trochee	Spondee
	⏟ — ⏟ —	⏟ — ⏟ ⏟	⏟ ⏟ — ⏟	⏟ ⏟ — —
Odd Pādas	40	15	59	102
Even Pādas	4 ^{1.9} 2	23 ⁷ 11	72 ^{2.7}	115 ^{4.7} 54

NOTE.—Figures in smaller types denote percentages. Very irregular lines have been left out of account.

<i>Vipuṭās.</i>	Na	bha	ma	ra	ta	sa	ja	
No. of	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	
Odd ll.	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	(di-iamb)
(232 + 1/2 Kaṭha	3	9	4	1	2	1	4	
48/2 Īśa	—	—	3	—	3	1	—	
45/2 Muṇḍ	3	2	1	2	—	2	—	
84 + 1/2 Śveta	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	
40/2 Kena	2	2	1	—	2	1	2	
	11	14	9	3	7	5	8	

Percentage 20 which is about double the percentage in normal classical Śloka. (Allowance has been made for repetitions of the same verse—The di-iambbs have been excluded.)

The above figures for the First feet may be compared with the corresponding ones given below for the Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyikā Text, Harvard) and Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, the prosody of which is very orthodox (cantos 1—12—the remaining cantos are mostly spurious).

	Iambic.	Pyrrhic.	Trochaic.	Spondaic.
	P. B. U.	P. B. U.	P. B. U.	P. B. U.
Prior Pāda	15, 6, 19-	12+, 16, 7	28, 28, 27	45, 50, 47
Posterior Pāda	1½, nil	2- 15+ 19, 11-	31+ 31, 33	52, 50, 54-

The table makes clear that the Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh is very near that of the Pañcatantra.

Examples of metrical types. Triṣṭubhs.

- 1a *Upajāti* (4) ⏟ — ⏟ —, — ⏟ ⏟ — ⏟ — ⏟
 बहुन्यशुन्दस्तिहिरण्यमश्वान्; K I 23. b
 आयस्य तद्भावगतेन चेतसा M II² 3c^j

- 1a, Do. with pre-caesural short.
सर्वा दिश ऊर्ध्वमधश्च तिर्यक् Śv V 4a.
- 1b *Upajāti* 5+ *Upa* 7. ◡—◡—, —◡◡—◡—◡
नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृतेनुभूवा M. I² 10c
एको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् K. V 13b.
- 1c *Upa* 4+ *Upa* 6 ◡—◡—, ◡◡—◡—◡ (Doubtful)
विश्वाधिपो रुद्रो महर्षिभिः (Read रुद्र) Ś III 4 b. No
other instance.
- Id *Upajāti* (5) ◡—◡—, ◡◡—◡—◡
अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवं K II 12c
न सन्न चासंस्कृवएव केवलः j Śv IV 18 b.
- 1d, पश्यस्त्रिहैव निहितं गुहायां M III¹ 7d.
- 1e *Upajāti* (6) ◡—◡—◡, ◡—◡—◡
एतद्वितीयेन वृणो वरेण K I 13d.
- 1f *Tribrach medial Upajāti* ◡—◡—, ◡◡◡—◡—◡
त्रिकर्मकृत्तरति जन्ममृत्यू K I 17b. The only sure case.
- 1g *Upa* 5+ *trb Upa* 7 ◡—◡—, ◡◡◡—◡—◡
तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वां K II 23d
धनुर्गृहीत्वोपनिषदं महास्त्रं M II² 3a.
- 2a Śā 4+ *Upa* 7 ◡—, —◡◡—◡—◡
नैतां सूकां वित्तमयीमवाप्तः K II 3c
भारद्वाजोऽङ्गिरसे परावराम् j M I¹ 2d.
- 2a, अणीथान्हातकर्मणुप्रमाणात् K II 8d. Only instance.
- 2b Śā 4+ *Upa* 6 ◡—, ◡◡—◡—◡
यो ब्रह्मायं विदधाति पूर्वम् Śv VI 18a
एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरम् j K I 24a.
- 2b, ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्तात् M II² 11a. Doubtful case, no
other instance.
- 2c Śā 4+ *trb Upa* 7 ◡—, ◡◡◡—◡—◡
न तन्न त्वं, न जरया बिभेति K I 12b.
- 3a *Vai* 5+ *Upa* 7 ◡—, —◡◡—◡—◡
सोमात्पर्वज्यः ओषधयः पृथिव्याम् M II¹ 5b. Only in-
stance.

- 3a₁ सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति X M I² 11c. A doubtful case since there is an alternative reading विरागाः—only instance.
- 3b Vai 5 + Upa 6. $\underline{\quad} _ _ _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नः M III¹ 2a
ये पूर्वं देवा ऋषयश्च तद्विदुः Śv V 6 c j.
- *3b₁ ते मृत्योर्यान्ति विततस्य पाशं K IV 2b.
- 3c Vai 5 + trb Upa 7 $\underline{\quad} _ _ _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
तपःश्रद्धे ये ह्युपवसन्त्यरग्ये M I² 11a.
- 4a Short 2nd A + Upa 7. $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $_ \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति K V 15 d.
- 4b Short 2nd A + Upa 6. $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
एवमात्मात्मनि गृह्यतेऽसौ Śv I 15c. Only instance.
- 4c Short 2nd A + trb Upa 7. $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः K II 23a. Only instance.
- 5a Short 2nd B + Upa 7. No instance.
- 5b Short 2nd B + Upa 6. $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
शान्तसंकल्पः सुमना यथा स्यात् K I 10 a.
- 5b₁ विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखः Śv III 3a.
Doubtful (The phrases are quoted).
- 5c Short 2nd B + trb Upa 7. $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$
स्वस्ति वः पाराय तमसः परस्तात् M II² 6 f. But the caesura is after the 6th syllable.
यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं III¹ 6d is in the same predicament.
- 6Aa Upa 4 + Śā 7. $\underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad} _ _ _$, $_ \underline{\quad} _ _ _ \underline{\quad} _ \underline{\quad}$ गुहाहितं गह्वरेष्टं पुराणम् K I 12b.
अनादिमत्त्वं विभुत्वेन वर्तमे j Śv IV 4 c. But the caesura falls after 5.
- 6Aa₁ श्रीहालकिराहणिर्मत्प्रसृष्टः K I 11b
महत्पदमत्रैतत् समर्पितम् (Read अत्र एतत्) M II² 1b.

* देवैरत्रापि विचिकित्सितं पुरा. K I 21 a. j.

- 6Ab *Upa 5 + Śā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 ज्ञानैर्विभर्ति ज्ञायमानं च परयेत् Śv V 2d.
- 6Ab₁ वाचो विमुञ्चथामृतस्यैष सेतुः M II² 5d
 स्वयं च जीव शरदो यावदिच्छसि j K I 23d
- 6Ba *Upa 4 + Vā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 अन्यं वरं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व K I 21c
- 6Ba₁ स्तोमं महदुरुगायं प्रतिष्ठां K II 11c
- 6Bb *Upa 5 + Va 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 इहैव सर्वे प्रविलीयन्ति कामाः M III² 2 d.
- 6Bb₁ हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा संनिरुद्धय Śv II 8b.
- 6Bc *Upa opening 6 + Vā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन् Only instance.
- 7A *Śālinī* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 मत्वा धीरो हर्षशोकौ जहाति. K I 12d.
- 7A₁ अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः K II 5d.
- 7B *Vāṭormī* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 स नो बुद्ध्या शुभया संयुनक्तु Śv III 4d.
 यस्यानभन्वसति ब्राह्मणो गृहे j K I 8d
- 7B₁ सोमो यत्र पवते यत्र सूर्यः M II¹ 6 d
- 8A *Vai 5 + Śā 7 i.e., Vaiśvadevī* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 अनित्यैर्द्रव्यैः प्राप्तवानस्मि नित्यम् K II 10 d.
- 8B *Vai 5 + Vā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 य एको वर्णो बहुधा शक्तियोगात् Śv IV 1a.
- 8B₁ आनन्दरूपममृतं यद्विभाति M II² 7g.
- 9A *Short 2nd A + Śā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 वीतमर्गैर्गतमो माभि मृत्यो K I 10b.
- 9A₁ तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धिप्रकाशं Śv VI 18c.
- 9B. *Short 2nd A + Vā 7.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
 नायमःत्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः M. III² 4a.

- 10A *Short 2nd B + Śā 7.* ◡ _ _ _ , _ ◡ _ ◡ _ ◡
 दृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा Śv I 6c.
- 10A, पंचमाण्योर्मिं पंचबुद्ध्यादिमूलाम् Śv I 5b.
- 10B. *Short 2nd B + Vā 7.* ◡ _ _ _ , ◡ ◡ _ _ ◡ _ ◡
 यत्र देवानां पतिरेकोऽधिवासः M I² 5 d
- एष वः पुण्यः सुकृतो ब्रह्मलोकः M I² 6d.
- 10 B₁ श्रवणायापि बहुभिर्यो न लभ्यः K. II 7c. Only instance.

A Note on Conjuncts that fail to make position.

It is a law that short vowels are prosodically long when they precede conjunct consonants. But there are exceptions to this rule in pre-classical prosody, the most important of these being the short vowel before the conjunct ऋ. The following is a list of the exceptions in the Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka and Śvetāśvatara:

Before ऋ. K. I 25 f (Doubtful) II 1 d; M I¹ 1d
 2b K. II 9b M. II¹ 8c II²
 5b Śv. VI 2b (two cases—
 the metre of this line is all
 right tho' Hume suggests other-
 wise).

Before ऋ. M. I¹ 2a. K VI 4 d (In both cases the
 word is ब्रह्मा).

Before ऋ. K. II 2d (Doubtful).

Before ऋ. K. II 3b.

Before ऋ (doubtful) Śv VI 8c.

Before ऋ (D) K. II 4 b 96.

Before ऋ (doubtful) Śv III 9c. and three or four other
 pādas with the same word.
 तिष्ठत्येकः.

Before ऋ. K. III 1d.

Before ऋ. K. VI 15b.

Before ऋ. M. III¹ 5c.

Before ऋ. M. III² 10b.

On lines and hemistiches which are not end-paused.

The following instances occurring in the Śvetāśvatara are extremely interesting, considering that, to the very end, the pāda pause, in construction if not in sense and the hemistich (ardha) pause, in construction and sense, were the rule.

- | | | |
|----------|---|---|
| I 11 cd. | तस्याभिध्यानात्तृतीयं देहभेदे
विश्वैश्वर्यं केवल आप्तकामः॥ | } Construe तृतीयं विश्वैश्वर्यम् |
| II 10. | समे शुचौ शर्करावह्निवालुका—
विवर्जिते, शब्दजलाश्रयादिभिः—
मनोनुकूले, न तु चक्षुपीडने
गुहा निवाताश्रयणे प्रयोजयेत् | } Neither pāda nor
hemistich pause. |
| V 7. | गुणान्वयो यः फलकर्मकर्ता,
कृतस्य तस्यैव न चोपभोक्ता—
स विश्वरूपस्त्रिगुणस्त्रिवर्त्मा
प्राणाधिपः संचरति स्वकर्मभिः | } The double negative
split between b and
c is indeed daring. |

It is one of the losses of classical prosody, especially the dramatic, that this freedom of carrying on from pāda to pāda, of construction and sense was not taken advantage of. The only freedom which the later poets allowed themselves in this matter was that of building up mouth-filling compounds two pādas long; but even here the integrity of the ardha was inviolate.

FRAGMENTS OF THE BAIJAVĀPA GRHYA SUTRA.

BHAGAVAD DATTA, M.A.,

Superintendent, Research Dept., D.A.V. College, Lahore.

The Caranavyūha of Śaunaka enumerates Baijavāpa as one of the fifteen divisions ¹ of the Śukla Yajurveda. A teacher Baijavāpa is mentioned in the Mādhyandina recension of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad II. 5. 20, and IV. 5. 26. According to one of these lists he is the 54th teacher in descent from Svayambhu Brahma. Baijavāpi, or a descendant of Baijavāpa, is mentioned in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I. 4. 7. Baijavāpin is also named in a gaṇa of Pāṇini under Sūtra IV. 2. 80.

Bhaṭṭa Kumārila Svāmī (8th Century at the latest) is the earliest author who refers in his Tantravārtika I. 3. 10 to the Kalpa composed by Baijavāpa:—

आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं बैजवापिकृतं तथा ।

Ācārya Pitr̥bhūti ² is the earliest commentator (of the Kalpa of Kātyāyana) who actually cites a sūtra of the Baijavāpa Śrauta thus:—

• एषं च बैजवापेनाचार्येण सूत्रितं—न सावित्रमाह-इति । ³

¹ In some editions of this Caranavyūha, the name Baijavāpa is not to be found. This small work, though so very useful, is not yet critically edited. Even the best German edition has mixed up the text of the three Caranavyūhas, namely, of Vyāsa, Śaunaka and Kātyāyana.

² Leaf 190 b, or Chapter VIII, Sūtra 3, according to the 1st ed. of Chowkhamba.

³ The editor of the commentary of Karka on Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra VIII. 3 quotes the same sūtra of Baijavāpa, in a foot-note of his, apparently taking it from the commentary of Pitr̥bhūti, although without mentioning it.

And again there is a reference to Baijavāpa by Pitṛbhūti.¹
बैजवापेन तु सर्वाङ्गीनां समारोह्यं सूत्रितं

The lower limit of the date of Pitṛbhūti is well-nigh settled. He is quoted and then contradicted by Karka, while commenting on Śrāddha Sūtra, kaṇḍikā 2.

इत्युक्तं पितृभूतिना । तदयुक्तम् ।

Karka quotes him again on Śrauta VIII. 181.

दाशद्येनाविभक्ता इति पितृभूतिः । ...इति हरिस्वामिनः । p. 494.

Now Karka is in turn again quoted by Uvaṭa in his commentary on Yajurveda XXV. 8 :—

होमा गलनाडीति कर्कः

This quotation is actually found in the commentary of Karka on Kātyāyana Śrauta VI. 159, p. 400. Karka says :—

होमो गलकनाडीप्रीहः प्रसिद्धः ।

We know from the colophon of Uvaṭa to his Bhāṣya on the Yajurveda that he flourished in the beginning of the eleventh century. Pitṛbhūti may, therefore, roughly be placed not later than the end of the ninth century.

This date will still have to be pushed a little further back, when the relation of Pitṛbhūti is thoroughly settled with the Śrauta Paddhati of Kātyāyana, which goes by the name of Saṃpradāya. Although I have examined a very old manuscript of this work, yet I could not devote full attention to its contents. Saṃpradāya Paddhati is often quoted by Karka. See for example the following pages of the Chowkhamba edⁿ :

100, 129, 144, 147, 153, 174, 285, 288, 390 ;
 and also on Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra I. 2 and so on.

Now this very Saṃpradāya is quoted by Viśvarūpa in his commentary Bāla Kṛīḍā on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti :

स्मार्तं चाविज्ञातम् । इति सम्प्रदायः p. 20.

शाकेनापि नापरपञ्चमतिक्रमेद् मासि मासि चाशनमिति श्रुतिः, इति च कात्यायनः । तच्चापरपञ्चिकार्थम्-इति सम्प्रदायः । p. 173.

¹ Leaf 337a or Ch. IX, Sūtra 201.

Somehow the late lamented Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī did not notice the fact, that Saṃpradāya is a special work. He perhaps thought that Saṃpradāya may simply mean tradition, and hence he did not include it in his list of the quoted works.

The date of Viśvarūpa is 8th century at the latest. The Saṃpradāya Paddhati will belong then to about the 7th century.

There is still another Śūtra of the Baijavāpa Śrauta which is found quoted in a very recent commentary of Bhaṭṭa Gopī Nāth on Satyūṣāḍha Śrauta Śūtra X. 1, or p. 1006, line 7, of the Ānandāśrama ed.:

वैजवापमते—होत्रादिषु चतुर्विंशत्यसमावेशात्तद्वश-
वर्तिनां पुत्रादीनामाशौचपातेऽन्ये तदीया आगमयितव्या इति ।

In a chart of the 109 recensions of the Yajurveda which I possess, it is stated that the Baijavāpa School flourished in the Nārāyaṇa Sarovara. Nārāyaṇa Sarovara is the modern Kutch Bhuj. I hope that this important Kalpa may still be found, if a search be made in that State.

Quotations of a Smṛti also ascribed to Baijavāpa are to be found scattered in the various law-digests. But this seems to be a spurious work, like so many other Smṛtis.

The Grhya portion of the Baijavāpa Kalpa is extensively quoted in a good many works. The oldest of these is the Hāralatā. The following is a list of works from which the fragments have been collected:—

1. Hāralatā (12th cent.) B. I. ed.
2. Aparārka (12th cent.) Ānandāśrama ed.
3. Smṛti Candrikā (12th cent.) Mysore ed.
4. Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi (13th cent.) B. I. ed.
5. Parāśara Mādhava (14th cent.) Bombay Govt. ed.
6. Madana Pārijāta (15th cent.) B. I. ed.
7. Śuddhi Kaumudi (16th cent.) B. I. ed.
8. Śrāddha Kriyā Kaumudi (16th cent.) B. I. ed.
9. Dāna Kriyā Kaumudi (16th cent.) B. I. ed.

10. Śrāddha Kāṣikā (16th cent.) Gujrati Press Bombay ed.
 11. Saṃskāra Kaustubha. Bombay ed.
 12. Prayoga Pārījāta. Bombay ed.
 13. Vārāha Śoḍaśī (16th cent.) Ms.
 14. Viramītrodaya (16th cent.) Chowkhamba ed.
-

॥ ओ३म् ॥

॥ अथ बज्रवापः ससूत्र-चङ्कलनम् ॥

[गर्भाधानम्]

सा यदि नादधीत सिंहाः श्वेतपुष्पाया उपोष्य मूलमुत्खाय
चतुर्ध्यां स्नातायां निशि प्राजापत्यं स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा
प्राजापतये हुत्वा पश्चादग्नेर्वीरशयने प्राचीमुत्तानां संवेश्य
चत्वाभ्यामोषधीमुदपेषं पिष्ट्वा दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायां नस्तः
कुर्यात् । इयमोषधी प्रायमाणा इति १ ।

[पुंसवनम्]

मासि द्वितीये तृतीये वा पुरा स्पन्दतः १ ।

[पुंसवनानवलोभनम्]

अथ पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति । आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे यदहः पुंसा नक्षत्रेण
चन्द्रमा युज्यते १ ।

१. वीरमित्रोदय—संस्कारप्रकाश पृ० १६६ ।

२. स्मृ० चन्द्रिका—सं० काण्ड पृ० ४३ ।

पुराशरमाधव—Vol. 1. p. II. पृ० २० । स्पन्दते—इति पाठः ।

वीरमित्रोदय—सं० प्र० पृ० १६७ ।

३. अपरार्क पृ० २५ ।

सीमन्तोन्नयने बज्रवापगृह्यम्—

आपूर्यमाणपक्षे यदा पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युक्तः स्यात् ।

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, कालनिर्णयः पृ० ७३३ ।

अथ पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति मासि द्वितीये तृतीये वा पुरा स्पन्दत इति

पूर्यमाणपक्षे यदा पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युक्तः स्यात् ।

वीरमित्रोदय—सं० प्र० पृ०, १६६, १७१ ।

[सीमन्तोन्नयनम्]

अथ सीमन्तोन्नयनं मासि चतुर्थे पञ्चमे षष्ठे वा ऽपि ५ ।

[जातकर्म]

जातस्य कुमारस्याच्छिन्नायां नाड्यां हिरण्यमिश्राभिरद्भिराचामयेक्षानामम्बै-
हिरण्येन दधिमधुघृतं प्रशयति भूस्त्वयि दधामि ५ ।

[नामकरणम्]

पिता नाम करोत्येकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा ।

षोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तम् ५ ।

कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्वितम् ७ ।

४. स्मृ० चं० सं० काण्ड, पृ० ४४ ।

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि-कालनिर्णय पृ० ७३४ ।

अत्र 'ऽपि' पाठो नास्ति ।

प्रयोगपारिजात पृ० ११६ क । सीमन्तोन्नयनं चतुर्थे पञ्चमे षष्ठेऽष्टमे
वापि इति

वीरमित्रोदय—सं० प्र०, पृ० १७३ ।

'अथ' 'मासि' इति पदद्वयं नास्ति ।

संस्कारकौस्तुभ, पत्र ५३ क

'मासि' नास्ति ।

पराशरमाधव—'मासि' नास्ति ।

५. वीर० सं० प्र० पृ०, १६३ ।

६. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका—संस्कारकाण्ड पृ० ५४ ।

अपरार्क पृ० २७ ।

मदनपारिजात, पृ० ३५७ ।

चतुरक्षरं परिमितञ्चेति । एतावत्पर्यन्तम् ।

वीरमित्रोदय—संस्कारप्रकाश—पृ० २४१ ।

“०मपरिमिताक्षरं वा” । एतावत्पर्यन्तमेवास्ति ।

वाराहबोडशी

०त्र्यक्षरं वा चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं चेति ।

एतावत्पर्यन्तमेव ।

पराशरमाधव, Vol. I, p. II, पृ० २५

७. अपरार्क पृ० २७ ।

त्र्यक्षरमीकारान्तं क्षिया इति ८ ।

[चूडाकरणम्]

तृतीये वर्षे चूडाकरणम् ९ ।

उदगयने आपूर्य्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे चूडाकरणम् १० ।

शूद्रस्यापि निषेक-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकर्म-नामकरण-अन्नप्राशन-चौला-
न्यमन्त्रकाणि यथा कालमुपदिष्टानि ११ । इति ।

[उपनयनम्]

मेखलां त्रिगुणां प्रसलविस्त्रां प्रदक्षिणं त्रिः परिहरन्ति १२ । पुराऽस्तमयात्
प्रागुदीचीं दिशं गत्वा ऽहिंसन्नरण्यात् समिधमाहरेत् । शुष्का ब्रह्मवर्चस्कामः । आ-
र्द्रास्तेजस्कामः । उभयीरुभयकामः १३ ।

[गृहप्रवेशः]

शमीमालभन्ते शमी पापं शमयत्विति । अशमानमालभन्ते ऽशमेव स्थिरो भूयासे
अग्निर्नः शर्म यच्छ्रुत्विति । ह्योगित्यन्तरा गामजघ्नोपपृशन्तः क्रीत्वा लब्ध्वा वा
गृहं प्राप्य एकाक्षमलवणमेकां रात्रिं भुञ्जीरन् त्रिरात्रञ्च कर्मोपरमणम् १४ ।

८. वीरमित्रोदय-संस्कारप्रकाश पृ० २४४

अपरार्क पृ० २७ ।

“त्र्यक्षरम्” नास्ति ।

“क्षिया इति” इत्यस्य स्थाने “क्षियै” इत्येवम् ।

९ स्मृति-चन्द्रिका-संस्कारकाण्ड पृ० ५८ ।

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि-कालनिर्णय पृ० ७४२ ।

त्रिवर्षे—

पराशरमाधव, पृ० २८ ।

१० चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि-कालनिर्णय पृ० ७४३ ।

११ वीरमित्रोदय-संस्कारप्रकाश पृ० १३३, ३१८ ।

१२ वीरमित्रोदय-संस्कारप्रकाश पृ० ४३२ ।

१३ स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-संस्कारकाण्ड पृ० ८६ ।

अपरार्क पृ० ५१ ।

समिध आहरेत् । आर्द्रा अन्नाद्यकाम उभयी० ।

पराशरमाधवः पृ० ३६ ।

वीरमित्रोदय-संस्कार-प्रकाश पृ० ४४८ ।

“ब्रह्मवर्चस्कामः” इत्यनन्तरम् आर्द्रामन्नाद्यकामः शुष्कां ब्रह्मवर्चस्काम
उभयासुभयकामः ।

१४. हारलता पृ० १५५ ।

शुद्धिकौमुदी पृ० १३६ ।—भूयासमिति । अग्निर्नः.....०त्वित्यग्निम् ।

ह्यो० गामजघ्नोपपृशेत् । इति पाठः ।

[आश्रम]

अभिशासपतितभृगुधनान् स्त्रीरभिचारिणीर्नातिदिशेत् १५ । उदकान्तं गत्वा सकृदुन्मृज्याप्सु सव्यस्य पाणोः कनिष्ठिकया ऽवलिखन्ति कनिष्ठं पापमिति । तस्मिन्नेकमुदकाञ्जलिं प्रेताय दद्युरमुष्मै स्वधा १६ । इति ।

उशान्तस्त्वेत्यनया यजमानस्य पितरं पितामहं प्रपितामहं नामभिरावाह्यायन्तु न इति जपित्वा पात्राण्युद्दिशति । पितरेतत्तेऽर्घ्यं पितामहेतत्तेऽर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेतत्तेऽर्घ्यं मित्यावाहनार्घ्यादौ प्रत्येकमेव पित्रादीन् निर्दिशति १७ । इति ।

ब्राह्मणाञ्जलिषु पात्राणि निनयेत् । इति ।

प्राचीनावीतपात्राण्यपूर्णाणि सदर्भाणि सतिलानि पश्चादग्नेर्दग्भेषु निधाय १८ इति ।

तिष्ठन् पितृनावाहयिष्यामि १९ । इति ।

पितृभ्योऽक्षय्यमस्त्विति शेषं दर्भेष्ववनेजयति २० । इति ।

आज्यमासिच्योद्वास्य यज्ञोपवीत्यन्वाहार्यपचने मेक्षणेन द्वे आहुती जुहोत्यग्नये इति पूर्वा सोमायेत्युत्तराम् २१ । इति ।

यज्ञोपवीत्यग्नौ करवाणीत्यामन्त्र्याग्नौ करणं कुर्यात् २२ । इति ।

१५. अपरार्कं पृ० ५३३ ।

१६. अपरार्कं पृ० ८७४ ।

१७. चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि—आद्धकल्प-पृ० ८८ । बौ०

” ” ” पृ० १२६१ । बौ० गृ०

“पात्राण्यनुदिशति” इत्येवं पाठः । एतावत् पर्यन्तमेव

” ” ” पृ० १२६१ ।

“पात्राण्यनुदिशति” इत्यारभ्य “प्रपिता...र्घ्यम्” इति यावत् ।

अग्रे ब्राह्मणं इत्येवम् ।

आद्धक्रियाकौमुदी—पृ० ६३. ‘पितरंतत्ते’ इत्यारभ्य...अर्घ्यमित्यनुदिशति । इत्येतम् पर्यन्तम् ।

१८. चतु० आद्ध० क० पृ० ११२१ । बौ० गृ०

” ” ” पृ० १२७८ । ” ” ” ०वीती ०प्यप्यपूर्णां ०दग्ने० दर्भेषु निधाययेत्

१९. ” ” ” पृ० १२५८ । ” ”

२०. चतु० आद्ध० पृ० १२६६ ।

२१. चतु० आद्धकल्प० पृ० १३२३ ।

” ” ” पृ० १३५६ ।

“अन्वाहार्यपचने” इत्येतस्मात्कारभ्य ।

२२. चतु० आद्धकल्प पृ० १३२५ । बौ० गृ०

आद्धक्रियाकौमुदी पृ० १५२ । बौ० गृ० । ०पवीतीत्य० । ‘कुर्यात्’ नास्ति

कृष्णपक्षे श्राद्धं कुर्वीत अन्नं सुसंस्कृत्य २३ ।
 चत्वार्युदकपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति २४ ।
 तत्रैकं प्रेताय त्रीणि पितृभ्यः २५ ।
 ऊर्ध्वं दशम्या अपरेद्युस्तच्छ्राद्धम् २६ । इति ।

[विनायकपूजा]

अथ विनायकाः । चत्वारः खलु विनायका भवन्ति । मितश्च संमितश्च शाल-
 कटङ्कुश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चेति । एतैर्विनायकैरुपसृष्टलक्षणाब्राह्मणाः स्वाध्यायवन्तो-
 ऽप्याचार्यत्वं न लभन्ते । कुमारो राजपुत्रो राजलक्षणसंपन्ना अपि राज्यं न लभन्ते ।
 कुमार्योऽपि लक्षणवत्योऽपि भर्तृञ्जलभन्ते । स्त्रीयामाचारवतीनामप्यपत्यानि
 भ्रियन्ते । विनायकोपसृष्टलक्षणं खलु भवति स्वप्ने सर्पान् पश्यति । अत्य-
 न्तमपोऽवगाहते । अन्तरिक्षं क्रामति पांसुकर्दमे चावसीदति । पृष्ठतो मां
 कश्चिद्वावतीति मन्यते । उष्ट्रान् गर्दभान्शुनो दिवा कीर्तिमन्यांश्चाप्रयतान् पश्यति ।
 करणे मूढमात्मानं मलिनान्तरमन्यांश्च प्रयतान् पश्यति २७ ।

चतुर्भ्यः प्रस्वयमेभ्यश्चतुरः कुम्भानाहत्य तेषु सर्वौषधीः सर्वगन्धान् हिरण्यं
 ब्रीहियवौ गुग्गुलं मृदमाखूत्कराम् । २८

[इति बैजवापगृह्यसूत्रसङ्कलनं समाप्तम्]

२३. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी—पृ० ७ ।

२४. श्राद्धकाशिका पृ० ५०२ ।

२५. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी—पृ० ४१८

श्राद्धकाशिका—पृ० ५०२

२६. शुद्धिकौमुदी पृ० ७४ ।

दानक्रियाकौमुदी पृ० २६ ।

२७. अपराकं पृ० ५६३ ।

२८. ,, पृ० ५६५ ।

(5)

“DETERMINATION OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX IN
THE CONSTELLATIONS PUNARVASU, PUṢYA ,
AŚLEṢĀ, ETC., OR FURTHER RESEARCHES
INTO THE ANTIQUITY
OF THE VEDAS.

V. H. VADER, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S., etc.
(*Chikodi.*)

“With the Phālgunī full moon at the winter solstice, the vernal equinox was in Mṛgaśīras; so with Citrā full moon at the solstice, the vernal equinox would be in Punarvasu.” (Tilak—“The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas,” p. 200.)

1. In his book of everlasting fame, the “Arctic Home in the Vedas,” Tilak says on p. 420 :

“The Vedic Literature contains traces of Mṛgaśīras or the Orion being once the first of the Nakṣatras and the hymns of the Rigveda or at least many of them which are undoubtedly older than the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, contain references to this period, *i.e.*, 4500 B.C. approximately. It is also pointed out that there are faint traces of the same equinox being once in the constellation Punarvasu presided over by Aditi which phenomenon occurred about 6000 B.C.”

2. In this paper I propose to make further researches into the antiquity as pointed out by the above remarks of the Vedic Savant and try in my humble way to throw more light upon this question which is not yet taken up for solution.

3. That the two stars of Punarvasu received the appellation Yamakau or Yama and Yamī is a well-known fact first taken notice of by Tilak before going into further details. He also says: “It appears to me, therefore, that the oldest Vedic Calendar

like the oldest hymn was sacrificial and that the sacrifice or the year once commenced with Aditi at the Vernal Equinox in or near Punarvasu. The phases of the moon, the seasons and the ayanas further guided the ancient Aryans in measuring time for sacrificial purposes. The Asterism of Abhijit marked the approach of Viṣuvān or the central day while Punarvasu which soon after came to be called Yamakau, perhaps Yama and Yamī, indicated the beginning of the year. We may roughly assign 6000—4000 B.C. as the limits of the Aditi or the Pre-Orion Period." (Vide Tilak—"Arctic Home in the Vedas," pp. 205-206, and also vide Tilak—"Orion" p. 103.)

4. It is quite clear that Abhijit is the 14th constellation from Punarvasu and if the equinoctial year began with Punarvasu, naturally the Nakshatra 14th from it would mark the approach of Viṣuvān or the central day.

5. First of all we shall give a short summary of the famous myth about the birth of Yama and Yamī and the Aświns and then discuss its bearing on the astronomical phenomena which it tries to allegorize.

6. In the words of Dr. Muir, the translator of the passage of the Bṛhaddevatā by Śaunakācārya on the birth of the Aświns, the myth may be narrated as follows:—

Twastā had twin children, a son named Trisira and a daughter named Saranyu. He gave Saranyu in marriage to Vivaswān to whom she bore Yama and Yamī, who were also twins. Saranyu created a female like herself without her husband's knowledge and making over the twins in her charge took the form of a mare and departed. Vivaswān in ignorance, begot on the female substituted a son named Manu, a royal sage who resembled his father in glory. But when Vivaswān discovered that the real Saranyu had already abandoned him and gone away, he followed her quickly, himself taking the shape of a horse of the same species as that of Saranyu. Recognising him in that form Saranyu approached him with a desire of sexual connection

which he gratified. In their haste his seed fell to the ground and she being desirous of offspring smelled it. But from this act sprang the two Kumāras Nāsatya and Dasra who are lauded as Aśvinau, sprung from horse and mare. (Vide Brhaddevatā, VI, 162, 163 to VII, 7; also Sāyana on R̥gveda, X, 17, 12.)

The same story is told by Yāskācārya in his Nirukta, XII, 10 and 11.

The story of the marriage of Saranyu is succinctly given in R. V., X, 17-1, 2.

7. Prof. Max Müller follows Yāska and says regarding this myth as follows:—

“ Not only Indra has the Harits (Gr. Charites) as his steeds but the morning herself as the bride of the sun is spoken of as a horse and we have a hymn addressed to the sun-horse wherein it is said ‘ Yama brought the horse, Trita harnessed, Indra first sat on him and the Gandharva took hold of his rein.’ ”¹

Regarding the sun-horse Professor Max Müller cites the explanation of Yāska quoted above.²

8. These Aświns are the Dioskouroi of the Greek Mythology. About the functions of the Aświns Sir G. W. Cox says: “ These Aświns have been made the subject of a perhaps unnecessarily lengthened controversy. Their features are not definite. Their relations to each other and to their worshippers are placed in a clearer light by reference to Greek Mythical phraseology.”³

Speaking of these beings the commentator of Yāska says that their sphere is in heaven and remarks that some regard them as heaven and earth, as day and night, as sun and moon,

¹ Max Müller's Lectures on Language, II Series, p. 515.

² Max Müller's Lectures on Language, II Series, p. 482.

³ Sir G. W. Cox—Mythology of the Aryan Nations, p. 206 (new ed.).

While they anticipating the method of Euhemerus affirmed that they were two deified kings. Says Nirukta :—

अश्वैः अश्विनौ इति श्रौर्णवाभः ¹ ।

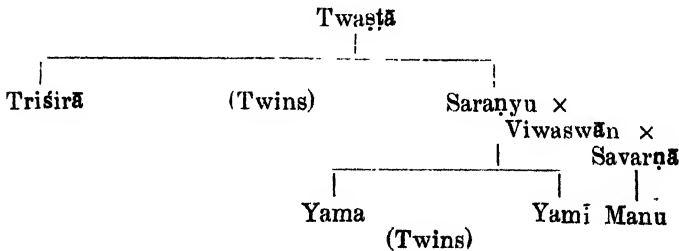
The Ācārya Aurnawābha says that they were called Aświnau on account of their horses. But when he adds in the commentary on Nirukta, XII, 1—9

तयोः कालः उर्ध्वमर्धरात्रात् प्रकाशीभावस्यानुविष्टम् ।

अनुत्तमो भागो हि मय्यमः ज्योतिर्भाग आदित्यः ।

i.e., that their time is after mid-night while the break of day is yet delayed, all room for doubt seems to be taken away.² Sir G. W. Cox has also remarked the twins are born when night leaves her sister, the dawn, when the dark one gives way to the bright. After them comes Uṣas, the Greek Eos, who is followed by Sūryā or sister of Sūrya the sun, then by Vṛṣākāpāyī, then by Saranyu and lastly by Savitar. They are (इहेह जाते) born here and there either as appearing in the East and in the West or as springing upon the earth, and in the air and this epithet may explain the alternate manifestations of the Dioskouroi who stand up to Helen in the same relation which the Aświns bear to Saranyu or Uṣas.

9. Regarding the parentage of the Aświns the poet must say that they are born of Prajāpati or Twaṣṭā, names for the Creator. The genealogy universally accepted may be drawn up as follows:



¹ Yāska's Nirukta (XII, 1)- Venkateśvara Edition, p. 819.

² Cox—Mythology of the Aryan Nations, pp. 206-207.

Saranyu in the form of a mare gave birth to Nāsatya and Dasra from Vivasvān in the form of a horse. Their life is regarded mysterious and their mother must be the directions known in the Vedic times by the terms पश्चात्तात् and पुरस्तात् or in one word इहेह in the Polar regions. These directions are wrongly called East and West in the above explanation by Cox. In R. V. we have a verse

सविता पश्चात्तात् सविता पुरस्तात्

सवितोत्तरात्तात् सविताधरात्तात् ।

+ + + + +

सविता नो रासतां दीर्घमायुः ।

“ They (Aświns) are adored at morning and evening tide as Rudrau, the terrible lords of wealth who are thus identified or connected with another deity who became of supreme importance in later Hindu mythology.”¹ The Aświns are said to possess the power of changing their shape at will and in this they bear comparison with Courètes and Telchines and with Proteus and other Fish-gods of the Greek Mythology.

Rigveda, III, 97, describes the achievements of the twin pair who adopt various forms, one bright and the other black. “ In the Norse tale of the Dapplegrim we have the Aświns in their original form as horses ; for when the lad who having won on his wonderful steed the victories of Indra, Heracles and Bellerophon, is told that he must produce its match or die ; he complains to the horse that ‘ the task is not easy for your match is not to be found in the wide world.’ The steed replies ‘ that he has a match although it is hard to get at him for he abides in Hell.’ ”²

10. The learned Prof. Max Müller tried to explain many Vedic myths on the theory that they are all Dawn stories in different garbs. Thus the story of Saranyu who had

¹ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Part IV, Ch. III, Section I, p. 265.

² Sir G. W. Cox—Mythology of the Aryan Nations, pp. 207-208.

twins from Vivasvat running off from him in the form of a mare and his following her in the form of a horse is nothing but a story of the Dawn disappearing at the approaching of the sun and producing the pair of Day and Night. But in the opinion of Tilak, Prof. Max Müller has failed to grasp the real import of the legends of the Aświns by disregarding the statements which distinctly speak of the protégés of the Aświns as dwelling or labouring in darkness.¹

11. Prof. Rhys is however more cautious than Max Müller in his explanation and is anxious to account for all the incidents in the legends if they possibly accounted for any theory. The result is that he has gradually been led to or, we might even say, forced to adopt the theory of the ancient Arctic Home of the Aryan people inasmuch as all the different incidents in the legends under consideration can be accounted for only by this theory.²

12. Prof. Kunte remarks³ "The speculations of European Scholars, whether Max Müller or Goldstücker, as to the myth of the Aświns, have not satisfied us." He further adds that the Dawn Theory of Max Müller does not explain every element of the myth of the Aświns. In his opinion (Kunte) the Storm Theory propounded by Dr. Kuhn deserves attention as it explains all the elements on one principle and by connecting them with one cosmical phenomenon.

13. The elements which require explanation in this myth are :—

- (i) Relation of Trisīrā and Saranyu.
- (ii) Marriage of Saranyu with Vivasvat.
- (iii) Identification of Trisīrā.
- (iv) The twin children of Saranyu
- (v) and their identification.

¹ Tilak—Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 411.

² Tilak, *ibid.*, p. 411.

³ Prof. M. M. Kunte—Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization (1880), p. 80.

- (vi) Saranyu substituted an unknown hūt Savarṇā female in her place.
- (vii) Manu was born to her from Vivasvat ; the identification of Manu and his mother.
- (viii) Saranyu becoming a mare and Vivasvat a horse of the same species and following her.
- (ix) Their union and the birth of Nāsatya and Dasra.

14. Prof. Kunte has undoubtedly offered to explain easily all these elements but his explanation does not give a clear and well-defined image of the cosmical phenomena as he was heavily handicapped for want of correct and the most plausible theory. The Arctic Home Theory was not then even in its embryo. It also appears that the Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas, a work of immortal fame, had not then even seen the light of the world. His easy explanation of the cosmical phenomena is thus a blurred and an unintelligible image. For example, he says, that Twasṭā who shaped all forms, made Saranyu the ideal night or personal night and Vivasvān, the ideal or personal day: Vivasvān being a generic name for all that shines. The idea of the marriage of Night and Day is natural because they follow one another, *i.e.*, they cannot live without each other.

15. The night is also observed to be attended by a star called Trisīrā in the Brhaddevatā of Śaunakācārya. This explanation is faulty regarding the point that night cannot live without the day.

16. The phenomenon of the Polar regions is not always similar to the above description.

The special features of that phenomenon are :—

(1) One long continuous night occurring at the time of the winter solstice and lasting for a period of greater than 24 hours and less than 6 months according to the latitude of the place.

(2) One long continuous day to match occurring at the time of the summer solstice.

(3) A succession of ordinary days and nights during the rest of the year: a day and night together never exceeding 24 hours.

17. Now that Saranyu a twin sister of Trīśirā were both shaped by Twaṣṭā the great divine architect. Trīśirā, a star or rather a constellation was observed attending Saranyu.

About this Trīśirā we find the following information in the Brhaddevatā of Śaunakācārya in Ch. VI, ver. 147—153. Trīśirā along with Indra is said to be the Deity of R. V., X, 1-8.

18. In the same work we read in Ch. VI, 149, that Trīśirā who could assume all forms being the son of a sister of the Asuras, became the domestic priest of the gods with a desire to render service to the former or a desire for the destruction of the gods. Br. Devatā, VI, 150, says "Now Indra, becoming aware that the seer Trīśirā had been sent by the Asuras among the gods, with his bolt quickly struck off those three heads of his." (Vide also R. V., X, 8-9.) Trīśirā was killed by Trita Āptya urged by Indra (Vide R. V., X, 8-8), and the cows were then released. In the A. V. also we have the same story in 1. 5. The hymn is ascribed to Trīśirā and by some to Sindhudwīpa, son of Ambarīṣa. The stanzas R. V., X, 9-1, 2, 3, 5, form a hymn of the Sāma Veda giving the same story. The first three verses of the hymn form a part of the daily morning ablutions.¹

19. We shall now discuss the question about the identification between Avestic Azi Dahāk and the Vedic Ahi and also whether Trīśirā can be in any way connected with them.

Both the words Azi Dahāk and Vedic Ahi mean a serpent: the one is only a phonetic variation of the other. Their identity is therefore a matter of certainty. The most powerful of the serpents in the Veda is Vṛtra as Azi Dahāk is of the Avestā.

¹Colebrooke's Essays on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus.

20. The Vṛtra legend can be well explained by identifying Vṛtra with the constellation Hydra. From that legend we can deduce the following propositions:—

- (i) Vṛtra represents the night throughout the circum-polar regions.
- (ii) He is most powerful during the Long continuous night of the Polar Regions.
- (iii) He is killed at the beginning of the Long continuous day.

21. The legend of the Azi Dahāk also entirely represents the two distinctive aspects of the night of the Polar regions; viz.: (a) It is sometimes like the night of the temperate and torrid zones, and (b) sometimes continuous and lasting for days and months together according to the latitude of the place. The legend is narrated in Ābān Yašt, V, 33—35.

22. Let us now proceed to compare the two legends of Azi Dahāk and Demon Triśirā.

- (i) Azi Dahāk and the Vedic Demon Triśirā are both three-headed; the three heads represent the three months of continuous night; both are six-eyed.

23. (ii) Azi Dahāk is killed by Thraetaona Āthwya and Triśirā is killed by Trita Āptya. Scholars agree in the identification of Thraetaona Āthwya with Trita Āptya and therefore no doubt remains as to the identity of Azi Dahāk with Triśirā.

- (iii) Thraetaona is an heir of the valiant Āthwya clan and so is Trita a scion of the Āptya clan.

24. Trita Āptya is said to be the chief of the Deities named Āptya in A. V., XX, 107—9.

- (iv) The "four-cornered Varena" wherein Thr. Āthwya offers up a sacrifice to the Ardvi Sūra Anāhita (The Saraswatī of the Vedas bears the most striking resemblance with the Ardvi Sūra Anāhita of the Ābān Yašt), the Goddess of Light is equivalent to the cavern (𐬔𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀) in which Trita¹ was carefully tended in the bosom of the paternal heaven and earth.
- (v) The two wives of Azi Dahāk are the two daughters of Yima ravished by Azi Dahāk. Thraetaona delivered them and married them.²

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25. Deprived of the allegorical garb the above description means that twilight first lives with Darkness but is ultimately married to the sun.

- (vi) The final destruction of the three-headed demon is not ascribed in the Avesta to Thraetaona or in the Veda to Trita but the Iranian legend mentions that the demon is vanquished by Thraetaona and bound to a mountain where it remains till let loose and killed by Keresāspa the solar hero and in the Vedic story similarly Triśirā is finally destroyed by Indra the Solar deity.

This clearly explains the second aspect of the demon's character, viz., the aspect of its representing the phenomenon of ordinary nights.

- (vii) Both the legends regarding the final destruction of the three-headed demon tally regarding the period of the Arctic year and say that it was not till the beginning of the long continuous day that Azi or Vṛtra was finally destroyed.

¹ Tilak—Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 334.

² Darmesteter, Vol. XXIII, S.B.E.S., page 62, foot-note.

26. "Trīśīrā was originally called," says Kunte, "Tīṣya which was subsequently identified with Puṣya (which Nakṣatra was particularly favourable to rain). Colebrooke, in his essay on 'Hindu Astronomy' says, 'Puṣya the 8th Asterism is described as an arrow and consists of three stars the chief of which being also the middlemost.'"¹ Prof. Kunte also adds that "The name Trīśīrā explains that the three stars were considered to form the constellation."

27. Thus Saranyu the personal night was properly considered a sister (twin) of the star Trīśīrā, Yama and Yamī being the two stars in the constellation Punarvasu.

28. Before the time of Pāṇini the Punarvasu were only two. Though the number of stars in the constellation was afterwards increased, yet the constellation being called by the same name, the dual form Punarvasu could not be changed. It is already stated that the Punarvasu were sometimes called Yamakau or the little Yama and Yamī, for Yamakau is the diminutive form of Yamau and according to the rule of Ekaśeṣa Dwandwa as laid down by Pāṇini Yamau would include Yama and Yamī. Yama and Yamī then, from the light which Zendāvesta sheds on the subject, are the two stars which from their appearance in the evening when the day Vivaswān unites with the night Saranyu were considered to be her children. Saranyu became a mare, i.e., short and fast.²

29. In the ancient Greek mythology we read of a three-headed fire-vomiting Greek Giant named Cacus. He had carried off Hercules' cows and hid them in a cave, dragging them backwards in order that the footmarks may not be traced. Hercules killed the Giant and rescued the cows imprisoned by the demon.

30. It will not be out of place here to give in the words of Tilak his own views about the Greek Legend of Cacus. He says on page 200 of his "Arctic Home in the

¹ Kunte—Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization, p. 60.

² Kunte—Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization, pp. 60-61.

"Vedas" as follows:—"The new light thrown by the Arctic Home Theory on the ancient Vedic traditions Vedic as well as Roman has enabled us to explain satisfactorily the real import of the Gavām-Ayanam of 10 months and the old Roman year of 10 months. These two are the relics of the period when the ancestors of both these races lived in the region which was their common home. Thus December is the 10th month while January and February are the two new months added to the oldest calendar when the Arctic regions had to be abandoned for the southern climes where the daily sunrise was the order of the Day. There is no difficulty in the older state of things of explaining how the remaining days were disposed of. It was a period of long night when Indra fought with the demon of Darkness, to regain the cows imprisoned by the latter and Hercules killed the Giant Cacus, a *three-headed fire-vomiting monster*, who had carried off Hercules' cows and hid them in a cave dragging them backwards in order that the footmarks might not be traced."

31. The time of fight was the period of long night of the Arctic Regions, a time when Indra fought with Vala to regain the cows imprisoned by the latter.¹ We can only remark that this story has a great resemblance to the myths of Trīśirā and Azi Dahāk but we are at a loss to connect the word Cacus with either of the two other names of the Demon.

32. Now let us discuss the view of Tilak about the meaning and identification of Trīśirā. In the Orion, p. 118, Tilak remarks as follows:—

"If Vṛtra's head is the same as Mṛgaśīrṣa as explained in the beginning of this chapter, then the stars in the belt of the Orion which form the top of Mṛgaśīrṣa might have easily suggested the idea of a three-headed monster. In R.V., X, 99-6, Indra is said to have killed a three-headed and six-eyed monster."

33. Namuchi *alias* Vṛtra was killed in the language of seasons after Śīśira or in other words at the gate of

¹ Ibid., p. 200.

Dewayāna as described in R. V., I, 53-7 and R. V., X, 73-7 and V. S., X, 14, read together for the end of Śisīra is the end of Piṭṛyāna. Further on in the same chapter Tilak proposes to derive Tiṣṭrya from Tristri which in Sanskrit means three stars and Tri-stri may be easily corrupted into Tistri or Tister. Tister is the same as Kerberos or Triśiras and the fact that Tiṣṭrya is called Tir or arrow in modern Persian further confirms this derivation; for the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III, 33, calls it "the three-starred or tripartite arrow of Rudra in the sky."

34. This identification of Tiṣṭrya with Triśiras is a point which has baffled the attempts of all Western and Eastern Oriental scholars including that of Tilak of revered memory.

35. We have pointed above that the identity between the Avestic Azi Dahāk and the Vedic Triṣirā is a matter of certainty. That Triśirā is a son of Twaṣṭā. Thus if we accept the view of Tilak, Tiṣṭrya and Triśirā are identical with Azi Dahāk. But we humbly beg to differ from the great authority and beg to submit that these three names are given to the constellation Puṣya and not to the three stars forming the tripartite arrow of Rudra, in the belt of Orion.

36. Having so far discussed the several myths about Yama and Yamī and Triśirā and similar legends current among the other Aryan nations of antiquity, we shall now proceed to interpret some of the Vedic texts which clearly throw light on the subject.

First let us try to make out the real meaning of the statement, viz., *Aditi is the mother of the Ādityas*; or that Ādityas were born of Aditi.¹

That Ādityas mean sun-gods is admitted without objection. Aditi is the presiding deity of the Punarvasu Nakṣatra. Now from Aditi the sun-gods were born means that from Punarvasu the sun began its yearly course and also that Punarvasu must have separated the Dewayāna from the Piṭṛyāna.

¹ R. V., X, 72-5, and Shata Br., III, 1, 3, 2.

37. It is a well-known fact that in the ancient Vedic times the year was Equinoctial and the sacrifices commenced from the Vernal Equinox. "In the sacrificial literature there are some indications about the oldest position of Punarvasu. In Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I, 7, and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, VI, 1-5-6, it is stated that Aditi the presiding deity of Punarvasu was blessed with a boon that all sacrifices must commence and end with her." The story is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in the following words :—

"The sacrifice or mystical personage went away from the gods. The gods were then unable to perform any further ceremonies and did not know where it had gone to ; and it was Aditi that helped them in this state to find out the proper commencement of the sacrifice."

38. The sacrifice and the year were treated as synonymous in old days and we may therefore naturally expect to find that the beginning of the one was also the beginning of the other. For instance, in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 1-2-1, it is distinctly stated that one should consecrate the sacred fire when the sun comes in Kṛttikāś. The Kṛttikāś are the mouth of the Nakṣatras. This means that the equinoctial year began when the sun was in Kṛttikā and the Agnyādhāna was made on that day. Similarly for the Rohiṇī and the Mṛgaśīras year beginnings are ably dealt with and satisfactorily proved by Tilak in his Orion. We need not go over the same ground here.

39. We have now to see whether we find any passage in the old sacrificial literature saying that *consecration of the sacred fire* was done in the other Nakṣatras. Fortunately there is a passage about Punarvasu, viz., the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 1-2. It gives the etymology of the word Punarvasu :—

देवा वै भद्राः संतोऽग्निमाधित्सत तेषामनाहितोऽग्निरासीत् । अथैव्यो
वामं वसु अपाक्रमत् । ते पुनर्वसोरादधत्

ततो वै तान्वां वसु उपावर्तते या पुरा भद्रः सन् पापीयान् स्यात्
स पुनर्वसोरग्निमादधीत पुनरेवैनं वसु उपावर्तते भद्रो भवति ।

The above passage may be translated thus : " The Dewas being भद्र desired to make the consecration of Agni. But their Agni remained unfounded ; owing to that good Vasu turned away from them. They made the consecration of Agni on the Punarvasu Nakṣatra. Thereupon the good Vasu turned towards them. He who was formerly meritorious may be sinful (*if he does not consecrate Agni on the Punarvasu Nakṣatra*). * * * "

40. That Agnyādhāna was made on Punarvasu or the sacrificial year began with Punarvasu is corroborated by the statement regarding Abhijit Nakṣatra. The Abhijit day was the fourth day before Viṣuvān or the central day of the Annual Sattrā. This day was so named because the sun was near the constellation Abhijit (Vega or α Lyrae) on that day.¹

The Viṣuvāna here mentioned was of course the autumnal equinox. We shall speak on this point later on.

41. Tilak says on p. 26 of his Orion that it is difficult to definitely ascertain the time when the commencement of the year was changed from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice. But when the change was made the terms दक्षिणायन and उत्तरायण came into use. Before that the terms used were देवलोक and पितृलोक or देवयान and पितृयाण. The Dewaloka meant the Northern Hemisphere while the Pitṛloka meant the Southern. The Day of the Dewas commenced when the sun passed to the north of the equator.

42. Now let us examine if we find any evidence about the position of Punarvasu at the point of separating the Dewayāna from the Pitryāṇa. In Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, IV, 19, Aditi or the presiding deity of Punarvasu is called

¹ Vide Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, IV, 12, note on p. 269.

उज्ज्वलशीर्षि, i.e., double-headed and the commentators interpret it to mean that the two termini of the sacrifice which began and ended with Aditi, i.e., Punarvasu, are the two heads here alluded to.

43. From the statement in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 5-2-7, regarding Kṛttikā, viz., देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि । कृत्तिकाः प्रथमं विशाले उत्तमं तावि देवनक्षत्राणि, Tilak has come to the conclusion that the principle of division in this case is the same as followed in the case of Dewayāna and Pitṛyāna.¹

From the passage above-quoted it is clear that the Nakṣattrā Kṛttikā occupied the first place among the Nakṣattras. Regarding Rohiṇī and Mṛgaśīras it is pointed out on reliable evidence that there are indirect references saying that these two constellations did occupy the first place among the Nakṣattras in former times. Mṛgaśīras was formerly known by the name Āgrahāyana and Tilak has very ably proved by quoting express statements to show that the term means that Mṛgaśīras once commenced the cycle of Nakṣattras and that it was once at the beginning of the equinoctial year in ancient times.

44. The legends about Rbhus and Vṛṣākapi have beyond doubt helped us to prove that not only was Mṛgaśīras the first of the Nakṣattras but also the sun in Ārdrā near the vernal equinox commenced the equinoctial year in ancient times.

45. The other important evidence about the position of Punarvasu at the point of separating Dewayāna from Pitṛyāna is given in R. V., IV, 25-3, 4, 5, verse 3

कः देवानां अयः अथ वृषीते

कः आदित्यां अदितिं ज्योतिरीदृ ।

Who is imploring to-day the protection of the gods?

Who is praising the Ādityas, Aditi and light?

The ज्योति in this verse means द्यौ according to Sayanācārya. The word however generally means सविता in the Rigveda. We take the latter meaning. The next verse

तस्मै भारतः अग्निः शर्म यंसत्
ज्योक् पश्चात् सूर्यमुच्चरन्तम्

“May Bhārata Agni bestow happiness on him, may he long see the *rising* sun (literally, walking upwards).”

ज्योक् means ज्योति or the sun's orb. Verse 5,

न तं जिहन्ति बहवः न दद्मः
उरु अस्मै अदितिः शर्मयंसत्

“Him neither the many nor the few injure. Aditi shall give him great happiness.”

From these verses the following conclusion may be safely drawn :—

The sun began its yearly course near the Punarvasu Nakṣatra. Aditi the presiding deity of Punarvasu confers on the worshipper great happiness. The sun was observed coming upwards and was then near Aditi or the Punarvasu Nakṣatra, which marked the vernal equinox.

46. Do we find any authority to show that *Punarvasu was at the head of the nakṣatras* in the same sense?

Of course there is no express passage to that effect. But the best time for the commencement of the Gavām Ayanam Sattrā was often the most important and anxious problem with the ancient Vedic Ṛṣis. The first day on which the sacrificial Agni was to be consecrated is given in the Brāhmaṇas. We have one such passage which is quoted in detail elsewhere. The ancient Ṛṣis, being unable to begin the annual sattrā on the correct Nakṣatra, found in ancient times that their Agni was not duly consecrated. They could not thereby achieve the meritorious effect they expected. But when they consecrated Agni on the Nakṣatra called Yamakau, they

succeeded and the Vasu which had abandoned them again returned to them and they got it once more and hence they named the two stars by the very significant name Punarvasu.

47. This evidence may not be by itself sufficient to convince us that Punarvasu was first among the Nakṣatras or that it commenced the equinoctial year as the term Āgrahāyaṇī for Mṛgaśīras is. But if we carefully consider the myth about the birth of Yama and Yamī or the two twin stars known in R. V. by the term Yamau, we have reliable corroboration of the above statement about Punarvasu. We have already treated the subject of the several olden commencements of the sacrificial year in ancient times and it must be taken for granted that the more backward we travel the more strongly shall we be convinced that *the sacrificial year commenced with the vernal equinox and not with the winter solstice.*¹

The change of the commencement of the year from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice must have been made long before the vernal equinox was in Kṛttikās and when the change was made the term Uttarāyaṇa must have gradually come to denote the first half of the year.²

48. The asterism Abhijit marked the approach of Viṣuvān. Viṣuvān is the central day standing by itself in the arrangement of the annual Sattrā. This sattrā is composed of a number of Śalahas joined with certain special rites, to be performed at the beginning, middle and the close of the Sattrā. Viṣuvān day divides the Sattrā into two equal halves like the wings of a house.³ Asterism Abhijit having marked the central day of the sacrificial year it was included according to Tilak in the list of the Nakṣatras formerly although it lay so far away from the ecliptic. If Abhijit marked Viṣuvān, Punarvasu must have

¹ Orion by Tilak, page 26, etc., sequel.

² Tilak—Orion, p. . Tilak—Arctic Home in the Vedas, page 207, etc., sequel.

³ Vide Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 2-3-1.

been near the Vernal Equinox in those times. This point has been discussed in full by Tilak in his Orion on pages 202-3.

49. We have stated above that "Aditi at this time must have also separated Dewayāna and Pitṛyāna and may have been appropriately called the mother of the Dewas." ¹

On this point Tilak has further stated as follows:—Aditi is here stated to be the daughter of Dakṣa also.² In Purāṇic traditions the 27 Nakṣatras are said to be the daughters of Dakṣa who gave them to the moon. If we combine these two traditions, Aditi would be at the head of all the Nakṣatras in the same way as Maṛgaśīras or the Kṛtikās headed the list in later times.

50. There are again many legends in the Purāṇas stating that everything was born from Aditi. We can account for all these facts if we place Aditi at the Vernal Equinox when the Calendar was *first* fixed for the sacrificial purposes.³ That there are grounds to hold that the Calendar for sacrificial purposes was fixed *for the first time* when the vernal equinox was in Aditi and not earlier is a matter of great uncertainty. For instance in the V. S., XXIX, 29, we find a statement that Twaṣṭā is the Universal Father who has produced the whole world. Twaṣṭā is the presiding deity of the Citrā Nakṣatra. Can we not account for this fact along with others about Twaṣṭā if we place Twaṣṭā at the vernal equinox in the ancient Calendar as it was fixed for sacrificial purposes? In R. V., X, 70-9, Twaṣṭā is said to know the region of the gods, *i.e.*, the Dewaloka.

51. Now we shall consider the statements about the *First Night of the New Year* सबस्तरस्य प्रथमा रात्रिः In the Taitt. Saṃhitā, VII, 4-8, we have a discussion as to the time best suited for the commencement of the Sattras like Gavām Ayana which last for a whole year. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa gives a similar

¹ Vide R. V., X, 72-5.

² R. V., VII., 66-2.

³ Vide Orion, p. 203, note.

passage which is clearer on the point. Tilak has very ably interpreted the passages and I only offer here his conclusion in his words :— “The passages thus supply not only confirmatory but direct evidence of the coincidence of the Kṛttikās with the vernal equinox. The passage from T. S. also states that Citrā and Phālgunī full moons were the beginnings of the year which then commenced with the winter solstice.” These year beginnings were in the opinion of Tilak with the winter solstice and not with vernal equinox.¹ Thus if winter solstice fell in the month of Maghā on the full-moon day, then we get the V. E. in the Kṛttikās. Similarly if Phālgunī full-moon was the first night of the year on the winter solstice, the V. E. will be in वृगशिरस् and the Chaitrī full moon commencing the year with winter solstice will give V. E. in Punarvasu. Tilak has stated in his Orion, p. 69, “ We cannot suppose that the Phālgunī full-moon commenced the year at the vernal equinox for then we shall have to place the Vernal Equinox in Uttarā Bhādrapadā which to render possible in the pre-Kṛttikā period we must go back to something like 20000 B. C. (?) .” He has felt diffident about this enormous antiquity and in the next sentence he has proposed an alternative in the following words : “The only other alternative is to make the full moon commence the year at the winter solstice and from the fact that the Māghī, Phālgunī and Chaitrī full moons are mentioned together in the *same* passage of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and for the *same* purposes I conclude that this is the real meaning of the passage in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and those in the Brāhmaṇas.” I believe we can even push back the V. E. to पूर्वी आद्रपदा उत्तरा आद्रपदा and I shall refer to the question later on.

52. Apart from the evidence noted above about the position of Aditi at the vernal equinox there is one more

¹ Tilak's Orion, p. 69.

tradition about the same in *the story of the asterismal Prajāpati* given in Taitt. Brāhmaṇa, I, 5-2-2.

यो वै नक्षत्रीयं प्रजापतिं वेद उभयोरेन लोकयोर्विदुः । हस्तपुष्यस्य हस्तः
चित्रा शिरः । निष्ठा हृदयम् । ऊरू विशाखे प्रतिष्ठानुराधाः । एष वै नक्षत्रीयः
प्रजापतिः ।

I propose to give the interpretation of this passage in the very words of Tilak :—

“The asterism Citrā is here said to be the head of this Prajāpati, Swāti the heart, Hasta the hand, Vishākhā the thighs and Anurādhā the foot. Many conjectures are made about the meaning of this figure but none of them satisfactorily explains why Prajāpati who is said to be the God of time or the lustrum of years in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa should have been represented in this way. I propose that we should interpret it after the manner of a similar representation of Brahmā by Bādarāyaṇa where different signs of the zodiac are said to be similarly related to the different parts or the body of the Brahmā or the Creator. The representation of Bādarāyaṇa is in signs or (Rāshis) and if Meṣa was Brahmā's head when the rāshis were introduced Citrā could well be said to be the head of Prajāpati when the Citrā Full-moon commenced the year. But though we can thus satisfactorily account for the fact why Citrā could have been called the head of Prajāpati yet we cannot give an equally satisfactory reason in the case of one of the Nakṣhatras in this representation unless we place three intercalary months in five years. It is however very difficult to determine how the intercalary months were inserted if at all, at this remote period and the question must therefore to a certain extent remain unsolved for the present.”

53. The next constellation is Puṣya whose presiding deity is Bṛhaspati. About him we have a statement in R. V., II, 26, verse 3 :—

स इज्जनेन स विशा स जन्मना
स पुत्रैर्वाजं भरते धना नृभिः ।

देवानां यः पितरम् आविचासति
अद्भामना हविषा ब्रह्मणस्पतिम् ॥

Br̥haspati and Brahmanaspati are the same. Here Br. is called the father of the Gods. Similarly in R. V., X, 72-2, Br. is said to have blown forth the birth of the Gods like a black-smith.

54. In R. V., IV, 50-4, we have a statement बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो० while in the तै० ब्रा० III, 1-1-5, we have a statement बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानः तिष्यं नक्षत्रं०. On the authority of this statement Mr. V. B. Ketkar of Poona has proved that Br̥haspati here means the planet Jupiter and that this planet was first discovered when confronting or very nearly occulting the star Tisya about 4650 B. C.

First let us try to see whether in the Rik referred to above (IV, 50-4) by बृहस्पति the planet Jupiter is meant or not. The hymn is in honour of बृहस्पति and is seen by वामदेव excepting the last two verses which are in honour of इन्द्राबृहस्पती.

In IV, 50-1, Br̥haspati is called मंद्रजिह्व or of sweet speech. In the 3rd verse his horses which are अतस्पृश् or touching the zodiacal path are said to come from the distance which is highest.

The 2nd verse :

धुनेतयः सुप्रकेतं मदन्तो
बृहस्पते अभि ये नस्ततस्त्रे ।
पृथन्तं सृप्रम दध्मूर्ध्वं
बृहस्पते रक्षतादस्य योनिम् ॥२॥

The verse has been found to be difficult for interpretation by Sāyana. The English translation (literal) may be : --

“O Br̥haspati those who shake all as they go and delighting thee that has excellent light cause harm to us, preserve (from them) O Br̥haspati this one's showering, moving and uninjured cow-fold and his home.”

The 4th verse quoted already says that “बृह- first born in the highest heaven of great light and having seven mouths and born

in several places and having seven tongues blew away the darkness with his voice," and in the next verse it is said of वृ०—that "he roared and liberated the lowing cows that yielded the sacrificial milk."

• 55. The liberation of cows here means the obtaining of light. From verses 8-9 of this hymn it is clear that वृ० is the deity of the hymns (ब्रह्मा) prepared by the ancient seers.

It is difficult to find any passage from Rigveda where the planet Jupiter is meant by the term Bṛhaspati.

Verses 10-11 in honour of वृ० and इन्द्र may be interpreted to denote that the Sun-God Indra was accompanied and actively helped by Bṛhaspati in the work of the liberation of the waters and obtaining of light. At any rate we can safely say that although the ancient Vedic Ṛṣis had a tolerably accurate knowledge of all the important planets, they did not call Jupiter by the name बृहस्पति. The five bulls referred to in Rig., I, 105-10, are nothing but the five planets. There is also the mention of शुक्र and मन्थिन् together in R.V., III, 32-2 and IX, 46-4 ; while R.V., X, 123, is dedicated to वेनः or Venus the God of Love. ¹

From the तै० ब्रा० 3-1-1 we can very well see from the context that the बृहस्पति is there the presiding deity of तैत्तिरीयसंहिता and the planet Jupiter. The नक्षत्रs beginning with कृत्तिका are described with their presiding deities. Every deity is invoked for protection, and prosperity. The wording is common, for all नक्षत्रs. Thus बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानः तिष्यं नक्षत्रं अग्निं संवभूव.....is similar to आर्द्रया रुद्रः प्रथमानं एति and सोमो राजा मृगशीर्षेण आगन् and similar passages can be found bearing the same context. It is stated above that the deity बृहस्पति is the Abhimānini Deity of songs or Brahman.

56. We fully agree with Mr. Ketkar that the phenomenon of the occultation of तिष्य by Jupiter took place at 4650 B.C. but that is not the phenomenon expressed or described in the above passage of the तै०, ब्रा० much less in the R.V., IV,

¹ Tilak—Orion, pages 162-164.

50-4 referred to above. The real meaning of the passages will be that the Deity Br̥haspati, the father of the Gods, began the vernal equinoctial year, in ancient times, just as Aditi, Rudra and Soma, Prajāpati, Agni, etc., did in former times. It is of course a strange coincidence that the date of Vernal Equinox near Tisya is almost coeval with that of the occultation of तिष्य by Jupiter. Mr. Ketkar's meaning of बृहस्पति is thus not warranted by the texts he has quoted and hence the phenomenon he has proved to have occurred, although true, is not expressed by the wordings of both the passages.

57. We have next to see whether we find anything about the commencement of the sacrificial year when the equinoctial year began with the sun in Puṣya or Tisya. The presiding deity of Tisya or Puṣya is Br̥haspati which is identical with Brahmanaspati.¹ It is stated that Br̥haspati was placed by the ancient seers at the head of the Gods. He has three abodes and is called a Sadasaspati.

58. In one place it is stated that the sacrifice does not succeed without him.²

Just like Aditi in the pre-Aditi period the sacrificers must have felt the difficulty of ascertaining the correct year beginning and they succeeded when they took the help of Br̥haspati the presiding deity of the star Tisya or Puṣya (♋ Canceri).

It is also said of Br̥haspati that in releasing the cows he seeks the light in darkness and finds the light; he found the dawn, light and Agni and dispelled the darkness.³ In shattering the Fort he, i.e., Br̥haspati found the dawn, the sun and the cow.⁴

59. Next we find a statement about Br̥haspati that the light-winning feat is performed by him, standing at the car of

¹ Vide I. S., IV, 4-10-1.

² R.V., 1-18-7.

³ R.V., IV, 50-4; X. 68-4 to 9, 12.

⁴ R.V., X, 67-5.

Ṛta. This car slays the goblins, bursts the cow-stalls and wins the light.¹

In R. V., II, 24-8, 14, Br̥haspati is said to have a bow the string of which is Ṛta.²

The car of Ṛta is said to be *Svarvidam*, i.e., one which reached the heaven.

Br. with the help of Indra did free the collection of waters surrounded³ by darkness.

60. A clear interpretation of the word Ṛta is here necessary. Tilak has interpreted the word to mean the Zodiacal belt. He says, "In Rig., I, 24-8, Varuṇa is said to have constructed a broad path for the sun which appears evidently to refer to the Zodiacal belt. I am further inclined to think that the path of Ṛta,⁴ which is mentioned several times in Rigveda where the Ādityas are said to be placed⁵ and where Saramā discovered the cows of Indra (R. V., V, 45-7, 8) refers to the same broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries as observed by the Vedic Bards never transgressed. Ṛta (ṛ. to go) soon came to mean the right path, the circle of which exists for ever or rather exists and exists in the vault of heavens वरिवर्ति (R. V., I, 164-11)"⁶

61. Interpreting the word in the above light we can safely conclude that the statement Br̥haspati stood on the car of Ṛta means that Tiṣya or Puṣya was the constellation near which the sun commenced its annual course of the equinoctial year.

In corroboration further of the same fact we have several other statements :—

- (i) Br. awakens the Gods with a sacrifice, A. V., XIX, 63-1.

¹ R. V., I, 56-5 ; I, 89-9 ; II, 23-3, 18.

² Vide also A. V., V, 18-8, 9.

³ R. V., IV, 23-18.

⁴ R. V., I, 14-4.

⁵ Rig., X, 85-1.

⁶ Vide Tilak's Orion, p. 158.

(ii) From him (Br.) even the Gods obtained their share of the sacrifice and also that he as a *path-maker*, makes good the access to the feast of the gods, R. V., II, 32-2, 6, 7.

(iii) We have a similar idea in R. V., II, 23-7 ; there Sāyaṇāchārya is in doubt when he has explained the word पथः to mean वैदिकान्मार्गान्. It ought to be taken to mean the broad path created by Varuṇa, i.e., the Zodiacal belt or R̥tasya Panthā.

62. In R. V., II, 23-17, Br̥haspati is said to stand at अतस्य धर्तरि, धर्तरि is explained by Sāyaṇāchārya to mean धातरि or कर्तरि. This means Br. created, held or controlled R̥ta or that he is the lord of the year and as such even he is called गणपति or the lord or the host of R̥kvat Gaṇa.¹

63. The bow mentioned in R. V., II, 24-8, with which Br. was equipped seems to be the Bow or the constellation of पुनर्वसु and some other neighbouring stars. About Puṣya Colebrooke says, “पुष्य is described as an arrow and consists of three stars the chief of which being also the middlemost.”

In R. V., II, 24-8, it is also stated that “unerring are the arrows with which he (Br.) shoots and have the sight of men to see and are born of the *ear*.” The very arrow is described in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in I, 25, under the name *Triśandhi* or an arrow having three joints. The word Triśiras is formed like the word Mṛgaśiras and has the same meaning as Triśandhi.

64. The Tripartite or three-starred arrow of Rudra in the sky is said to be Triśiras in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III, 33, and to me it appears that this Triśiras is nothing but the constellation of Puṣya. The birth of Triśirā is before that

¹ Vide R. V., IV, 50-3 and, R. V., II, 23-1.

of Yama and Yamī at any rate. Hence I think it is wrong to suppose that Trīśirā represents the three stars in the belt of the Orion. It certainly cannot be the Star Sirius (α Canis majoris).

65. About Trīśirā it is stated in Taitt. Sañ, II, 5-1-1, that though related to the Asuras he (Tri.) is spoken of as the Purohita of the Gods and in the Bṛhaddevatā, VI, 147-153, it is stated "that being the son of a sister of the Asuras, Trīśirā became the Purohita of the Gods from a desire of rendering service to the former but Indra cut off his three heads."¹

This description is very similar to that of Triṣandhi in the Atharva Veda. There Triṣandhi is deified. He is praised along with another deity, Arbudi, who is a friend of Indra. That Trīśirā was a twin brother of Saranyu the Dawn means simply that the Polar Dawns were observed attended with the constellation Trīśirā. Its three heads were cut off when Saranyu gave birth to the twins Yama and Yamī from Vivasvān. The myth is thus an allegory about the vernal equinox in Punarvasu and the appearance of the constellation Puṣya on the horizon during the former period.

66. We shall consider in this place the legend of त्रित and the connection of बृहस्पति with him.

In R. V., I, 105-17, Bṛhaspati is said to have heard the prayer of त्रित buried in a well and to have delivered him from it. The two brothers एकत and द्वित threw him in a well from which he was taken out by Bṛhaspati. एकत is not mentioned anywhere in R. V. while द्वित is mentioned in R. V., V, 18-2, and R. V., VIII, 47-16. Dwita is the seer of R. V., V-18. त्रित slew त्रिशिरा son of त्वष्टा and released the cows². त्रित's abode is hidden.³ Tilak has very ably explained the legend of the three brothers and its real import on the basis of the Arctic theory. "But the whole legend," says Tilak, "can now be easily explained by the Arctic

¹ Vide तै-सं, II, 5-1-1.

² R. V., X, 8-8.

³ R. V., IX, 102-1.

theory. The personified third part of the year called Trita or the third is naturally described as going into darkness or a well or a pit or into the waters of the nether world for the sun went below the horizon during the period in the home of the ancestors of the Vedic People." He further says on the same page : "The nether world is the home of aerial waters and Br̥haspati, who is said to have released the cows from their place of confinement in a cave in the nether world, is naturally spoken of as rescuing Trita when he was sunk in the well of waters."¹

The sun rose out of the same dark region wherein Trita was hidden "And from this to the Arctic theory," says Tilak, "was but a small step." The correct explanation of the legend of Trita may be summed in the following words :

Vavra is really the same अनारम्भणे नमसि the endless darkness, from which light (sun) and some of its legendary representatives such as Atri, Vandana and others emerged.

Sāyaṇa explains² the word Trita and says he was a sage friendly with Indra ; for him Indra cut off the three heads of Triśirā son of Twaṣṭā. Triśirā was also called Vishwa-Rūpa. Trita slew with Indra's help the boar³ and Indra himself killed *Triśiras*.

67. Now we shall try to make out some meaning from the statement, viz., "Br. heard the prayer of Trita buried in a well and to have delivered him," R. V., 105-17. If Br̥haspati be taken to be the presiding deity of Tīṣya Nakṣatra then we may take the statement to mean that the sun rose up in the Polar regions near the Tīṣya and thus the year commenced. Br. is therefore called the father as he possesses such benevolent traits in R. V., IV, 50-6 and R. V., VI, 73-1. It is also stated that on account of his inimitable deeds the sun and the moon are made to rise alternately (R. V., X, 68-10). But I am in doubt as to what this exactly means.

¹ Tilak—Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 337.

² R.V., X, 8-8, 9.

³ R.V., X, 99-6.

68. Next we beg to say a few words about *Madhukaṣā* by which Griffith means the Honey-whip of the Aświns. In R. V., I, 22-3, the derivation of the word is given as कषा मधुमती with which the Aświns are prayed to sprinkle the sacrifice.

Madhukaṣā is the first-born daughter of the Maruts. She derives her origin from Vāyu and Agni. She is the daughter of the Vasus, and she is the mother of the Ādityas and the centre of Amṛta.¹

Further in A. V., IX, 1-5, it is stated "that the deities begot the मधोः कषाम् (the whip of honey): her embryo assumed all forms and fashions. The mother nourishes that tender infant which at its birth looks on all worlds and beings. It moves as mighty embryo among mortals."

69. In R. V., IX, 1-4, the mother of the Ādityas is said to be, not Aditi, but the golden-hued *Madhukaṣā*, the daughter of the Vasus.

The stars indicated by मधुचक्र seem to include those indicated by मधुकषा.

70. We have in the Heavens a group of stars called the Bee-hive or in Latin Praesepe, in the region of the sign of Cancer. In ancient times the stars δ γ and ε of Cancrī might have been the principal stars of the *Madhuchakra* or the Praesepe. Out of these मधुकषा might have been the star ε Cancrī. This star ε Cancrī may be the star near which the ancient Vedic Seers might have observed the commencement of the equinoctial year or in other words it might have in ancient times separated the Dewayāna from the Pitṛyāna.

71. In the hymn to *Madhukaṣā*² she is called the ocean's genial seed. In R. V., IX, 1-21, the गर्भ of the मधुकषा according to Griffith is the place where the thong is applied to the whip stock. Garbha may mean the point of juncture. In the next verse *Madhukaṣā* is said to have seven kinds of honey.

¹ Vide A. V., IX, 1-3, 4.

² A. V., IX, 1.

72. About Madhuchakra we find the following information in the Atlas of Hindu Astronomy by Kalinath Mukherji, B.A., B.L. (1901), on page 6 :—

मधुचक्र M 44 (Praesepe) तारास्तवक and it seems M 67 is also included in the same. The Praesepe is a marvellous cluster.

73. "The constellation of Cancer," says Mary Proctor, F.R.A.S., "was also thought to represent asses. 'Another legend relates that Bacchus afflicted with insanity, betook himself to the temple of Jove. On the way thither he came to a great marsh, over which he was carried by an ass and in return for his service it was placed among the stars. Still another story representing these stars claims that they owe their place in the heavens to the fact that the asses were of service to the Gods in their battle with the Giants. Silenus and Bacchus rode them and the loud braying of the asses frightened their enemies.'¹ Between the two stars supposed to represent the asses is a marvellous cluster known as the Bee-hive or as Praesepe the Manger from which the two asses are supposed to feed."² K. Mukherji calls α Cancri by the name गर्दैभ and γ Cancri by खर. In Latin they are respectively called S. Aselus and N. Aselus.

74. Here it is necessary to say a few words about the Pusya Nakṣattrā. ζ Cancri was the पुष्यनक्षत्र in ancient times ; while सुमित्रा or δ Cancri is the modern Pusya. In his Atlas K. Mukherji has stated that तोमर (α Cancri) सुमित्रा (δ Cancri) and खर (γ Cancri) are together known in astronomical works as the त्रिशिरस्, तिष्य or पुष्य. The figure represents an arrow having three joints or heads. K. Mukherji has shown these figurations in his atlas. It will be thus clear that the myths about त्रिशिरा, त्रिपंथि and मधुक्रवा and the gigantic crab who went to the help of the monster Hydra and wounded Hercules all belonged to the Cancer Period or the Pre-Aditi Period. The Pole star of course will then be either θ Draconis or Hercules.

¹ Vide W. T. Olcott—Star Lore of all Ages, p. 88.

² Vide M. Proctor—Legends of the Stars, pages 106-107.

75. The myth of the gigantic crab from the Greek mythology is supposed to explain the phenomenon which occurred in N. Lat. $69^{\circ} 51'$ at about 4000 B.C. by J. Mujumdar in his "Eagle and the Captive Sun," pages 83-84. But the same phenomenon if taken to have occurred in more Northern latitudes will give us greater antiquity and for an observer near the North Pole it will be visible when the vernal equinox precedes beyond ϵ Cancri (Ancient Pūṣya Nakṣattra) but before the Punarvasu.

76. We shall now take up the question whether the Vernal Equinox can be pushed back into the Aśleṣā Nakṣattra? Hydra is one of the 48 constellations which has come down to us from very ancient times and is still used by Western astronomers. It extended over 100 degrees and is figured and named as a water-snake called in Sanskrit *हृदसर्प* (Lake-snake). This Hydra or Vṛtra has nine heads.

77. In this connection we shall minutely consider the legend about the churning of the ocean and the acquisition of Amṛta.

The legend may be thus summarized:—"At some remote past time the Dewas and Asuras churned the ocean out of which fourteen jewels were produced. One of these jewels was Amṛta or nectar. Viṣṇu so arranged the distribution of nectar that only the Dewas should drink it. But a wily demon managed to mingle with the Dewas and drink the Amṛta. When the gods knew this, Viṣṇu cut off his head. The demon could not die because he had drunk nectar. His head passed into the Dewas' Region and his trunk into the Region of the Asuras." Is this legend capable of being interpreted in the language of astronomy? Is it not an astronomical phenomenon observed by the ancient Vedic Aryans when they lived in the Arctic Regions?

78. The Nakṣattra Aśleṣā is called in Latin the head of Hydra. The word Aśleṣā means an object which has lost its connection with its body. The presiding deity of Aśleṣā

is Sarpa, Pandit Bhagwāndās says (Aryan Astronomy, p. 14). This sarpa was the land serpent Draco (नहुष) because the Yoga Tārā of Aśleṣā, i.e., δ Hydrae and λ Draconis have nearly the same longitude.

δ Hydrae marks the commencement of Hydra's head and λ Draconis marks that of Draco's tail.

79. In Atharva Veda, XX, 34-11, we read "He (Indra) who discovered in the 40th autumn, Śambara in the midst of mountains; who slew the *Dragon* putting forth his vigour, the demon lying there, he, O men, is Indra."¹ "Who drank the juice, poured at the seat of order (ऋतस्य सद्ने) subduing Śambara by superior prowess." But A. V., XX, 34, is a repetition of R. V., II, 12, with some additions and alterations. Again we have in R. V., II, 13-5: "And thou Indra didst make the earth look like heaven, thoū the killer of the serpent, who didst free the channels of the rivers." In the commentary on this verse Sāyaṇācārya says:—ज्योतिर्दग्धिनि पृथिवीं द्युदर्शनाम् अकरोः। In the same verse we have "as the Gods produced the horse with the waters so the Gods begot thee." From R. V., II, 13-5, we can say without hesitation that the serpent was killed on the day of the vernal equinox when the day and night were of equal length throughout the world and when the ancient arctic home of the Aryans which was encompassed in darkness began to look like the land of light or the heaven. Indra then begot the sun and this phenomenon occurred when the head of the serpent appeared on the horizon of the Arctic Regions, i.e., in the seat of Rta or the Zodiacal Belt.

80. Elsewhere we read that the first-born of the serpents or the Ahibhānavaḥ (serpent suns) was Ahi: and offerings were in ancient times given to the serpents who were then the first of the Dewas.

¹ Atharva Veda, XX, 34-12.

In A. V., XX, 92-12, we have Arbuda a brother of Vṛtrā. Indra cleft asunder his head and set free the seven rivers. Is Arbuda a name for Hydra?

81. In शतपथ ब्राह्मण XI, 5-5-6, we read:—"A stronger one, pursuing, has as it were driven a great snake from its own place, the lake, therefore the sacrificial session is not carried through." The driving of a great snake from its own place seems to refer to the precession of the equinoxes a few degrees in the constellation of Aśleṣā which is called a snake. Archbishop Pratt, however, says that it refers to the precession of the summer solstice and not the equinoxes as the Western scholars are generally quite reluctant to interpret any myth so as to allow great antiquity to the Vedas. He further says that the two solstices were ε Dolphinus and ζ Hydrae here referred to but we beg to differ. Hrada-sarpa is the original word. Hydra is equivalent to Hrada while the word Sarpa is omitted.

82. In A. V., XI, 9, mention is made of Arbudi and Nyarbudi who are both Gods; the latter is called the mighty one in A. V., XI, 9-4. They are both friends of Indra. In R. V., XI, 9-23, Arbudi and Triṣandhi are both invoked to fall upon the foes and scatter them. त्रिवन्धि means literally composed of three parts or members. त्रिवन्धि is a personification of an arrow consisting of a shaft steel and point, and regarded as a warlike power associated with Arbudi.¹

83. In A. V., XI, 10-5, Arbudi is invoked as a God-like being and Triṣandhi's offering is sacrificed to him. In the 7th verse of the same it is also said "Red be the banner when the host of Arbudi hath won the day." (A. V., XI, 10-10.) Bṛhaspati and Ṛṣis made strong and keen by prayers have set in heaven Triṣandhi; it is a dire weapon that destroys the fiends.

Do. 11th. The Gods enjoyed Triṣandhi for the sake of energy and power. He is such that under his protection both Indra and Āditya stand.

¹ Vide Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I, 25.

12th. By this oblation the Gods being victorious won themselves all the worlds.

Triṣandhi seems to be also another epithet of the constellation Tīṣya which, as stated above, is described as an arrow.

84. Arbudi and Nyarbudi may be the two stars which are situated side by side in the head of Hydrae and appeared first above the Arctic Horizon on account of the Precession of the Equinoxes. But this is merely a humble surmise of ours.

The head of Hydra consists of 7 stars:—

No.	Name.	Magnitude.	
•			
α	काञ्जिय	2.0	Alphard.
β	वासुकि	3.3	
γ		3.3	
ε		3.3	
δ		...	
η		3.6	
σ		...	
β	शेष	...	

The head of Vṛtra the serpent is said to be pierced by Indra or the son of God in Rig. I, 52-10 and VIII, 6-6 and VIII, 65-2. Rig. I, 52-6 also says that the jaws of the raging serpent are struck by Indra with his bolt,

85. If we regard the myth of the Samudra Manthana as an astronomical allegory, we are justified in drawing from it the conclusion that Vāsuki the churning rope is the constellation Hydra and that the myth describes how the sun made its appearance in or near the head of Hydra and began its yearly course, or in other words it is a description of the vernal equinox occurring in Aśleṣā, the head of the Hydra, and of the same head being placed permanently in the polar skies as it had obtained a share in the nectar.

SECTION II.
CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

(1)

SOME NOTES ON THE MOKṢADHARMA SECTION
OF THE ŚĀNTIPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY

NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A.

(*Nasik*).

The object of this paper is to invite the attention of the Epic scholars to one aspect of the Mahābhārata studies, the aspect, namely, presented by what may, for sake of convenience, be called the non-epic material found in that poem, and on the basis of this non-epic stuff, to try to investigate what light can possibly be derived regarding the formation of the poem as we have it now, as also regarding the time or the period or periods of time during which, and the motives under which that great epic of ours, came into existence. This may perhaps sound a tall proposition ; but any one who has studied the Mahābhārata, and after careful consideration wants to arrive, for his own satisfaction, at an intelligible and intelligent conclusion about the various problems about the epic that naturally occur to one, will have to admit that this non-epic stuff, standing as it does, on a footing altogether different from that of the truly epic or narrative portion, has not evidently received as much attention as it deserves, alike from the point of view of its magnitude, its intrinsic interest, and its socio-literary significance. I am, of course, perfectly aware of the writings in this direction of many scholars of out-shining eminence, such as, to mention only a few, Dahlmann, Jacobi, Lüders, and Winternitz. But much of this interest in the particular direction of the Mahābhārata, I have been referring to, is, largely comparative, *i.e.*, from the point of view of the Buddhist literature and

especially the Buddhist Jātaka literature. None can also be blind to the enormous fascination which the philosophical episodes of the Epic, such as the Bhagavadgītā or the Sanatsujātiya have, not only for us, the proud inheritors of the Epic, but also for all those who have bestowed some attention upon the Sanskrit literature and the Indian philosophy. Without being in the least unmindful of those aspects of the Epic studies, I submit that this non-epic material deserves, *per se*, our earnest attention.

II

The nature of this non-epic material.—The sort of non-epic material that has been referred to just now, is of a most diverse character, and is, in extent, three times as much as the epic kernel. We have it on the statement of the Mahābhārata itself that the great sage made a twenty-four thousand Bhārata Saṁhitā (compilation) and that so much (*i.e.*, twenty-four thousand Ślokas) is said to be the Bhārata, by the wise men, without the Upākhyānas :—

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।

उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद् भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥

Whatever else this statement may mean, it is certain that this verse implies that it is the Upākhyānas which have increased the original 24-thousand-Ślokas bulk of the Bhārata Saṁhitā to the Śātasāhasrī Saṁhitā of the Mahābhārata. This last, a hundred thousand Sloka-Saṁhitā, is to be regarded as merely a workable approximation, and the proportion of Upākhyānas to the original Bhārata is, according to the epic itself, 72 : 24, *i.e.*, three parts of the poem are Upākhyānas, and one the epic narration.

More striking is the diversity of this non-epic stuff, this Upākhyāna mass, or to use another word occurring in the Mahābhārata itself, this Itihāsa material. The Bhagavadgītā is an Upākhyāna; so is the Sanatsujātiya. Most of the stories of ancient sages and kings are called by either of these two names—the story of Uttanka, the Rāmopākhyāna, the beautiful

Sāvitrī Ākhyāna, the Nala story with its rough and rugged march of events, or the Vidulopākhyāna, that fiery piece of epic poetry where a heroic queen of the Sindhusauvīras impassionately takes to task her meek son who would resignedly sit silent over his dead father's death at the hands of the invading enemy. Many of the moral and religious dialogues, which appear to many tiresome, and have earned for them the rather unbecoming title of "epic non-sense" (Hopkins) are included here under the title of Samvādas. There are, then, quite a number of old Gāthās, introduced with such words as **अत्र गायः यमोद्गीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः**, and small and large groups of Ślokas, characteristically called **गीता's** (evidently after the Bhagavad-Gītā), as Vṛtra-Gītā, Sampāka or Śāmyāka-Gītā, Hārīta-Gītā, Pārāsara Gītā, Hamsa-Gītā, etc., etc. In one word, the Upākhyāna or the non-epic material of the Mahābhārata consists of philosophical, religious, legendary, sociological, political and other narrative stories, as also didactic, speculative and gnomic poetry, stories of the old-world kings and sages.

III

From this it will have been seen how varied and how extensive is the sort of non-epic material with which we are concerned here. It is of course impossible to deal with even one single kind of material, say, Upākhyānas or Gāthās only out of this almost overwhelming diversity within the compass of a paper of this nature. What is attempted here is to take one definite fragment from this non-epic material, and to offer some considerations for further investigation.

The portion that is proposed to be dealt with here is a small portion of the Mokṣadharma Section of the Śāntiparvan, the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata and that again in one or two of its aspects only. As is well-known, the Śāntiparvan is the repository of all non-epic material *in excelsior*. Its contents have no organic connection with the march of the epic, except perhaps the opening Adhyāyas where the real relationship

of Karna to the Pāṇḍavas is disclosed and Yudhiṣṭhira is consequently merged in a deluge of sorrow over Karna's being slain at the hands of Arjuna. The Śāntiparvan with its certainly loose connection with the epic story has been called by Hopkins and other scholars "pseudo-epic," and all have to admit that it has a separate characteristic of its own, having very little to do with the fortunes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas. The *nexus*, the binding link between it and what precedes it, is also of a dubious nature. It is by suspending the death of its principal narrator, Bhīṣma, and putting into his mouth all the wisdom it contains in order to console Yudhiṣṭhira and the rest of the company sunk in sloughs of despair at the ruin brought on their kith and kin, the Kauravas. We may therefore readily admit the non-epic character of the whole book. But when we enter on the genesis of the book, and in fact on that of all other similar books where the non-epic matter preponderates, such as the Vana, the Anuśāsana, the Aśvamedha and other books, and partly also the Udyogaparvan (which last otherwise is one of the books in truly epic style), when we enter on the genesis of such non-epic portions, such as, for instance, the nature of the material, its form, or the motive or motives under which this inconsistent matter was woven over into the fabric of the poem, the social and religious background it has, it is then that acute difference of opinion and wide divergence of view-points manifest themselves. Though this be the case, still the necessity and the importance of determining, *if possible*, the position—be it philosophical or religious, sociological or literary—the importance of determining the relation of this non-epic material to the poem as we have it now and the relation of the poem as a whole to other well-known facts cannot be gainsaid. We must start with the fact the Mahābhārata we know of is the Mahābhārata as we have it to-day. I am not referring to the textual part of the problem, but to the form of the poem as a whole. The Epic story and the non-epic material are, for our purposes,

inextricably and indissolubly woven to form one whole; whether for good or for bad is scarcely the question now. Taking this as an established fact, a *fait accompli*, we must go back and find out the proper relations of different constituent elements.

As genetically connected with this problem, is the one about the gradual growth or simultaneous growth of this material, or as a third possibility, the pre-existence of much of this material as a separate entity or entities and the subsequent incorporation thereof in our poem under some specific motive. In other words, the problem that next would present itself in a natural way is whether this non-epic matter, in its major portions at least, grew gradually during the course of many centuries and then, for want of a better resting place, some generous poet or poets, took it over into the original Bhārata, be it at one and the same time or at different periods. Or and this is a point I would emphasise, may it be that much of this non-epic stuff can reasonably be regarded as possibly co-existing with the epic, or even in a few cases, as existing even before the epic, and that some poet or poets—we may, if we so please ourselves, call them poetasters—fully realising the apparently incongruous nature of the epic and this non-epic data, nevertheless put them together with some definite purpose, and perhaps unconsciously though to our bewilderment?

These and other allied questions howsoever important and necessary, cannot be dealt with here in the thorough manner they deserve. All we can do is however to select a typical portion of the epic and to try to assert the various ingredients of this subsidiary or non-epic material. For this perhaps no better and more fascinating material is afforded than by the Śāntiparvan as stated above. The first two sections deal with the science of Politics and with Āpaddharma respectively, the latter meaning rules of religious and moral conduct under stress of adverse circumstances. The

Mokṣadharmā does not exclusively deal with Mokṣa, i.e., final deliverance from the bondages of this life; if, however, we want to designate in brief the general purport of its contents, we might say that it is the code of Righteousness in its wide significance, spiritual, religious, philosophical, moral and social.

The entire extent of the Śāntiparvan is, according to one of the printed Bombay texts, Ślokas 13,732 (Ganpat Krishnaji); according to another, 14,938; according to the Calcutta *Vulgata*, 13,935; and the Kumbhakonum Edition has 15,153; the number of Adhyāyas being 366 (G.K.) and 365 in the Bombay Editions, 365 in Calcutta and 375 in Kumbhakonum Editions. The edition used for this paper is the Ganpat Krishnaji one and the Mokṣadharmā Section (parvan) has for itself as many as 192 Adhyāyas.

That these 192 Adhyāyas, these, roughly speaking, *Thirteen Thousand Ślokas*, are not of one set pattern, of a dead uniformity of matter or a dry-as-dust disquisition in the much-maligned priestly manner is evident if we undertake a patient investigation into the types of stories contained in the Mokṣadharmā. Here there are stories centering round old Godheads of Aryanism—Brahmā, Prajāpati, Rudra, Vāsava, Śakra, etc.; then there are stories centering round semi-divine and other sages of olden times, such as Manu, Br̥haspati, Asita, Māṇḍavya, etc.; next come a small group of stories associated with the names of kings of what may be called the olden world—Dyumatsena-Satyajit, Senajit, etc.; next may be mentioned two interesting groups of stories, one connected with the name of Nārada, and the other with that of Śuka, the reputed son of Vyāsa-Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana; then the stories connected with the famous King Janaka, probably two Kings Janaka, the Vaideha Janaka and the Karāla Janaka; next, the stories related with names found in the Sāṃkhya system of Philosophy, such as Kapila (Go-Kapiliya), Pañcaśikha Vākya, Pañcaśikha-Janaka Sāṃvāda, Jaigīṣavya-Asita-Sāṃvāda, etc. To these groups have to be added what are

called Upākhyānas; such as Jāpakopā°, Cīrakārikopā°, etc., etc.; the groups of Gītās, already referred to, though it must be borne in mind that the text of the epic itself scarcely calls these as such, but simply mentions them as श्लोकाः गीताः. The Sainvādas as such have a fair proportion of representation. The Nārāyaṇīya Section stands by itself, and finally, there is a number of Adhyāyas which possibly cannot be included in any of the groups mentioned above.

The division of the text here mentioned can, however, by no means be called strictly scientific if the subject-matter of the various groups were to be taken as the basis of classification. Thus for instance much of the matter included in the Janaka cycle of stories is of a philosophical nature, or more specifically, it expounds the old Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems. Some of the Sainvādas too, are of a cosmological nature, *e.g.*, the Manu-Bṛhaspati Sainvāda, or the Bhṛgu-Bhāradvāja Sainvāda, etc. Quite a different principle of classification will have to be adopted if the subject-matter alone were to be our basic principle. For purposes of the present paper however the classification of the section, as it already exists, is adhered to.

It may also be mentioned that the divisions here mentioned are not to be had in our text, each as a homogeneous whole; *i.e.*, the Sainvādas are not all to be found one after another successively, but are scattered at different places in our section. The same is the case with the Upākhyānas. Thus, as will be mentioned below, one Upākhyāna occurs in Adhyāyas 196—200; the second takes up the 266th Adhyāya; while the last of its kind comes just towards the end of the Sāntiparvan, occupying its Adhyāyas 352—365.

The following table shows at a glance the different divisions, spoken of above:—

SAMVĀDAS.

ब्राह्मण-सैनजित्सीवाद (174) Introduced as . ब्रह्मसुखाहरन्तीम्
इतिहासं पुरातनम्

SĀMVĀDAS—(contd.)

पिता-पुत्र-संवाद	(175)	Introduced as	अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीम् इतिहासं पुरातनम्
प्रह्लाद-अजगर-सं०	(179)	"	"
शृगाल-काश्यप-सं०	(180)	"	"
¹ भृगु-भारद्वाज-सं०	(182—192)	"	" and as भृगुणा अभिहितं शास्त्रम् ।
भीष्म-युधिष्ठिर-सं०	(193)		
मनु-बृहस्पति-सं०	(201—206)	Introduced as	अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीम् इतिहासं पुरातनम्
शुक-प्रह्लाद-सं०	(222)	"	"
वासव-बलि-सं०	(223-224)	"	"
शक्र-नमुचि-सं०	(226)	"	"
बलि-वासव-सं०	(227)	"	"
श्री-शक्र-सं०	(228) ²	"	"
जैगीषव्य-असित-सं०	(229)	"	"
वासुदेव-उग्रसेन-सं०	(230)	Introduced as	अत्र ते वतैर्यिष्यामि संवादम्.....etc.
मृत्यु-प्रजापति-सं०	(256—58)	containing the Story of Akam- pana and Nārada, but having no intro- duction as in other cases.	
तुलाधार-जात्रलि-सं०	(260—64)	Introduced as	इ० पु०
शुमत्सेन-सत्यवत्-सं०	(267)	"	"
नारदासित-सं०	(275)	"	"
माण्डूक्य-जनक-सं०	(276)	"	" that was गीत by ज० to भा०
पिता-पुत्र-सं०	(277)	(See No. 2, Adh. 175, above)	

¹ Preponderatingly philosophical; contains prose parts and also older Ślokas introduced as अथैति वात्र श्लोकः ।

² The number of the Adhyāya is henceforward wrong in G. K. by one Adhyāya. The correct Adhyāya is shown henceforward.

नारद-समज्ञ-सं०	(286)	Introduced as	इ० पु०
सगर-अरिष्टनेमि-सं०	(288)	" as	अत्र ते वर्तयिष्येऽहम्
Phi. 23 वसिष्ठ-कराल			
जनक-सं०	(302—308)	" "	अत्र ते वर्तयिष्यामि इतिहासं पुरातनम्

Phi. 24 याज्ञवल्क्य-

जनक-सं०	(310—18)	" "	"
25 पशु-शिक्ष-जनक-सं०	(319)	Introduced as	अत्रायुदा०
26 सुलभा-जनक-सं०	(320)	"	"
27 ब्रह्म-रुद्र-सं०	350	"	"

64 Adhyāyas.

शुक-नारद-संवाद ... (included elsewhere)

वासुदेव-उग्रसेन-सं० ... "

GĪTĀS.

सम्पाकगीता	(176)	इ० पु०	"Gīta" by सम्पाक
मङ्किगीता	(177)	"	" " " मङ्कि
बोध्यगीता	(178)	इ० पु०	गीत by विदेहराज, and then अत्रैवोदाहरंतीमं बोध्यस्य पदसंचयम् ।
विचखनुगीता	(265)	इ० पु०	नं गीतं राज्ञा विचखनुना (प्रजानामनुकम्पार्थम्)
हारीतगीता	(278)	अत्रैवोदाहरंतीमं कृत्स्नं विदुषां हारितोऽब्रवीत्	
वृत्रगीता	(279-80)	called simply	पुरागीत
पाराशरगीता	(290—98)	Sung by Parāśara to	जनक
हंसगीता	(299)		

8 Gītās 17 Adhyāyas.

UPĀKHYĀNAS.

जापकोपाख्यान	(195—200)	Intro. as	इ० पु०
चिरकारिकोपाख्यान	(266)	" "	"
गोकपिजीयोपा०	(268—70)	" "	"
कुण्डभारोपा०	(271)	"	वर्तयिष्यामि ।
दम्बकवृत्त्युपा०	(352—365)	called simply a	कथा

5 Upākhyānas, 25 Adhyāyas.

ŚUKA CYCLE OF STORIES.

शुकानुप्रसन्न	(231—255)	25
शुकोत्पत्ति	(323—328)	6
शुकनारद-संवाद	(329—333)	5
(द्वैपायनोत्पत्ति)	(349)	1
<hr/>		
4	37 Adhyāyas.	

JANAKA CYCLE.

जनकानुशासन (309)

See also 4 Sāṁvādas above, Nos. 23—26.

1 Adhyāya.

वार्त्थोपाध्यात्मकथन (210—17)

8 Adhyāyas.

पञ्चशिखवाक्य (218-19)

2 Adhyāyas.

नारायणीय (333—48)

16 Adhyāyas.

रुद्र Stories (284, 289)

Also see Sāṁvāda No. 27

2 Adhyāyas.

Miscellaneous other Adhyāyas
not included above } 20 Adh.

A further classification of the Saṁvādas and other varieties of Adhyāyas would be something like this:—

(I) Old godheads—(1) ब्रह्मरुद्रसं० (2) सृष्ट्युपजापतिसं० (3) वासव Stories. (4) The रुद्र stories which are mentioned separately above may also be included in this group. (5) The Nārāyaṇīya Section.

(II) Old sages and semi-divine beings मनुबृहस्पति, भृगुभारद्वाज, माण्डव्यासित, and, curiously enough, भीष्मयुधिष्ठिरहारीतगीता, वृत्रगीता, इंद्रगीता, पाराशरगीता (many of which are preponderatingly philosophical).

(III) The Nārada Stories (समञ्जना • असितनारद).

(IV) The Śuka Stories.

(V) Old kings युमत्सेन, वासुदेव उग्रसेन (mentioned below) and सेनजित्.

(VI) The Two Janaka Groups.

(VII) Sāṁkhya Sages Group.

(VIII) There would come a special group of stories which stand by themselves. These are most of the Upākhyānas, such Gītās of a general nature as सम्पाक, मङ्गि, बोध्य and विचरनुगीता's, and the dialogues, the Saṁvādas, such as पिता-पुत्र, गुलाधारजाजलि, शृगालकाश्यप, अजगर-प्रह्लाद, सगर-अरिष्टनेमि.

(IX) The miscellaneous group (some 20 Adhyāyas).

IV

We have now, laid before our view, an approximate conspectus of the chapters that go to make the Mokṣadharma Section, in so far as their external form is concerned. The enormity of the task of dealing satisfactorily with the contents of even one of the various divisions here outlined, will be easily recognised. What is possible is just to refer to the contents of a few of the shorter characteristic stories, and to see what conclusions can justifiably be drawn from them.

The first of the Saṁvādas, which is called by this name not in the text of the epic itself, but, so far as can be seen at present, in the colophons of the Nīlakaṇṭha text only, is the

ब्राह्मणेनजित्-संवादः. The Mahābhārata itself, as we have seen above, calls it as an Itihāsa Purātana, mentioned in reply to a certain question of Yudhiṣṭhira to Bhīṣma. The King Senajit was drowned in grief at the death of his son; and then a Brahmin comes to him and tries to console him with words of wisdom, the point of view being that whatever happy or bad things befall a man, they should be submitted to ungrudgingly and resignedly. Such Ślokes as

शोकस्थानसहस्राणि भयस्थानशतानि च ।
 दिवसे दिवसे मूर्धं प्रयेति न पण्डितम् ॥
 or यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम् ।
 कृष्याद्यसुखस्यैते कलां नार्हन्ति बोद्धव्यम् ॥

occur in connection with the advice offered to the king by the Brahmin, some of these Ślokas being found with little variations in the Buddhist literature also. The Brahmin winds up his discourse with asking the king to kill कृष्या—the taṇhā of the Buddhists—and in that connection further introduces “पिङ्गला गीताः गाथाः,” पिङ्गला being a concubine, whose lover did not turn up at the rendezvous. पिङ्गला is awakened to the true nature of happiness and says that her real “lover,” i.e., her inward self is near her and that she vainly waited for her so-called lover, her friend.

सुखं निराशः स्वपिति नैराशं परमं सुखम् ।
 आशामनाशा कृत्वा हि सुखं स्वपिति पिङ्गला ॥

It is probably this same king Senajit who is made, in a former section (राजचर्म, 25th Adhyāya), to utter similar sentiments. This Itihāsa Purātana is perhaps interesting for two reasons. In the first place, the name Senajit (or Senājī) occurs in the lists of the kings of the Dynasties of the Kāli Age in the Aikṣvāka and the Bārhadratha families. From the Great War to the Senajit of the latter dynasty six kings are mentioned (Pargiter, p. 13). If Senajit is the same as the King Prasenaḥjit, the king will be identical with

Pasenadi of the Buddhist literature, an elder contemporary of Gotama Buddha (Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 183) and being King of Kosala, is probably to be identified with the Aikṣvāka king of the Purāṇas, referred to above. Secondly it is the words of wisdom of a Veśyā, a courtesan, that a Brahmin teacher thinks it worth while to recapitulate to the king. While most of the names of kings, etc., occurring in the Śānti and other books belong to a very remote past, it is rather significant that we have here the mention of a king whose name is famous and has been preserved in the Buddhist literature, and also in the Purāṇas.

Perhaps the same may be the case with the name of another king विचक्षु whose गीता is referred to above (Adhyāya 265). His story is mentioned in connection with the doctrine of Ahimsā, as elaborated in the तुल्यधार-जाजलि-संवाद. This particular doctrine may be here passed over; but the name of विचक्षु who emphatically denounces हिंसा, at the sight of a bull with its body manipulated, and the sound of the piteous bellowing of the (bulls and) cows in the cowshed and the sacrificial enclosure द्विजस्थूयं वृषं दृष्ट्वा (विलापं v. l.) विरावं च गवां भृशम् । गोगृहे यज्ञवारस्य (v. l. वाटे च)—this name विचक्षु (v. l. विचक्षु) is probably the same as विचक्षुः which as विवक्षु (in the Matsya) and with other numerous variations (for which see Pargiter, Dynasties, p. 5) is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the name of the son of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. This last is the fifth king in descent from the Pāṇḍava Abhimanyu and in his reign probably took place the first redaction of the Purāṇas as they refer to him as a reigning great king संप्रतं यो महाप्रशाः ।

The third Saṁvāda to which reference may be made here is the पिता-पुत्रसंवाद. The dialogue is translated by Muir in his Sanskrit Texts and has quite recently been alluded to by Winternitz (Some Problems of Indian Literature pp. 25 ff.). The same story in different versions occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and in one of the Jātakas and in the Jain Literature. The father belongs to the orthodox Brahmanic order of things,

and in reply to his son's query as to what is one's proper duty, the father proudly answers it is ब्रह्मचर्य, वेदाध्ययन, गृहस्थाश्रम, performance of Vedic Sacrifices and then वानप्रस्थ. The son however is caught up with new ideas and the new order of things and in enigmatic words, partially reminding of the ब्रह्मोच's, the Kūṭas sometimes occurring in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, shows his disregard for the father's advice, dilates on the vanities of life, its transitoriness; his is a philosophy of renunciation, and rigorous, logical truth—Instead of the old Yajñas, his Yajñas would be tranquillity of mind, control of senses, contemplation of Brahma. The son, like King Vicakṣnu before, fiercely denounces Himsā.

पशुयज्ञैः कथं हि क्षैर्मांसो यदुमर्हति ।

अन्तवद्भिरिव प्राज्ञः चेन्नयज्ञैः पिशाचवः ॥

How should a wise man, as I am, offer any offerings to God by means of sacrifices in which animals are deprived of their lives, and thereby resemble a demon that practises anon ever-recurring destruction of life ?

The Śāmpāka-Gītā (176) is a fine specimen of philosophic soliloquy on the real peace of mind, following on त्याग (renunciation); and the Mañki-Gītā (177) is a humorous mock-philosophic soliloquy of a person named Mañki who finds that the pair of bullocks he had purchased with his life-long saving was, when yoked to a cart, run into by a camel, and the cart and bullocks were literally lifted up bodily, and were hung up like the two arms of a weighing machine, on the neck of the camel. Mañki finds that it is desire, that is at the bottom of all his troubles and that it must be destroyed.

In the Śṛṅgāla-Kāśyapa Samvāda (180), as a Vaiśya was driving proudly in his car it threw down a poor young Brahmin ascetic. The Brahmin, painfully realising that it was because of his poverty that he was so mercilessly trampled under the car of the rich Vaiśya, resolved to commit suicide. Just

then Indra showed himself to the Brahmin in the shape of a jackal and tried to dissuade him from his resolve, by bringing out the great value of human life as such; and the object of the story seems to be to dissuade men from the facile temptation of self-destruction, a practice that, from other sources, can probably be regarded as having once prevailed in non-Brahmanic circles.

The Nārada-Samaṅga Sainvāda (286) glorifies the happiness of a well-balanced will. Nārada is rather surprised that Samaṅga seems so very contented, humble, and easy-going, with no trace, no mental worry on his face. Samaṅga replies—Life is life, we have to take it as it comes, whether we will or not—why bother then about things which we know are beyond our control? Men having many riches live: so do also those having less: men with grief live; men with no grief like me also live: why bother? Nothing is to remain for ever.

प्रज्ञामूलं हीन्द्रियाणां प्रसादः । न ह्येवदुःखानि सदा भवन्ति सुखस्य वा
विलक्षणो लाभ एव । नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य (a carana, that occurs in
Bhagavadgīta also with a similar strain), अर्थकामौ परित्यज्य विशोको
विगतज्वरः । ॥ २८६ ॥

The purport of the सगर-अरिष्टनेमिसंवाद (288) is to show that no matter what formal stage of life we take up, whether it be the householder's stage or the final stage of renunciation, one is sure to have eternal bliss if one's will (बुद्धि) be well formed :—

एतच्छ्रुत्वा मम वचो भवान्भरत मुक्तवत् ।

गार्हस्थ्ये यदि वा मोक्षे कृता बुद्धिरविकलवा ॥

The Sainvāda is mentioned as an ६० पु० in reply to Yudhiṣṭhira's question as to how a king like him should act in this world, so that he might be free from the bondage of attachment?

Two more Saṁvādas only may be mentioned. One is the Jājali-Tulādhāra Saṁvāda (260—64) and the other, the Go-Kapiliya. The former is between Jājali, a pious ascetic, who, by mystic powers, believes to have mastered the whole universe and Tulādhāra, a pious merchant of Benares; the second dialogue (268—70) is between Kapila, and a sage Sū-maraśmi who enters the body of a cow, that was about to be offered in a sacrifice and holds a dialogue with Kapila.

The Tulādhāra-Jājali Saṁvāda is mentioned in connection with Bhīṣma's exposition of what true religion consists in, and the धर्मलक्षण mentioned is

सदाचारः स्मृतिर्वेदास्त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ।

चतुर्थमर्थमप्याहुः कवयो धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

In the course of the discussion Yudhiṣṭhira however objects that न धर्मः परिपाठेन शक्यो भारत वेदितुम्, that धर्म has no permanent principle, evidently meaning that the सदाचार and the स्मृति referred to above are not one and the same for all times and all persons. The Veda also is the source of uncertainty. The injunctions of the Veda conflict with each other and there can be no शास्त्रता, based on the Veda, with the result that

महाजना ह्युपावृत्ता राजधर्मं समाश्रिताः ।

नहि सर्वहितः कश्चिदाचारो संप्रवर्तते ॥

and also आचाराणामनैकाग्र्यं सर्वेषामेव लक्षयेत्.

It is in this connection that the Tulādhāra-Jājali Saṁvāda is brought in. Jājali is a sage, on whose body while he was practising austerities birds built nests. While loudly exclaiming that he had become a सिद्ध—a perfect man and that he had mastered धर्म, a voice in the air, or, according to another version, spirits said that he was far inferior in धर्म to गुडा. To गुडा. Jājali goes—and the merchant expounds to him his view of religion—It is, सर्वभूतहितं मेमम universal benevolence with as little harm to beings as possible—अद्रोहेष्वेव भूतानां अल्पद्रोहेन वा पुनः (a line that occurs in the Manusmṛiti also); a uniform disposition towards all; his lament is अगदः कारयती

धर्मः सदाचारेण मोहितः । The Vedic Sacrifices are useless: the सत्य यज्ञ is the good thing. Another equally important doctrine is about अहिंसा — न भूतानामहिंसाया ज्यायान्धर्मोऽस्ति कश्चन । Even ploughing the ground is हिंसा since it may harm the sentient worms, etc., living under the ground; so also whipping the animals is हिंसा. He stoutly refutes the charge of being a नास्तिक

नास्मि ब्राह्मणनास्तिकः

न यज्ञं च विनिन्दामि.....

नमो ब्राह्मणयज्ञाय ये च यज्ञविदो जनाः

but his complaint seems to be that

स्वयं ब्राह्मणा हिंसा च त्रयश्चमनुष्ठिताः ।

तुल्यैर्वित्तपरैर्ब्रह्मन् नास्तिकैः संप्रवर्तितम् ।

वेदवादानभिज्ञानां सत्याभासमिवानृतम् ।

इदं देयमिदं देयमितिनान्यच्चिकीर्षति ।

अतः स्तैन्यं प्रभवति विकर्माणि च जाजले ॥

In this strain he goes on, and the point of his attack is evidently that there are no true Brahmins; their religion has degenerated into pretences and makeshifts, all for their own benefit. In the subsequent passage, Tulādhāra says that the thing that matters is अज्ञा—(in one's own convictions)—and in this connection are quoted some गद्याः ब्रह्मगीताः bearing on अज्ञा .

It is as part of this theme of Ahimsā, elaborated in this story that the words of King Vicakṣnu referred to above occur. He is very emphatic against हिंसा—'वृथा मांसानि खादन्ति नैव धर्मः प्रशस्यते (Kumbhakonum). Nīlakanṭha's text however is quite different वृथा मांसं न खादन्ति नैव धर्मः प्रशस्यते. Again

तिलमिश्रम् ओ० (Nīlakanṭha).

सुरा मत्स्या मधु मांसं आसवं कृसरौदनम् ।

भूतैः प्रवर्तितं ह्येतत् नैतद्देवेषु कल्पितम् ।

The गोकपिलसंवाद is well-known. A cow was about to be slaughtered at the behests of the famous King Nahuṣa. At

that sight Kapila's indignation is roused and he calls a fie upon the Vedas. The Sage Syūmaraśmi takes cudgels on behalf of the Vedas, and asks him that if the Vedas are no authority for Kapila, how would he regard the Dharmas based on them. Kapila's point is that there is nothing higher than, Ahimsā, and calls upon the Sage Syūmaraśmi to produce any other authority to show that it is not so, keeping out of consideration the Vedas.

यदत्र किञ्चित्प्रत्यक्षं अहिंसायाः परं मतम् ।

ऋते स्वागमशास्त्रेभ्यो ब्रूहि तद्यदि पश्यसि ॥

The Sage Syūmaraśmi has apparently no other reply to give and must be understood to acquiesce in Kapila's thesis.

The dialogue also refers to the necessity or otherwise of the गृहस्थाश्रम and what is sought to be established is that, even without that Āśrama, one can pass to the Samnyāsa-Āśrama. The authoritativeness of the Vedas is also alluded to; but equal emphasis is laid on other virtues, such as समत्व, आर्जव, सत्य, संतोष, ज्ञान (तर्कज्ञान, वेदवाद and तर्कशास्त्राणि both being previously called as आगम). A definition of a true Brāhmaṇa with the refrain तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः (a refrain which is often to be met with in the Buddhist literature) and परमा गति is also given and the discussion ends with two Ślokas :—

ऋतं सत्यं विदितं वेदितव्यम्

सर्वस्यात्मा स्थावरं जंगमं च ।

सर्वं सुखं यच्छिवमुत्तरं च

ब्रह्माभ्यक्तं प्रभवश्चाभ्ययं च ॥

तेजः चमा शान्तिरनामयं शुभम्

तथाविधं व्योम सनातनं ध्रुवम् ।

एतैः शब्दैर्गन्धते बुद्धिनेत्रैः

तस्मै नमो ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणाय ॥

V

We have now seen, at closer quarters, the contents and the purport of some at least of the characteristic

Saṁvādas and Gītās. Many of the other Saṁvādas are of a philosophical, cosmological, mythological or religious nature. But there is one special point about these stories, whether they be called Saṁvādas, Gītās, or Upākhyānas, and it is that most of them all are introduced with some such words अत्रायुदाहरन्तीम् इतिहासं पुरातनम्, or in a few cases, अत्र ते वर्तयिष्यामि or •विष्येऽहम् इतिहासं पुरातनम्. Between these two ways of bringing these stories into the framework of the poem, one may or may not understand some difference. I, for one, would hold that some distinction was intended, the former mode indicating that the Itihāsa was already existing in some form akin to what it has now, even before it was incorporated, while the latter mode would indicate that the story in this form did not exist before and was newly written for being incorporated. Be this as it may, it is evident that most of these stories whether Saṁvādas, or Upākhyānas, गीता's or गाथा's are stories belonging to olden times, even from the point of view of the epic compilers. And this is so not only with the Mokṣadharma Section but in other places of the Śāntiparvan, the Udyogaparvan, the Vana and the Anuśāsana. *Prima facie* therefore we have to recognize in most of these cases, *i.e.*, where the Upākhyānas, etc., are introduced as इ० पु० or as श्लोकाः पुरातनाः—some older material.

In the second place, the stories we have sketched out above deal with such topics as Ahimsā; they also broadly hint at if not an out-and-out revolt against the Vedas, and the Vedic System of sacrifices, still a real-felt discontent against that olden system and its implications (as in the Tulādhāra-Jājali Episode or the Go-Kapila story). Thirdly, they evince an ardent longing for the possession and realisation of what may be called worldly righteousness, of moral virtues. The mind of the son in the Pitāputrasaṁvāda is positively against accepting the traditional morality of ब्रह्मचर्य, वेदाध्ययन, etc. Instead of simply following the formal, dead routine of हिंसक's, murderous animal sacrifices of venerable standing,

his mind, oppressed by the dead realities of life,—death, old age, time,—would seek out the world of truth, contemplative repose, control of senses. What is life? The old answer that what the Vedas tell—this answer does not satisfy me. Life is fleeting: happiness transitory. Away with vanities—seek out the abiding Truth.

The formalities, the mechanism of the older religion seems to loosen its hold, nay the old religion is already degenerated (compare the words of बुलाचार and the spirit of Kapila's remarks against हिंसा) and in its place, a subtle individualistic introspective tendency sets in. Freedom from the old trammels of thought and a discovery of the littleness of this life, that had so long stood decked in the trappings of Vedic formalities—in these two channels, the newly-awakened mind seems to work out. The Tulādhāra-Jājali Episode, while emphasising the Ahimsā-doctrine, boldly asserts that the old religion is dead succumbing to (so-called) सदाचारः so-called right conduct प्रवृत्तिः शश्वतो धर्मः सदाचारेण मोहितः. But it holds out hope too. Along with Ahimsā, Satya is the torch-bearer of the new religion. This dialogue also shows—and this I think is an important point, as we shall see immediately below—that the degeneration of the old Vedic religion was complete. “This must be given—that must be given too” thus did the Vedic injunctions insist. This resulted in thefts and wrong deeds being committed. But new ways require faith and strength of convictions, अदा, which also this dialogue emphasises—अदामयोऽयं पुनश्च: ‘ये यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः।

These and similar stories contained in the epic reflect clearly a drifting away from the older, i.e., the Vedic order of things. They depict also a fermentation of new thought; the old view of Vedic rites, and of conformity to established usage, did not satisfy the awakened spirit. It is otherwise difficult to account for the existence itself of these ‘ancient stories,’ Itihāsāḥ purāṇāḥ, apart from the question of their relation to the Mahābhārata poem, unless one were to hold

them to be "conscious manufacture," or "subsequent fabrications."

Even apart from such stories, the Mahābhārata has preserved at some places evidence enough to show that, at least at the time when the epic part of the poem as such was composed or completed, there was the tumult of the new thought, above indicated. Thus in the opening chapters of the Śāntiparvan itself, when Yudhiṣṭhira is unwilling to resume the reins of the kingdom, won at such terrific cost, and says that he would take up Śaunhyāsa and live the life of a hermit, there is a fierce outburst against this desire of his, coming from the rest of the brothers, his wife and Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana himself. शत्रून् हत्वा महीं लब्ध्वा स्वधर्मेणोपपादितां । इतामित्रः कथं स त्वं त्यजेथाः (i.e., श्रियम्) बुद्धिलाघवात्, asks Arjuna, and he politely reminds him that poverty (as is implied in a hermit's life) is prescribed by that curious King Nahuṣa, for the sages—आकिञ्चन्यं मुनीनां च इति वै नहुषोऽब्रवीत्. The whole of the passage contains vigorous denunciation of सन्यास and Arjuna quotes the story of some householders who उत्सृज्य नास्तिकमतिं गार्हस्थ्यं धर्ममाश्रिताः—Draupadī goes to the length of saying that had Yudhiṣṭhira's brothers been wise persons, they would have hauled up Yudhiṣṭhira as a नास्तिक, an atheist, and would have themselves carried on the kingdom

यदि हि स्युरनुमत्ता आतरस्ते नराधिप ।

बद्ध्वा त्वां नास्तिकैः सार्धं प्रशासेयुर्बभूवुरात्म ॥

In this connection there occurs in Adhyāya 18, a passage (found both in the Northern Recension and the Kumbhakonum Edition) which shows that at the time when it was composed there prevailed a wide-spread tendency of renouncing the world easily—a tendency such as is found depicted in the Buddhist and also the Jain literature, and is generally recognised as existing about Mahāvīra and Gotama Buddha's times. This aspect of the question must now be reserved for further elucidation on some other occasion and my purpose here is to

emphasise that our epic also contains some traces of the sort of social upheaval, that is generally associated with the period of Buddha's birth and its immediately connected periods. The passage above referred to thus speaks in a disparaging manner of the various sorts of false sannyāsins or ascetics in these words—

परिभ्रजन्ति दानार्थं मुण्डाः काषायवाससः ।
 सिता बहुविधैः पाशैः संचिन्वन्तो वृथामिषम् ॥
 त्रयीं च नाम वार्तां च त्यक्त्वा पुत्रान् भ्रजन्ति ये ।
 त्रिविष्टुभं च वासश्च प्रतिगृह्णन्त्यबुद्धयः ॥
 अनिष्कषाये काषायम् ईहार्थमिति विद्वि तम् ।
 धर्मध्वजानां मुण्डानां वृत्त्यर्थमिति मे मतिः ॥
 काषायैरजिनैश्चैरैर्गन्तान् मुण्डान् जटाधरान् ।
 विभ्रत् साधून् महाराज जय लोकान् जितेन्द्रियः ॥

The mention of these ascetics, Nagnas, Muṇḍas and Jaṭādhara is, I submit, significant in many ways. These classes of ascetics occur in the Buddhist lists also, and the Nagnas, "the Naked Ascetics," above spoken of are possibly the Ājivikas, as Barua tries to make out, in an article, recently published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*. The same writer's book on "Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy" brings together in a convenient form all the various Tāpasa and Parivrājaka schools, probably flourishing before Gotama.

That the Mahābhārata reflects a time when the old religion had been shaken to its foundation, is apparent from other passages. Thus towards the end of the Śāntiparvan (Adhyāya 354) a Brahmin who is dismayed at the sight of the wreath waving on the banner of the flag-staff of religion shattered to pieces (दृष्ट्वा तु धर्मध्वजकेतुमालाम् । प्रकीर्यमायामुपरि प्रजानाम् ॥) asks a certain visitor of his to put him in right religion. The guest, however, is also similarly distressed at heart for a similar reason. He says that in the bewildering diversity

of the path of religion it becomes a difficult task to see which is the true one—

अहमप्यत्र मुह्यामि ममाप्येव मनोरथः ।
न च संविश्रयं यामि बहुद्वारे त्रिविष्टपे ॥

Then he enumerates the different paths followed by different persons.

केचिन्मोक्षं^१ प्रशंसन्ति केचिद् यज्ञफलं^२ द्विजाः ।
वानप्रस्थाश्रयाः^३ केचित् गार्हस्थ्यं^४ केचित् आश्रिताः ॥
राजधर्माश्रयाः^५ केचित् केचित् आत्म^६फलश्रयाः ।
गुरु^७धर्माश्रयाः केचित् केचित् वाक्यसंयमाश्रयाः^८ ॥
मातरं पितरं^९ केचित् शुश्रूषन्तो दिवं गताः ।
अहिंसया^{१०} परे स्वर्गं सत्येन^{११} च तथा परे ॥
आहवेभिमुक्ताः^{१२} केचित् निहताः त्रिदिवं गताः ।
केचित् ऋक्त्रयैः^{१३} सिद्धाः.....
केचित् अज्ययने युक्ताः^{१४}
आर्जवेनापरे^{१५}

एवं बहुविधैः लोकैः धर्मद्वारैः अनावृतैः ।
ममापि मतिराविद्धा मेघजलेव वायुना ॥

This passage mentions at least 15 different ways, each of which was regarded in the Brahmanic circles as good as any other for the attainment of final deliverance. The old ideal of conformity to Vedic rites and ways has vanished, and different moral virtues and worldly goodness take its place.

Such ideas are not confined to the Mokṣadharmaparvan or Śāntiparvan alone. The Aśvamedhaparvan has one Adhyāya (49) in the course of which as many as 44 different schools or ways of thinking are referred to, the question being, which one of these to choose.

ऊर्ध्वं देहाद् वदन्त्यन्ये नैतदस्तीति चापरे ।
केचित् संशयितं सर्वम्, निःसंशयमभापरे ।
अनित्यं नित्यमित्येके नास्त्यस्तीत्यपि चापरे ।
त्रिष्वेत्येके द्विष्वेत्येके व्याकीर्णमिति चापरे ।
मन्यन्ते ब्राह्मणा एव ब्रह्मशास्त्रस्त्वदर्शिनः ।

एकमेके पृथक् चान्ये बहुव्यमिति चापरे ।
 देशकालावुभौ केचित् नैतदस्तीति चापरे ।
 जटाजिनधराश्चान्ये मुण्डाः केचिद् असङ्गताः ।
 अस्नानं केचिदिच्छन्ति स्नानमप्यपरे जनाः ।
 मन्यन्ते ब्राह्मणा देवा ब्रह्मज्ञास्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।
 आहारं केचिद् इच्छन्ति केचिज्ज्ञानशने रताः ।
 कर्म केचित् प्रशंसन्ति प्रशान्तिं चापरे जनाः ।
 केचिन्मोक्षं प्रशंसन्ति केचिद्भोगान् पृथग्विधान् ।
 धनानि केचित् इच्छन्ति निर्धनत्वमयापरे ।
 वपास्यसाधनं त्वेके नैतदस्तीति चापरे ।
 अहिंसानिरतारश्चान्ये केचिद् हिंसापरायणाः ।
 पुण्येन यशसा चान्ये नैतदस्तीति चापरे ।
 सद्भावनिरतारश्चान्ये केचित् संशयिते स्थिताः ।
 यज्ञ इत्यपरे विप्राः प्रदानमिति चापरे ।
 तपस्त्वान्ये प्रशंसन्ति स्वाध्यायमपरे जनाः ।
 ज्ञानं संन्यासमित्येके स्वभावं भूतचिन्तकाः ।
 सर्वमेके प्रशंसन्ति न सर्वमिति चापरे ।
 एवं व्युत्थापिते धर्मे बहुधा विप्रबोधिते ।
 निश्चयं नाधिगच्छामः श्रेयः किमिति सत्तम ।
 इदं श्रेय इदं श्रेय इत्येवं व्युरियते जनः ।
 यो हि यस्मिन् रतो धर्मे स तं पूजयते सदा ।
 तेन नाऽविहिता प्रज्ञा मनश्च बहुलीकृतम् ।
 एतदाख्यातमिच्छामः श्रेयः किमिति सत्तम ॥

VI

The preceding observations will have, I trust, made evident the sort of mental background that lies at the back of some of the Sāmvādas to be found so very often in the Mahābhārata including the Śāntiparvan. This background, it further appears, is common to certain epic portions and the episodic ones too. The seething turmoil of thought, the conflict of ways, old and new, the springing up of new good or bad systems of thought, the longing of earnest souls to find some intellectual support in this apparently unending clash

of systems—all this we find in the Sainvādas. That some of the systems which survived that clash and are still existing, are not found specifically mentioned under the names in which they are known to us, this we are not immediately concerned with; if indeed this omission means anything, it means that *prima facie*, these systems were not then known. Then, we have seen that the condition of things reflected in the epic, remarkably coincides with the conditions, which are generally recognised as prevailing at the time of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, and which we find portrayed in the dialogues of Buddha. 62 different schools of speculation are referred to in the Bahmajālasutta, and it is rather surprising to find a nearly equal number of views referred to in the epic. I do not mean that one has borrowed from the other; but we shall have to admit that if the Buddhistic list is to be regarded as containing a piece of socio-historic importance, well, the epic list also must be equally authoritative to us, and its implications should be recognised.

If it had been a stray case of resemblance, we could be reasonably sceptical about it. The passages that have been referred to above in the course of these notes, are, most of them, taken from a part of the twelfth book. But that passages in similar strain are to be found in other portions of the epic is well-known. The present writer had an occasion to deal at some length with similar passages from the earlier books (I—V)* some time back, and there too the case is the same as that of the Mokṣadharma, viz., that these Itihāsa Purāṇas reflect a period of speculation, turmoil, scepticism; a period when the old religion of the Veda is gradually losing ground, under attacks of Reason and Inquiry.—So far as I at least can see at present, I am tempted to admit that the period in the evolution of Indian life and civilisation that can be said to reasonably correspond to this stage as reflected in the Itihāsas above alluded to, is the period immediately preceding and following the birth of Buddhism and Jainism.

I may be allowed, before I conclude, to refer to one important question only, *viz.*, about the composition and the final form of the epic as a whole. This question, I know, is veritably a hornets' nest. The date usually assigned to the formation of the epic is 400 B.C. to 400 A.D., *i.e.*, about eight hundred years, it being implied that the epic kernel belongs to the former half, and the episodic material not to any specified period, but to somewhere towards the latest period (compare Winternitz, *History*, I, and his recent publication, *Problems of Indian Literature*, p. 39). This date leaves the main question practically unanswered. Winternitz in his last-named work says that it is "impossible to fix the ascetic poetry (that is the name he gives to the sort of poetry that has been the subject of this paper) of the *Mahābhārata* chronologically." I submit, with due deference to the views of that eminent scholar and my revered friend too—that if the didactic portions be viewed from a rationalistic point of view, a view, at once humanly and sociological, it would not be difficult to assign the didactic portions chronologically. This is, what I have humbly sought above to do. There are other views also propounded by Winternitz in his recent work referred to above, regarding didactic portions of the *Mahābhārata*, which require further investigation. These together with the one above mentioned must be left over for another occasion.

(2)

ON THE FOURTEEN MĀHEŚVARA SŪTRAS.

BY

K. A. SUBRAHMANIA IYER, M.A.,
Reader, Lucknow University.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the basic work of the Pāṇinean School of Sanskrit Grammar, differs from the Sūtra works belonging to other śāstras in that the author has employed a large number of artificial devices in the exposition of his subject. No doubt such devices and conventions were necessitated by the very nature of the subject Pāṇini was dealing with. The order in which the Sūtras follow one another is highly important for our understanding their meaning. A very elaborate system of 'anubandhas' or indicatory letters has been introduced in order to facilitate the task of exposition. These letters joined on to roots, prefixes, suffixes and other elements of language, indicate, sometimes the accent, sometimes the changes to be effected in stems or bases, sometimes other operations to be performed. Words following the same rule have been grouped together into 'gaṇas' named after the first word in the group and thus brevity of expression has been attained. Special names like वि हि अ, have been coined having no etymological meaning, solely for the purpose of securing brevity. Peculiar to this Sūtra-work is the method of 'anuṣṛṭti' or making a Sūtra or part thereof significant not only where it is taught, but also in many succeeding Sūtras just for the purpose of avoiding repetition. A serious cause of complication and difficulty is the division of the whole work into two portions, the sapādī and the tripādī, the former comprising

the first seven chapters and the first pāda of the eighth chapter and the latter, the remaining three pādas of the eighth chapter, and the declaration in the Sūtra 'पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्' (8. 2. 1) that for the purposes of the application of any rule in the first portion, the second portion must be considered as though it has never been written. But the supremest device of all is the arrangement at the very beginning of the work, of the sounds of the language, in a peculiar order and their distribution into fourteen Sūtras. Each Sūtra contains a certain number of the sounds of the language and ends with a letter called 'इत्', the purpose of which is to help in the formation of contractions. Any letter contained in any one of these Sūtras, read together with its own 'इत्' letter or with that of any subsequent Sūtra, becomes the name of all the letters coming between the two. Such names are called 'pratyāhāras' or contractions. Grammar deals largely with the sounds of a language and as these sounds naturally fall into groups having common properties and therefore following similar grammatical laws, they have been arranged according to their grammatical affinities in these fourteen Sūtras. Students of the Aṣṭādhyāyī will testify to the great help rendered by these Pratyāhāras, not only to Pāṇini but also to themselves.

As these fourteen Sūtras form the very basis of the Pāṇinean system, it would be interesting to know whether they were his own, or whether he inherited them wholly from former grammarians, or whether he adapted to his use a similar arrangement known to previous grammarians.

Now, what is the tradition in regard to this matter? There would be some interest in grasping the tradition fully, especially as there are many who seem to be aware of only a part of it. As usually understood, the tradition is that these Sūtras were given to Pāṇini by God Śiva and that Pāṇini wrote his Aṣṭādhyāyī on their basis. But this is not the full tradition, nor, as I hope to show soon, the earliest part of it. The second 'āhnikā' of the 'Nayāhnikā' portion

of the Mahābhāṣya is devoted entirely to a discussion of these Sūtras. The last sentence of that 'āhnika' runs thus : **सोऽथमक्षरसमाज्ञायो वाक्समाज्ञायः पुष्पितः फञ्जितश्चन्द्रतारकव्यप्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गं लोके मूर्ध्निवेत्ते ॥** (Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 2, p. 132.) It is clear from this sentence that Patañjali regarded these fourteen Sūtras as Veda and he promises to those who know this 'ब्रह्मराशि' the rewards resulting from the study of the Vedas. There is nothing in the Bhāṣya connecting these Sūtras with God Śiva. It is true that commenting on the Bhāṣya "एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्याततो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नेहि संदेहादलक्ष्यम्" (Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 2, p. 130), Nāgojibhaṭṭa, the last of the great grammarians belonging to the Pāṇinean School, says 'आचार्यः शिवः' But we must remember that Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a comparatively recent writer, who had been influenced by all the traditions which had grown up between Patañjali and himself. The word आचार्य is used by Patañjali scores of times in his bhāṣya and everywhere, except here, Nāgojibhaṭṭa takes it as referring to Pāṇini. Nor is it likely that Patañjali would use the word आचार्य meaning God Maheśvara. The word seems hardly appropriate to a God, however much He may be supposed to possess learning and wisdom. It may also be mentioned that Kaiyaṣa nowhere takes आचार्य to mean God Śiva. If these Sūtras are Veda, they must be eternal also, for the Veda is eternal. This belief must have continued after Patañjali, has in fact come down to our own times. The Kāśikā says nothing on this point, though it explains the Sūtras. Nāgojibhaṭṭa quotes the remarks of Bhartr̥hari, most probably the great grammarian of the VIIth century A.D. mentioned by I-tsing, on the above-quoted sentence from Patañjali : **यथैवेदमन्युच्छिन्नं चन्द्रतारकादि, एवमस्याक्षरसमाज्ञायस्य न कश्चिदापुनिकः कर्तास्ति, एवमेव वेदपारम्पर्येण स्मर्यमाणमिति ।** As this is written in prose, it is probably taken from the commentary on the Mahābhāṣya written by Bhartr̥hari. Here again we see the belief in the eternity of the **अक्षरसमाज्ञाय**, which is one of the many names for these fourteen Sūtras. It is noteworthy

that so far God Maheśvara has not been connected with them. Nor is it clear when they were so connected for the first time. In any case, the Brhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra (1037 A. D.) which records many traditions relating to Pāṇini, says : पाणिनिर्नाम वर्षस्य शिष्यः पूर्वं जडाशयः । तपसा शंकरात् प्राप्य नवं व्याकरणं वशी ॥ (तरङ्ग २). It will be observed that it is not the fourteen Pratyāhāra Sūtras which Pāṇini is supposed to have learnt from God Śiva, but the whole science of grammar. A similar statement is made in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva (1063—1081 A.D.): तत्र तीव्रेण तपसा तोषिता-दिन्दुशेखरात् । सर्वविद्यामुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ (तरङ्ग २). Thus, in the 11th century A.D. in any case, we see that Pāṇini is credited with having learnt the whole of Vyākaraṇa from God Maheśvara. When the slightly different tradition that he received only the Pratyāhāra Sūtras from God Śiva and composed his Aṣṭādhyāyī on their basis himself, originated, it is not clear. In any case, it is recorded in the well-known Pāṇiniya-śikṣā which scholars believe to be a rather late work. Śloka 57 of this work runs thus : येनाक्षरसामान्यामधिगम्य महेश्वरात् । कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ It is this very tradition which is recorded in the oft-quoted opening verse of the Nandikeśvarakāśikā, a commentary on these Sūtras : नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्च बारम् । उद्धतुकामः सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शं शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥ God “Śiva beat the drum 14 times at the end of his dance with a view to uplift सनक and other sages. This, I believe, is the ‘group of Śivaśūtras.’” The idea is that by beating the drum 14 times, God Śiva revealed the fourteen Pratyāhāra Sūtras. The next Śloka runs thus : अत्र सर्वत्र सूत्रेषु अन्यवर्ण्यचतुर्दशं । आख्यं समुपादिषु पाणिन्यादीहसिद्धये ॥ “In these Sūtras, the last letter has been taught for the sake of the root, i.e., for the sake of the development of the science of grammar on the basis of roots and also in order that Pāṇini and others might fulfil their wishes.” According to this verse, it is not for Pāṇini alone that God Śiva taught the final ‘इ’ letters, but for the sake of other

grammarians also. If that is so, it is interesting, because it would mean that according to tradition, not merely Pāṇini, but also other grammarians used the Śivasūtras as the basis of their work. The above Śloka also makes it clear that what God Maheśvara did was simply to add the final 'इत्' letters to the fourteen Pratyāhāra Sūtras which, being eternal and **ब्रह्मराशिः**, were already there. According to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, this is the meaning of the Vārttika 'अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च' (Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 1, p. 72). For he says: अत एवानुबन्धकरणार्थश्चवर्णानामुपदेश इत्युक्तं भाष्ये । अत्र करणशब्दप्रयोगेणानुबन्धानां सादित्वं सूचितम् । तत्करणञ्चोपदेशकर्तृकमेव । प्रत्यासत्तेः । तेन तदव्यतिरिक्तस्य सर्वस्यानादित्वं सूचितम् ॥ (Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Vol. I, p. 6). A little earlier in the same book, Nāgojibhaṭṭa says: अनुबन्धाश्च महेश्वरकृता एवेत्युपदं स्फुटीभविष्यति ॥ (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 5). The commentary of Nandikeśvara then goes on to show how the Pratyāhāra Sūtras teach in a brief manner the whole contents of the Veda and reveal a deep philosophy, thereby justifying the old name 'ब्रह्मराशिः' found in Patañjali. This commentary sums up in this way all the traditions which we have so far noted.

We have now the full tradition, in which the chief points to be noted are :

1. That the particular arrangement of the sounds of the Sanskrit language into fourteen Sūtras is really Veda and has therefore always existed. In this state, they are free from the 'इत्' letters.

2. That God Maheśvara revealed them to Pāṇini and other grammarians, adding the final इत् letters in order that the science of grammar may flourish.

The next question is : Does this tradition give any clue to the real history of these Sūtras or not ? Were they known to the grammarians who preceded Pāṇini ? Had they also written their works on the basis of these very Pratyāhāra Sūtras or did they know some other similar arrangement of the sounds of the language ? It is obvious that this is part of a

far bigger question, namely, How far are the devices used by Pāṇini in his own Aṣṭādhyāyī? This question is not a new one. It is one of the many questions discussed by Goldstücker in his 'Pāṇini' more than eighty years ago. While he throws a good deal of light on the bigger question, he says nothing about the one which is the subject of this short paper. His conclusions on the bigger question are interesting and will be discussed soon.

The chief difficulty in our attempt to solve this question is that we do not possess any grammatical work older than the Aṣṭādhyāyī. That there were such works is beyond question. Vyākaraṇa is a very old science in India. It was recognised as a separate discipline at the time of Yāska and probably much earlier. Yāska considers निरुक्त a supplementary science to Vyākaraṇa. तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च ॥ अध्याय I, खण्ड 14. It should not be taught to one who does not know Vyākaraṇa 'नावैय्याकरणस्य.' But Yāska's Nirukta does not yield much information on the question that interests us: Did the Vaiyyākaraṇas of his time know the Pratyāhāra Sūtras? There are in the Nirukta some technical terms which probably belong to grammar: तद्धित, समास (2.2), धातु, कृत्, उपधा, नामकरण, etc., but all of them are ordinary words having an etymological meaning and cannot be considered artificial. The term 'तद्धित' is interesting. It indicates that earlier grammarians had taught secondary noun-formation on the basis of the meanings, which the secondary pratyayas express, for तद्धित is supposed to stand for 'तस्मै हितम्' (P. 5.1.5), one of the meanings in which the taddhita suffixes are added to primary nouns. When Yāska says "दण्डयः पुरुषो दण्डमर्हतीति वा, दण्डेन सम्पद्यत इति वा," etc., (2.2) one is reminded of Pāṇini's तदर्हति (5. 1. 63) and दण्डादिभ्यो षः (5. 1. 66). There is no doubt that Pāṇini only perfected an older method of teaching taddhita suffixes. Like the Nirukta, the Prātiśākhyaś are also, allied to the science of grammar; but those now extant give us no valuable clue as

to the artificial device used by the pre-Pāṇinian grammarians. Besides the chronological position in which they stand to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is not yet quite settled, considering there is a difference of opinion among scholars on the subject. We are then left to what we can gather from the Aṣṭādhyāyī itself, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, the Mahābhāṣya and the commentaries thereon. It must be remarked in the very beginning that these works do not help us in deciding the question finally. They only enable us to make some conjectures.

There are certain circumstances which might lead one to the conclusion that these Sūtras were known to the pre-Pāṇinian grammarians. We need have no doubt that the Sūtra style was used by them. Not only does the perfection of the Sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī justify us in believing it, but the Mahābhāṣya contains some hints to the same effect. Kātyāyana and Patañjali often speak of पूर्वसूत्र meaning grammatical works anterior to Pāṇini (see Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 2, p. 131). It is possible, of course, that here by Sūtra is meant only 'work' in general, and not 'work composed in Sūtras.' We will therefore take another passage from the Mahābhāṣya: किं पुनरिदं द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्भवति । एवं भविमनुहति । "Is a Samāsa called 'द्विगु' when a word expressing number is compounded with another in the same case, provided that a suffix or the last term of a Samāsa follows?" This introduces the Vārttika of Kātyāyana "द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेदितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः" (Mahābhāṣya, 2. 1. 3, Vol. II, p. 385). This Vārttika points out the difficulty that would arise if the name 'द्विगु' were given to a 'Samāsa' so formed. That is however what the Sūtra 'प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोः' does. But whose Sūtra is this? Not Pāṇini's, because he teaches 'द्विगु' by two Sūtras: "तद्विज्ञातोत्तरपदसमाहारे च" and "संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः" (P. 2, 1.50 and 51). Kātyāyana was obviously quoting somebody else's definition in order to criticise it. कैयट says on this point: काशकृष्णस्य प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोरिति सूत्रं । तद्विचारयति पाणिनीयं तु पश्चाद्विचारयिष्यति. Kaiyyaṭa therefore makes the definite statement that Kātyāyana quotes

a Sūtra of काशकृत्स्न in order to show its defect. It is difficult to believe that he would do so unless he had some authority for it. He could have contented himself with a general statement, instead of naming a particular writer. Now काशकृत्स्न is one of the grammarians mentioned in the well-known Śloka :
 इन्द्रबन्धुः काशकृत्स्न अपिशलिः शाकटायनः ॥ पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यहादि-
 रादिकाः ॥ Though Pāṇini himself does not mention काशकृत्स्न in his Sūtras, the name is found in two of his gaṇas उपकादि and अरीहयादि. Though it is difficult to decide whether a grammarian of this name lived before Pāṇini, it does not matter much for us. The fact remains that Kātyāyana discusses a Sūtra belonging to a grammarian other than Pāṇini. This is not a solitary instance. In the bhāṣya on सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, Patañjali says: इहान्ये वैयाकरणाः समस्तते विभाषा लोपमिच्छन्ति समो ितततयोरिति । सततम्-सततम्, सहितं-सहितम्. It is obvious that समोहिततयोः is a Sūtra probably belonging to a writer earlier than Pāṇini. We can therefore safely assume that the Sūtra style is older than Pāṇini and when such a style is adopted, artificial devices have a tendency to creep in. As was remarked before, Goldstücker has enquired into this matter in his Pāṇini. On the basis of the Sūtra “तदशिष्यसंज्ञाप्रमाणात्” (I. 2. 53) and the bhāṣya on it he came to the following conclusions :

1. That his (Pāṇini's) Grammar does not treat of those saṃjñās or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.

2. That this term saṃjñā must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.

3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.

4. That such terms as ṭi, ghu, and bha were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that nevertheless they are defined by Pāṇini, because they are not etymological terms.

If Goldstücker is right in his conclusions they would throw some light on our question. If it is true that technical names like टि, डु and भ were settled before Pāṇini's time and that he was defining them nevertheless only because they are not etymological terms, it must follow as a matter of course that the Pratyāhāra Sūtras were also known before Pāṇini. The terms टि and भ, presuppose the existence of these Sūtras, for they are based on them, as Pāṇini's definition makes it clear: his definition of 'टि' is 'अचोऽस्त्यादि टि' (I. 1. 64). Here the Pratyāhāra 'अच्' is used and if the term was settled before Pāṇini the Pratyāhāra also must have been settled before. The same applies to भ, which is defined by Pāṇini as 'यचि भम्' (I. 4. 18). It means "an aṅga is called 'भ' if it is followed by a स्त्यादि pratyaya, beginning with य or a letter included in the Pratyāhāra 'अच्'". Thus the term 'भ' also presupposes the existence of these Sūtras. If Goldstücker's conclusions are right our question is finally settled. But are they right? They are based on the bhāṣya on the Sūtra 'तदशित्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणात्वात्' (I. 2. 53) and Kaiyyaṭa's commentary on it. I am afraid that Goldstücker has misunderstood both. As the point is rather important, let me quote both here. Bhāṣya on I. 2. 53: "किं या एताः कृत्रिमाट्टिबुभादिसंज्ञा तत्प्रामाण्यादशित्यम् ?" Kaiyyaṭa: किं या एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिव्याप्रायेण प्रश्नः ॥ Bhāṣya: नेत्याह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा । Kaiyyaṭa: नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । न हि टिबुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणात्वं युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रस्याशित्यत्वे हेतुरप्यप्यते सम्बन्धाभावात् ॥ संज्ञानमिति । अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः । This passage might be translated as follows: Bhāṣya: "Is it because artificial terms like टि, डु, भ, etc., are naturally authoritative that it (i.e., the युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र mentioned in I. 1. 51) should not be taught?" Kaiyyaṭa: "The question contained in the sentence किं या एताः is asked on the basis of the law of proximity" (i.e., since Pāṇini uses the word संज्ञा in I. 2. 53, one thinks of the nearest संज्ञा and in this Śāstra, the संज्ञा: or technical names are टि, डु, भ, etc.). Bhāṣya: "No, the word संज्ञा means here 'understanding' and not a technical name."

Kaiyyāṭa : "The sentence *नेत्याह*, etc., means: The power of a word to express its own meaning is stronger than (or has precedence over) proximity (or context). The authoritativeness of terms like *टि*, *बु*, *म*, etc., cannot be the cause of the *युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र* being excluded from the subjects to be taught, for there is no connection between the two. The word *संज्ञानम्* means 'understanding, comprehension.'" Goldstücker's rendering of this passage is very different, and, I venture to think, erroneous. His initial mistake lies in taking the words 'तद्' in Pāṇini's Sūtra as referring to 'conventional terms,' instead of the "*युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र*" mentioned in I.1.51 (see his 'Pāṇini,' pp. 126-27). His rendering of Kaiyyāṭa's commentary is entirely wrong. *प्रत्यासत्ति* does not mean 'analogy' but proximity, nearness. Nor does 'सामर्थ्य' mean context, but the natural power of a word to denote a meaning, which in the case of the word 'संज्ञा' makes it denote 'संज्ञानं' understanding. *The result is that neither Patañjali nor Kaiyyāṭa says anywhere that these terms were settled before Pāṇini's time.*

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that until we have stronger evidence we are justified in believing that the Pratyāhāra Sūtras are Pāṇini's own. There is only just an 'a priori' possibility that they were known before his time, but no valuable data to prove it. When we further remember the circumstance that Pāṇini, who always aimed at brevity and avoided unnecessary words, devotes two whole Sūtras [*इलन्त्यम्* (I. 3. 3) and *आदिरन्त्येन सहैता* (I. 1. 71)] to give the name of 'इत्' to the final letters of the Māheśvara Sūtras and to tell us the mode of forming Pratyāhāras, one is rather inclined to think that the system was new and not known before. Further, Patañjali by constantly using the word *आचार्य* in his bhāṣya on these Sūtras makes us think that he, at least, believed them to be of Pāṇini's invention. It is true that he calls them 'प्रहारशि' but that does not affect our argument because if he at least believed

that Pāṇini revealed them and added the 'इत्' letters, that is enough for our purpose. As for the tradition incorporated in the statement "आख्यं समुपादिष्टं पाणिन्यादीष्टसिद्धये," it might be explained by the fact that the grammarians who came after Pāṇini have taken over these Pratyāhāra Sūtras and have written their works on their basis.

(3)

DATES OF PATAÑJALI AND VĀTSYĀYANA

BY

H. A. SHAH

(Bombay).

In our paper "*Puṣyamitra—who is he?*" (published in the "Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras," 1924, on pp. 377-389), we put together certain data about Puṣyamitra and pointed out that he was not a Śunga, not a successor of the last Maurya but a successor of the Brhadratha family of kings and that he flourished about the time of last Nanda king. Bhāṣyakāra Patañjali is closely associated with him and, accordingly, his date too falls in the same period. This fact, if accepted, calls forth certain explanations regarding his mention of "*Mauryas*" in his Bhāṣya on the Sūtra "जीविकार्ये चापण्ये" (V, 3, 99). It runs thus "शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हि रण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत् तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ॥"

On the face of it, this instance is not applicable to kings—much less to Maurya kings—because, in the words of Dr. Weber (I. A., Vol. II, p. 61, February, 1873), "it is not easy to understand how kings, in order to *earn their livelihood* (and only on this condition is the example relevant to the Sūtra) should have caused images of gods to be prepared or exhibited for sale."

Now we hope to dispel wrong notions which have obtained currency about the Mauryas in relation to "*Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha*." Let us first consider if we are justified in taking Mauryas to mean *exclusively* Maurya rulers and none else.

In his "Life of Mahāvira" (Tri., Vol. X, Canto 5) Hemachandra narrates about a Maurya family (of *Brāhmīns*) which supplied Mahāvira with one out of the twelve eminent apostles (*gaṇadhara*).
 "Hemachandra."

“ धनदेवश्च मौर्यश्च मौर्याख्ये सञ्जिवेशने ।
 द्वावभूतां द्विजन्मानौ मातृस्वलेयकौ मिथः ॥ 52
 परम्यां विजयदेवायां धनदेवस्य नन्दनः ।
 मंडकोऽभूत्तत्र जाते धनदेवो व्यपद्यत ॥ ” 53

“In the town called Maurya, two Brāhmin brothers (sons of maternal aunts) respectively named Dhanadeva and Maurya lived. Of the two, Dhanadeva died after a son was born to his wife Vijayadevā.”

“ लोकाचारो ह्यसौ तत्रेत्यभार्यो मौर्यकोऽकरोत् ।
 भार्यां विजयदेवां तां देशाचारो हि न हि वे ॥ 54
 क्रमाद्विजयदेवायां मौर्यस्य तनयोऽभवत् ।
 स च लोके मौर्यपुत्र इति नाम्नैव पप्रथे ॥ 55

.....

इति स्वामिगिरा बुद्धो मौर्यपुत्रोऽपि तत्स्थायम् ।
 परिवव्राज.....॥ ” 141.

“This Maurya then married according to custom the widow of his brother ; and a son was born to her in course of time. He became known to people by the name Mauryaputra Enlightened by the speech of the Master, Mauryaputra took vows then and there”

This instance is good enough to break the spell around the word Maurya—‘that it means only Kshatriya kings of the family of Chandragupta.’ Let us now consider ‘Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.’

In two more places in the Mahābhāṣya, ‘Skanda and Viśākha’ are spoken of as a pair.

“देवताद्वन्द्वेच” (VI, 3, 26)—“देवताद्वन्द्व उभयत्र बायोः प्रतिषेधः ॥ १॥
 ...ब्रह्मप्रजापत्यादीनां च ॥ २॥ ब्रह्मप्रजापत्यादीनां च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ब्रह्मप्रजापती
 शिवदेववधौ स्कन्दविशाखौ ॥ तत्तद्दिं वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् ॥ ” and, “द्वन्द्वं

रहस्यमयादावचनभ्युत्क्रमयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगामिष्यत्किषु ॥” (VIII, 1, 15)
 “अत्यन्तसहचरिते लोकविज्ञाते द्वन्द्वमित्युपसंख्यानम् ॥२॥ अत्यन्तसहचरिते
 लोकविज्ञाते द्वन्द्वमित्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् द्वन्द्वं स्कन्दविशाखौ । द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतौ ।
 अत्यन्तसहचरित इति किमर्थम् । द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ । लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् ।
 द्वौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ ॥ ”

To understand this pair स्कन्दविशाखौ known well to masses, we have to turn our eyes from grammar to a work on
 “Vāgbhaṭṭa,” medicine where the two are *in their proper place* :

“पुरा गुहस्य रक्षार्थं निर्मिताः शूलपाणिना ।

मनुष्यविग्रहाः पञ्च सप्त स्त्रीविग्रहा ग्रहाः ॥१॥

स्कन्दो विशाखो मेघाख्यः श्वग्रहः पितृसंज्ञितः ।

शकुनिः पूतना शीतपूतना दृष्टिपूतना ॥२॥

मुखमण्डलिका तद्वद्रेवती शुष्करेवती ।

तेषां ग्रहीव्यतां रूपं प्रततं रोदनं ज्वरः” ॥३॥ etc.

“Formerly Lord Śiva created five male and seven female genii to guard his offspring Guha (Kārttika), two of whom were Skanda and Viśākha.”

So runs the antiquated origin of Skanda and Viśākha as may be perceived in the famous ‘Aṣṭāṅ-
 “Skanda-Viśākha.”
 gahrdaya’^{*} (वत्सरस्थान Ch. 3) of the reputed Vāgbhaṭṭa.

When children are affected by them, they weep continuously and get fever—so we are told herein. Verses 6—8 give definite symptoms of visitation by Skanda and the end may come in permanent defect or in death as told in Verse 9 :

“स्कन्दास्तैर्न वैकल्यं मरणं वा भवेद् भुवम्” ॥१॥

In Verses 10-11, symptoms of ‘स्कन्दापस्मार’ are described and as मेघाख्यग्रह is dealt with subsequently, these verses may be supposed to refer to malady caused by Viśākha, the companion of Skanda. That it is so may be seen from

following verses of the Mahābhārata : (P. Roy's ed., III, 226 and 229) :

.....“ वज्रं शक्रः न्यपातयत् ॥१४॥
वज्रप्रहारात् स्कन्दस्य सञ्जातः पुरुषोऽपरः ॥१५॥
यत् वज्रविशनाज्जातः विशाखः तेन सोऽभवत् ” ॥१७॥
.....

and,

“ ततः शरीरात् स्कन्दस्य पुरुषः पावकप्रभः ।
भोक्तुं प्रजाः सो मर्यानां निष्पपात महाप्रभुः ॥२४॥
स्कन्देन सोऽभ्यनुज्ञातो रौद्ररूपोऽभवद्ग्रहः ।
स्कन्दापस्मारमित्याहुर्ग्रहं तं द्विजसत्तमाः ” ॥२५॥

[The commentator Aruṇadatta says in his Sarvāṅga-sundara Tīkā on this ninth verse of Vāgbhaṭṭa : “ सम्प्रति विशाखस्य स्कन्दापस्मारसंज्ञस्य लक्षणमाह ” ॥]

Why do these genii create so much trouble to children and men ? The answer of Vāgbhaṭṭa is that they come down to kill them or to play with them or *with a desire of getting offerings and worship*.

“ हिंसास्त्यर्चनाकांक्षा महप्रदण्यकारणम् ” ॥३२॥

It will not be difficult to perceive how worship (अर्चाः) comes to be associated with स्कन्द and विशाख in the illustration of Patañjali. Let us continue and see how precious things enter into the whole affair.

Indications of the above three classes of genii are given in verses 33—39 and the author states that those of the last class can be easily won over.

“ गृहीतं वक्षिकामेन तं विद्यात्सुखसाधनम् ” ॥४०॥

He lays down that the first type should be suppressed by means of sacrifices, etc., while the remaining ones are appeased by *giving* them (giving on their behalf the Brāhmins, etc.), whatever they want.

“ दान ”

“ हन्तुकामं जयेद्भोमैः सिध्यमन्त्रप्रवर्तितैः ॥४०॥

इतरौ तु यथाकामं रतिबल्यादिदानतः ” ॥

There are also other types of persons possessed with evil spirits : of whom one is of the following description “who proclaims himself Rudra, Skanda, Viśākha, Indra:”

“रुद्रः स्कन्दो विशाखोऽहमिन्द्रोऽहमिति वादिनम् ।
सुरामांसरुचिं विद्याहैत्यग्रहगृहीतकम् ” ॥४, १७

[We may recall “ शिवः स्कन्दः विशाखः” of Patañjali.]

To ward off such visitations the author lays down means in Ch. 5 :—

“ भूतं जयेद्दहिंसेच्छुं जपहोमबलिघृतैः ।
तपःशीलसमाधानज्ञानदानदयादिभिः ॥१॥
ग्रहा गृह्णन्ति ये येषु तेषां तेषु विशेषतः ।
दिनेषु बलिहोमादीन्मयुञ्जीत चिकित्सकः ॥२॥
स्नानवस्त्रवसामांसमद्यक्षीरगुडादि च ।
रोचते यद्यदा येभ्यस्तत्तेषामाहरेत्तदा ॥२२॥
रत्नानि गन्धमाख्यानि बीजानि मधुसर्पिंषी ।
भक्ष्याश्च सर्वे सर्वेषां
..... सामान्यो विधिरित्ययम् ॥२३॥”

The duty falls on the physician who ultimately guides the party concerned though various gifts which may include also ‘ रत्नानि ’ precious ones. Now we may read once again “मौयैः हिरण्यार्चिभिः अर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः” in connection with “शिवः स्कन्दः विशाखः” in the light of the above informations. It creates an impres-

sion of social and physical necessity rather than one of political nature. In Ch. 3, 59, the author refers to ‘भूतविद्या’ (“घृतानि भूतविद्यायां चक्ष्यन्ते यानि तानि च । युञ्ज्यात्तया बलिं होमं स्नपनं मन्त्रतन्त्रवित्”), and to the great lore styled “ Māyūrī ” in Ch. 5, 51,—

“तथोन्मादानपस्मारादन्यं वा चित्तविप्लवम् ।
महाविद्यां च मायूरीं शुचिं तं श्रावयेत्सदा ॥”

“He should tell the affected patient daily the ‘ Māyūrī ’ Mahāvidyā.” Further explanation of this subject may be had from a work on mantra and we may hope to be enlightened by

some one conversant in that line. But anyhow, it will not be difficult to see the connection between Professors of "*Māyūrī*" lore and the "*Mauryas*" of Patañjali. Both are, it looks, intimately connected with each other rather than the race of Chandragupta with the worship of "Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha."

We are now on safe ground if we conclude once for all that the instance of Patañjali had its origin in *Māyūrī Vidyā* controlled by (Maurya) physicians rather than in the rapacity of kings; in the livelihood of Brāhmin physicians than in that of Kshatriya rulers; in the society afflicted with evil spirits than in the tactics of bankrupt statesmanship to fill up king's coffers.

Let us hope that the position of Maurya rulers is sufficiently vindicated to allow henceforth a reasonable and true chronology for Patañjali and Puṣyamitra.

It will be urged that Puṣyamitra is entangled with the Maurya line: we have refuted this statement in our previous article and here add one more contention towards it.

"Maurya." "*Mauryasachiva*," the brother-in-law of the Vidarbha king (in the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, of Kālidāsa), is erroneously supposed to be a minister of the last Maurya. It has been pointed out that the commentator takes the word to be a *proper* noun. In our opinion his view is correct because no king would keep for him a minister who is *related to another king*. To keep a man who is closely connected with other kings in charge of state secrets and departments would be an instance of sheer folly on his part. Again, generally Brāhmins were ministers. Hence there is no likelihood of the brother-in-law of the Vidarbha king having ever become a minister of 'Maurya' rulers.

We may now trust to have cleared all misconceptions regarding "*Mauryas*" both in the case of Patañjali and of Puṣyamitra. The view that both of them belong to the end of Nanda period stands clear as stated in our article on "*Puṣyamitra—who is he?*"

In the course of our investigations, we find a singular instance in the Mahābhāṣya wherein Vātsyāyana is referred to by Patañjali (on Sūtra IV, 1,163, 3):

“वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम्” ॥३॥

“वृद्धस्य च पूजायां युवसंज्ञा वक्तव्या । तत्रभवन्तो गार्ग्यायणाः तत्रभवन्तो वात्स्यायनाः” ।

The instance here stands as one for complimentary address. Now in itself, the reference to Vātsyāyana would point out that the man was well-known or that his name was familiar to the scholastic world. But the gloss further runs:—

“का पुनरिह पूजा । युवत्वं लोक ईप्सितं पूज्युपचर्यते । तत्रभवन्तो युवत्वेनोपचर्यमाणाः प्रीता भवन्ति” ॥ The effect of the address is here noticed in the expression ‘प्रीता भवन्ति’ along with ‘युवत्वेन उपचर्यमाणाः’.

There would be no propriety in this observation of our author if he referred to *dead* men. The observation is proper and gets pointed only if the persons are *living men*—if they are his contemporaries. We can at least presume the priority of this Vātsyāyana before the composition of the particular passage. In more than one passage, Patañjali refers to persons of Vātsya clan or gotra. Cf. IV, 1, 90, 5; IV, 1, 93, 13; IV, 1, 162, 2. That shows that the persons of that gotra were numerous and the gotra was fairly known to people. But when we find that our

“The Vātsyāyana.”

author cites an illustration *which is ad verbatim quotation* from the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, and *which is the personal opinion of Vātsyāyana*, we have perforce to conclude that the compliments of the passage ‘तत्रभवन्तः प्रीताः सन्ति’ may go to the Vātsyāyana of the Kāmasūtra (to the man whom he is quoting elsewhere). There is a natural presumption that the compliments are restricted to the author of the Kāmasūtra than

to any other man of Vātsyā family. The passages in question are as under :

Patañjali—"एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा तस्माद्धार्योऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या लक्ष्यं वा न प्रणयेयम् । (and in support of this contention, the force of the argument) न हि भिद्युकाः सन्तीति स्यात्स्यो नाधिशीयन्ते न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोपशन्ते"— (on Kārikā, 16 of I, 1, 39).

The text of Kāmasūtra, I, 2, 2 is :—

“शरीरस्थितिहेतुत्वादाहारसधर्मायो हि कामाः ॥४६॥

फलभूताश्च धर्मार्थयोः ॥४७॥

बोद्धव्यं तु दोषेऽप्येव न हि भिद्युकाः—

सन्तीति स्यात्स्यो नाधिशीयन्ते न हि मृगाः

सन्तीति यवा नोपशन्ते इति वात्स्यायनः” ॥४८॥

The reader will see for himself the identity of the common passages. Had the passage of the Kāmasūtra been *not* followed by ‘इति वात्स्यायनः,’ the occurrence of the same in two different books would have shown it to be a stock instance belonging to some unknown author. But as it is connected with “इति वात्स्यायनः” it stands there as his individual opinion ; and as such, it may be held to be the first formulation and expression on his part of a view which cannot be said to originate with any one else. Patañjali has then transferred that argument to adjust it to his subject-matter ; and in so doing, he has supported his case by a citation familiar perhaps to his contemporaries and youngsters.

The foregoing features of the passages allow us to propose *Nanda-Maurya period for the author of the Kāmasūtra*. The passage was noticed early by Dr. Weber in 1877 (I. A., Vol. VI, Oct., p. 306) : but he did not note the significance of it. In his times, the work was a solitary instance of its type ; and on other misleading grounds, the work was then ascribed to a later period, *against the combined testimony* of old lexicographers. But now we possess another text of the same author which allow us to institute a fair comparison.

If we compare the two works, the Kāmasūtra and the Arthaśāstra, we perceive that the lexicographers were correct in their view of identity of Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana. The style, the method of study and of dialectics, the searching intellect and the general outlook reveal an unmistakable intellectual affinity between the two works. Kāmasūtra seems to have been an earlier composition of the two because it is less intricate and less subtle than the Arthaśāstra. The latter exhibits greater skill in its discussions and more systematic arrangement of ideas and chapters.

However, the other arguments that misled the old students of the Kāmasūtra in assigning to it a date as low as 3rd or 4th century may be summed up here "The Āndhras." from our paper on "Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa," III (published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 138 ff., January, 1921).

A passage in the Kāmasūtra mentions Kuntala Śātakarṇi as follows :

"कर्तृर्वा कुन्तलः शातकर्णः शातवाहनो महादेवो मलयवती (जवान)" II, 7, 2, 28.

The commentator says : 'कुन्तलविषये शातवातस्त्वमाहयः । शातकर्णः शातकर्णश्चापत्यम् । शातवाहन इति यस्य संज्ञा' ।

The identification (by some scholars) of this king with the twelfth king of the Āndhra list of the Purāṇas is *unwarranted* and even to-day remains *unsupported*. We do not know if the twelfth king in question had a queen called 'Malayavati.' Moreover, the name of the king in the passage of the Kāmasūtra is not a proper name because, 'Kuntala' is a geographical term, 'Śātakarṇi' is a generic term, and 'Śātavāhana' is a designation of his family (cf. Nasik Cave Inscription of Pulumāyi, 19th year : 'सातवाहनकुल्यवपति-वापनकरस'). There is thus no reason to propose that a Śātavāhana Śātakarṇi, who ruled in Kuntala, was the only king who ever ruled over it.

It is found from the reference of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII, 18, 2, (Circ. 500 B.C.—cf. Rapson's "Catalogue of the Coins of Āndhra Dynasty," Introd., p. xv), that the Āndhras were flourishing *as early as 500 B.C.* [We may recall here the 'Kathāsaritsāgara' of Somadeva, Taranga VI, which tells us a tale of Śātavāhana at a time when Vararuchi (who lived in Nanda period) flourished.] Again, the edicts of Aśoka bear testimony to Āndhra empire in his days. Hence, we have to be very careful in starting Āndhra line with Śīśuka as its first king. With Śīśuka, it came into forefront in our political history. So we have reason to infer that many Āndhra kings flourished before him. The Śātakarṇi of our Kāmasūtra may well be one of that unknown list of kings *before* Śīśuka.

There is the Nyāyabhāṣya of Vātsyāyana. There is a common illustration between it (V, 2, 10) and the Mahābhāṣya (I, 1, 1, 2). "दश दाडिमानि षडपूपाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पल्लपिण्डः अघरोरुमेतत्कुमार्याः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीन इति"॥

Patañjali gives these as instances of sentences which have words but no sense ('अनर्थकानि'). He does so after citing regular sentences ('अर्थवन्ति तावत्'). So the sentence 'दश दाडिमानि' may be referred exclusively to Patañjali as relevant to grammar. In this case, the Vātsyāyana (of Nyāya^o) is a borrower. And if both Vātsyāyanas of the Kāmasūtra and of the Nyāyabhāṣya are identical, we have here a good example of two authors of whom one is an early contemporary of the other; who quotes the other and is in turn quoted by the other. [For discussions about Vātsyāyana (of Nyāyabhāṣya) we refer the reader to our same paper in Q. J. M. S.] The society in those days did arrange for a ready exchange of thought and literature as may be seen from the Kāmasūtra:—

... "गोष्ठीसमवायः"...(I, 4, 4, 26) and "पचस्य मातस्य स प्रज्ञातेभ्यः सख्यया भवने निपुक्तानां विद्वत् समाजः ॥" (I, 4, 4, 27). Hence, it would be little wonder if old Patañjali knew the new Kāmasūtra

and old Vātsyāyana knew the new Mahābhāṣya through such meetings.

To summarize the results : we find in continuation of our researches that the date of Vātsyāyana is
 " Proposition." connected with that of Patañjali, that Puṣya-
 mitra, Patañjali and Vātsyāyana (*alias* Kautīlya) are of Nanda-
 Mauryan period, *more or less contemporaries*.

Scholars may consider our arguments for what they are worth. We lay before them what was possible in our capacity to demonstrate, *supplementing* our previous attempt.

(4)
ŚRĠGĀRIC ELABORATION IN
SĀKUNTALA, ACT III

BY

S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(Deccan College, Poona).

In an attempt to rise above the *Śākuntala* recensions and formulate something like an approximation to its *Ur-text*,* the crux of the critique no doubt is the problem of the Śrīṅgāric elaboration that we find in the Kāshmīr-Bengālī families of Mss. as compared with the Deccan and South-Indian families of Mss. In its shortest form as given by Cappeller it occupies 3 stanzas and 23 lines of prose, from the *exit* of the two friends at p. 34, l. 14, to their re-entrance with Gautamī at p. 35, l. 24. Patankar's so-called "purer" Devanāgarī text differs from Cappeller's only by the retention of the stanza *Gāndharveṇa vivāhena*, etc., which Cappeller finds *überflüssig* (Einleitung, XII). On the other hand, Pischel's edition of 1877 enlarges the scene to about 13 stanzas and 78 prose lines, while the Kāshmīr Ms., apart from slight variations of readings, differs from Pischel's edition only by the addition of 5 prose lines after Pischel's stanza 79, while it omits Pischel's stanza 80 and the 2 prose lines before it as also the one-line address-behind-the-curtain to the Cakravāka-female after Stanza 89. The longer text is accordingly four times as large as the shorter, and there is so much scope and even *prima facie* justification here for forming a subjective evaluation that I had long despaired of ever being able to

* The principles underlying such an attempt, and certain results to be obtained by their application I have discussed in a paper I contributed to the *Asia Major*, vol. II, fasc. I, pp.79—104.

reach a satisfactory solution of the problem. A chance remark made by that acute French scholar, Prof. Sylvain Lévi, in his epoch-making work, *Le Théâtre Indien*, Note 1 to p. 182, Appendice p. 37, set me however on the track, and I believe it is now possible to arrive at a text neither too short nor too long, a text which retains only the dramatically essential elements and at which no 'puritan of the type of Monier Williams' need any longer cavil. I do not propose, for obvious reasons, to give here the actual tentatively-constituted text, but only discuss the general lines along which it can be formulated.

The strongest argument of the champions of the Kāsh-mīr-Bengālī text has been of course the fact that the stanza "*Cāruṇā sphuritenā*," etc. (Pischel, 88) which occurs only in the longer version has been quoted by Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 346, Nir. Sag. ed. of 1922⁴), who belongs to the first half of the 14th century. Saradaranjan Ray (*Śākuntala*, 6th ed., Calcutta, 1922, p. 284) also points out that in the 12th century Varddhamāna quotes the latter half of Stanza 83 of the elaborated version as of Kālidāsa. The rejoinder on the other side is that this simply proves that the 'tampering' with the shorter 'original' text was already in Bengal an accomplished fact by the 12th or the 13th century, and that it is therefore no wonder that Bengālī writers like Viśvanātha show their acquaintance with it. But if it can be shown that even so early a writer as Śrīhaṣṭa in the *Ratnāvalī* (first half of the 7th century) has imitated the longer Śṛṅgāric scene, it will have to be concluded that a part of the 'elaboration' probably comes from Kālidāsa himself.—Now, Sāgarikā in the plantain-bower in the second Act of the *Ratnāvalī* is a close enough parallel to Śākuntalā in the cane-bower in the third Act of the *Śākuntala*. Both are the suffering victims of the God of Love, and are introduced with the standard paraphernalia of a bed of lotus leaves together with a wreath and wristlets of lotus-stalks, etc. The

Hero in both the plays describes the bed and the other objects in the bower from which the Heroine has just departed. The Heroine in Śrīharṣa's play *returns to the bower and overhears the words of the Hero as he places upon his bosom a lotus-stalk trinket* which she had unwittingly dropped down. In Kālidāsa's play *this happens only in the longer version*. This would establish a *prima facie* presumption in favour of the longer version, *provided* of course it can be proved that Śrīharṣa was a student and an imitator of Kālidāsa. Now, that Kālidāsa's works were diligently and appreciatingly studied in the days of Śrīharṣa can be safely concluded from the well-known encomium which Śrīharṣa's court-poet Bāṇa bestows upon Kālidāsa (Harṣacaritā, Introduction, Stanza 17) :

Nirgatāsu na vā kasya Kālidāsaśya sūktiṣu ।

Pritir madhura-sāndrāsu mañjarīḥviva jāyate ॥

And as to Śrīharṣa imitating Kālidāsa we have been able to gather, even in a hurried reading of Śrīharṣa's *Priyadarśikā** for this purpose, the following clear enough instances, besides the imitation of the "Bee-episode" already pointed out by Sylvain Lévi—

Priyadarśikā, i.8 parallel to Mālavikā, i.11 ;

Priyadarśikā, ii.3 „ Vikramorvaśī, iv. 7 ;

as also the following phrases—*Sarisā sarise rajjanti : duve ettha ummattā* (Priy., iii. 4¹⁶) and *Savvo sagandhe vīśasadi : duve vi ettha āraṇṇā* (Śākuntala, V. 21²⁵); † *Kamaliṇībaddhāṇurāo vi mahuarō mālādīm pekkhīa ahīṇavarasāssādalaṃpaḍo kudo tam aṇāsādiā tthidim Karedi* (Priyad., Vani Vilas ed., 1906, p. 39 end) and the well-known Prākṛit gīti in the fifth Act of the *Śākuntala*,

* A few parallels are also to be found in the Nāgānanda, but it is not necessary to be exhaustive on the point.

† Compare also 'duve ettha ummataā' in Vikram. ii. 8³.

beginning with "*Ahiṇavamahuloḥa*," etc.; *Diaḥam rattim vi tujjha anurāo*, etc. (Priyad., p. 40 end) and Śakuntalā's love-song in Act III, "*Tujjha na āṇe*," etc.; *Kassa dāva edam uttantam nivedia sajjhaveaṇam via dukkham karissam* (Priy., p. 37 middle) and *Samvibhattam hi dukkham sajjhaveaṇam hodi* (Sāk., iii, 9*); *Saalapudhaviṇiparittāṇasamatthena Vaccharājeṇa paritānti* (Priy., ii, 8*) and the words of the two companions of Śakuntalā in Act III before they make their exit prior to the commencement of the Śṛṅgāric scene, viz., "*Tumam dāva asahāiṇi jāe pulhaviṇādhho samive vaṭṭadi*" ;—but why multiply instances? Nothing can carry conviction if the cases already cited have failed to evoke it.

A careful study of the contexts in which the above parallels occur should indicate to us the way in which Śrī-harṣa modifies the ideas and images of Kālidāsa to suit his own purpose. I choose one case by way of an illustration. Sanskrit poets are in the habit of mentioning a number of creepers that blossom in the spring, amongst others the *Mādhavi* that puts forth flowers in the month of 'Mādhava,' Vaiśākha or April-May, and the *Navamālikā* whose flowering season comes about a month later, in what is known as the Grīṣma-ṛtu. Now it will be remembered that the *Śākuntala* opens at the very beginning of the Grīṣma, and hence the creeper *Navamālikā* is described as *navakusumajovvaṇā* or 'showing forth her youth in the form of new blossom.' The other creeper *Mādhavi* is not at all mentioned in the 'Devanāgarī' recension of the play. In the Kāshmir recension it is mentioned only to motivate the Heroine's movement away from the tree behind which the Hero was concealed, a movement which Priyamvadā stops with the words—" *Ciṭṭha idhayyeva muhuttaam dāva Baūlarukkhasamīve . . . Taē samivaṭṭhi-dāe ladāsaṇādhho via me baūlarukkhaḥ paṭibhādi*." The Bengālī version of the scene, as I have elsewhere shown,*

* *Asia Major*, vol. II, fasc. i, p. 101 ; also, Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volume III, pt. 2, p. 356.

considerably disturbs the sequence of the speeches and is responsible for large interpolations, amongst others the reference to the Mādhavīlatā and its blossoming out of season (*Asamaē kkhū esā āmūlādo maūlidā māhavīladā*). In the Grīṣma-ṛtu the Mādhavī can be properly described only as 'adikkanta-kusuma-samaā' or past its flowering season,* although the creeper may still put forth a few late buds now and then. — Now if we turn to the *Ratnāvalī* of Śrīharṣa we see the way in which the *motif* has been adopted by that poet and turned to a slightly varying account. The second Act of the *Ratnāvalī* opens in the Vernal season with the Mādhavī (for which the Queen in the play affects a partiality) in full blossom. A Navamālikā creeper in the same garden is the favourite of the King; and as it has not yet commenced its flowering season, we see him making use of an 'akāla-kusuma-saṃjaṇaṇa-dohala' or a method of inducing the creeper to yield flowers earlier than its normal time so as to prevent the Queen's scoring an easy victory over him. Here the trend of events follows the normal botanical sequence, which the extra passage in the Bengālī recension altogether subverts, probably because it is an unskilful interpolation, which may possibly have been suggested by certain passages in the *Ratnāvalī* itself.

Reverting once more to the Śrīgāric passage in the third Act of the *Śākuntala*, the most cogent technical objection against the shortest version is the fact that it plays fast and loose with the time-indications of the scene. The Act opens a little before 2 p. m. after the conclusion of the mid-day libation (Cappeller, p. 28, l. 11), and the heat of the day is still unabated (*aparinirvāṇo divasaḥ*) when the King objects to Sakuntalā's going out of the bower (Ibid., p. 34, l. 24). If this indicates, let us say, 4 p. m., Kālidāsa takes nearly 7 pages of Cappeller's edition to cover this two-hour period. When

* As the Kāshmīr Ms. in fact describes it.

Gautamī enters at the conclusion of the Śṛṅgāric scene it is already evening and the poet, following the shorter version, requires scarcely half a page to cover this subsequent period, from 4 p. m. to sunset, which seems somewhat incongruous. The longer version on the other hand takes more room and, what is more, has interposed a sentence indicative of the flight of the time, viz., “*Dināvasānacchāyeva puromūlam vanaspathē*” (Pischel, 81). Continuing the scene from this point it will be noted that Pischel’s Stanza 83 has to be retained on the authority of Varddhamāna, as also Stanza 84 which is adapted in the *Ratnāvalī*. If, in the next place, we are disposed to retain Stanza 88 which is quoted by Viśvanātha, that involves the retention of the majority of at least the *prose* speeches leading up to it, including the episode of the re-tying of the lotus wristlet. The essential features of the Śṛṅgāric scene, accordingly, have some kind of a warrant for their existence. On critical grounds I believe it possible to reduce the scene as given by Pischel by dropping some 5 or 6 stanzas and twice as many prose lines, but against the genuineness of the scene when thus shortened I know of no valid arguments that can be urged, except the purely subjective ones. I do not ignore here the cogent remarks of Principal S. Ray (*loc. cit.*, p. 284), which would prove fatal to the longer version if it were not possible to meet them. He says—“The passage describes at great length how the *mṛṇālavālaya* was picked up by Duṣyanta and put back on the wrist of Śakuntalā. This however contradicts the poet; for, later on we find the *mṛṇālavālaya* still lying in the grove. Compare—“*Has-tād bhraṣṭam idam bisābharaṇam ity āsaṅgamānekṣaṇo Nirgantum sahasā na vetasagrḥād īso ’smi sūnyād api*—which is undoubtedly authentic, being common to all the recensions.” Now as against this it can be said in the first place that, in spite of the remarks of Rāghavabhaṭṭa the commentator anent the line—“*Stananyastośīram praśīthilamṛṇālāika-valayam*” (Pischel, 62), viz., ‘*mṛṇālaya = ekam mukhyam*

valayam yatra...ekam ity anena valayāntarāśahatvam dhvanyate, we have no right to conclude that Śakuntalā wore only one wristlet on each hand : there must have been more than one so worn ; only they were *all made of lotus-stalks* (*mṛṇālaika*). Or, even if we concede his point to Rāghava-bhaṭṭa there was in any case the other hand from which the equally loose wristlet can drop away at any time—even subsequent to the re-tying of the wristlet by Duṣyanta on *one* of the hands. Or, finally,—and this is the most probable supposition—just as lotus-leaves placed on the bosom of the Heroine to allay the heat had to be frequently replaced by fresher ones, so probably was the case with the wristlets. Compare the stage-direction in the *Ratnāvalī* at the beginning of the bower-scene—“*naliniṣatraiḥ Śayanīyam mṛṇālair valayāni* (note the plural) *ca racayitvā pariśiṣṭāni nalinīpatrāṇi Sāgarikāyā hrdaye niṣipati,*” as also the stanza “*Sthitam urasi viśālam padminīpatram etat,*” etc. (*Ratnāvalī*, ii, 12), in which the king describes the condition of one of the cast-off lotus-leaves. There was surely no dearth of lotus-stalks so that the friends could prepare only two wristlets, one for each hand, and no more ! Ray’s objection therefore need not be held to outbalance the weight of the other internal and external evidence that we have been so far considering.

Finally a word as to the way in which deliberate interpolations which are of the nature of weak paraphrases of the words of the original, or minor variations of some poetic theme successfully introduced by the author of the original, come to be made and adopted as genuine parts of the text. That this is mostly the work of the cleverer set of students and self-opinionated Pandits who combine in themselves the functions of a second-rate critic and a third-rate poet in one, may be almost taken for granted ; and in this connection I remember how, as being the clever batch of students in the upper classes of the High School, our Sanskrit Teacher used to make us versify simpler passages from the *Kādambarī* or the

..

Daśakumāracarita or put some well-known stanzas from Kālidāsa or other Classical writers into metres different from the original while retaining intact the central idea of the verse and as many as possible of the words. With some effort, I can still reproduce some of my juvenile efforts of which I thought very highly at the time and which I often wrote in my own copy of the book. Such exercises in composition have always been current amongst us, and in the course of successive transcriptions from Mss. some of them might have been adopted into the text with perhaps the prefatory word "*api ca*" or "*tathā hi*" to mark their adventitious character, although it would be too rigorous an application of this principle to reject as non-genuine *every* single stanza of the original that has these prefatory particles, as Cappeller seems to have done in his "*kürzere Text-form*" of the play. In dealing with such additions, especially if they have been introduced into the original at an early date and so vouchsafed for by more than one Ms., the conscientious editor has often to fall back upon "higher criticism" which is subjective in its nature; and the editor can inspire confidence in his conclusions only in proportion to the success that he may have already attained in applying to the same text the more objective canons of textual criticism.

(5)

TĀPASAVATSARĀJA.

BY

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

(*Rajahmundry*).

It was about four decades ago that Dr. E. Hultsch had the fortune to discover the presence of this rare drama in Sanskrit somewhere in the Punjab, and the manuscript was, according to the article of late Bhaṭṭanāthaswāmin in the *Indian Antiquary*, offered to the Bodleian Library but was refused as the work was apparently wanting in beginning and end. Two photographic copies of the work are preserved in the University Library of Bonn and in the Imperial Library of Prussia. We do not know the fate of the original. In my tour in Malabar and South India for manuscripts, I had the fortune to meet an old lady in Malabar, who studied this work in her youth and was able to repeat many of its best verses. Though this made me conduct a more vigorous search for a copy of it in that country, I could not find any trace of the work. Study of great rhetorical works as Śṛiṅgāra-prakāśa of Bhoja, Vakroktijīvitā of Kuntalaka, Kāvyañīṣūṣana of Hemachandra, Dhvanyāloka with Lochana and a train of commentaries on the latter, and the commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta, where this work has been given high place in the dramatic literature, prompted me to secure a copy of this drama at any cost. At the kind suggestion of Dr. S. K. De, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca, I applied to Dr. John Nobel of Berlin to favour me with a copy of it. The learned Doctor, to whom we should be very grateful, has been kind to send me

photographs for the whole work. Had it not been for his noble compliance, I and my friends would not have studied a dramatic piece wherein every word and sentence reveal true poetry, in the opinion of Kuntalaka.

The work extends over 32 plates in photograph, each representing two pages in the original reduced by half its size. It is in old Kāshmirian script and a man of South India cannot easily read it unless he possesses some palæographical experience. The work wants about ten lines in the beginning and half a śloka in the final Bharatavākya or benedictory verse. Two pages in the middle of the fifth act appear to have stuck together and their separation was probably found to be dangerous to the adjoining two other pages and hence that portion forms a lacuna. If the original is available for examination, some scientific means may be devised to read out the two pages now missing in the photocopy. Otherwise the work may be said to be complete and the manuscript is remarkably faultless. Its recension closely agrees with the quotations given by Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hemachandra and Rāmachandra, but slightly differs from that quoted by Bhoja in his Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa, where, to adduce an instance, the exit of Padmāvati at the end of the third act from the stage occurs earlier in our manuscript than in the quotation of Bhoja. Many of the Prākṛit passages have been rendered in Sanskrit, sometimes even in the middle of a Prākṛit speech. This was due to the lazy scribe who copied only the Sanskrit equivalents noted above each Prākṛit word in his original. For he has copied both the forms in several cases and the rules of dramaturgy strictly require Prākṛit there. The quotations of Bhoja contain pure Prākṛit form in such places.

It is matter for curiosity to find that this drama was not quoted by any of the known writers after 1200 A.D. It was well studied in northern India and Kāshmir for four centuries beginning from 800 A.D. The earliest writers

who mentioned the drama, were two contemporaries in the Court of Jayāpīḍa of Kāśhmīr, viz., Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata* and Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*. Though the work was apparently neglected by scholars after the 12th century, it is to the credit of the European research that the fine production has been at last recovered.

The author of the drama is Mātrarāja, otherwise known as Anaṅgarsha, son of Narendravardhana. He wrote his work for his learned audience, having obtained scholarship in Grammar, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, languages and kindred arts. He himself studied others' works without envy and was always ready to sacrifice even his life to his friends if necessary. Who is this Mātrarāja? It is irony of fate regarding every great poet that a mystery enshrouds his history and when any meagre information is available, it is generally open to a number of interpretations. We are tempted to advance a dogma that the more unknown a poet, the greater lives he in man's memory. In the history of Sanskrit literature in none of the known works Mātrarāja occurs as an author of a drama. The author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata* mentions his another name, Anaṅgarsha, as a patron of actors and actresses who after he reached Heaven had to seek the patronage of temples to display their histrionic talents during divine processions. But the work is quoted by name by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hema and others.

1. पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽनुसन्धिश्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे (ध्वन्या 151 पु).

2. शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणो व्याप्रियते। तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे (अभिनवभारती 297).

3. यथा वा तापसवत्सराजे विलाससर्वस्वनिधानभूतत्वोदाहरणं करुणः प्रत्यङ्क-मभिनवभङ्गीभिर्दृष्टमासते (वक्रोक्तिजीवितम् IV).

4. यथा तापसवत्सराजे षष्ठेऽङ्के... (नाट्यदर्पणम् II).

There is a poet called Māyurāja familiar to writers on Alaṅkāra and anthologies who is, according to Dhanika, the author of the Udāttarāghava: यथा हृद्मना बाहिवशो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः (Daśarūpaka III—24). The word Māyurāja does not readily suggest any etymological sense and one is even tempted to suspect it as a Prākṛit word. This suspicion is strengthened when we meet with the form मारराज the second letter being a vowel (*vide* Udayasundarī, page 150, line 21)—

सामन्तैश्च वाक्पतिराजमारराजविशाखदेवप्रभृतिभिः समन्तादलङ्कृतं कवीनां कृतं...

Can मार which becomes मायु in later Prākṛit by vowel changing into semi-vowel be a Prākṛit form of *mātra* itself? In that case Mātrarāja can be read Māyurāja. To support this derivation, the word *māvaṭi* in Southern vernaculars meaning one who controls elephants is derived from *mātra*. The term *mahāmātra* is commented upon in this sense in the commentary on the Kāmasūtras—महामात्रेति। महती मात्रा येषामिति महासामन्ता वा हस्तिशिवायां वा तल्लक्षणमनुसर्तव्यम् (३०). There is an alternative suggestion not more plausible for the identity of the two words. In old Kashmirian script *ta* 𑆏, *tra* 𑆑, and *u* 𑆒 resemble so closely that one may be easily read for another. Even in the photo-copy of the present transcript there is not much difference between *ta* and *u*, and *tra* is known only by a downward stroke in addition, which in an injured copy may be taken with the next line. The scribe might easily prefer Mātrarāja for Māyurāja or Mā-u-rāja for the last two forms do not readily give any sense. Even the editors of the Udayasundarī had this doubt and added a question mark beside Mā-u-rāja. But between these two suggestions Māyurāja may be taken as a derivative of Mātrarāja. That the author belongs to the family of Sāmantas or Mahāmātras is vouchsafed for by the quotation from the Udayasundarī.

Why should there be all this trouble about identifying Mātrarāja with Māyurāja? Sarvānanda in his commentary on the Nāmalīṅgānūsāsana explaining the word Kaṇḍūti (कण्डूति)

quotes a line from our drama as Māyurāja's. Dr. Ganapati Shastri read the word as Māthurāja wrongly, as in Grandha script *yu* and *thu* are almost alike. But our manuscript has clearly Māyurāja. Verses from the Udāttarāghava quoted by Bhoja and Rāmachandra in his Nāṭyadarpaṇa bear strong resemblance in diction to the verses in the Tāpasavatsarāja. Bhoja quotes a verse probably from the Udāttarāghava whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the First Act in our drama. This shows that even if the Udāttarāghava is not his work, there must be another not yet available to us.

सन्ध्याकान्तिकषायितेन नभसा प्रत्यक्षसङ्गं शनै-

र्लीलावेशमनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जुग्मते ।

बेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलचलयस्वानैरितः सूचिताः

व्यापारान्प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधान्वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ (उदात्त-
राघवे स्यात्)

प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु समं पातः पतङ्गैरितो .

गन्धान्धैरभितो मधुघृतकुलैरुत्पलमभिः स्नीयते ।

बेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलचलयस्वानैरितः सूचित-

व्यापाराः प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ (तापस-
वत्सराजे—२-२५).

Under these circumstances, on the strength of Sarvānanda alone, the Tāpasavatsarāja may be ascribed to Māyurāja, the author of the Udāttarāghava.

Then follows the question, may we know anything about Māyurāja? Rājasekhara calls him a Kalachuri prince and Sodhala, the author of the Udayasundarī, calls him a Sāmanta king and ranks him with Viśākhadeva and Vākpātirāja.

मायुराजसमो नान्यः जज्ञे कलचुरिः कविः ।

उदन्वतः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा मुहिनांशवः ॥ (राजशेखरः)

From this it may be understood that he was a Kalachuri king ruling probably at Māhishmatī, an older capital. Murāri when describing Māhishmatī has a fling at it in which he uses the word '*anaṅga*.' Murāri belongs to 1100 A.D. and probably he would not have meant the author of the Tāpasavatsarāja, a pious king, to be the subject of his description. No inscription so far as I know is forthcoming to fix the date of Māyūrāja or Anaṅgharsha even if they are two different poets. Śyāmilaka in his Pādatāḍitaka locates his hero in Sārvabhauma-narendranagarī in Saurāshṭra-deśa. Whether Narendravardhana, the father of our author, had anything to do with that city is still doubtful.

When did Mātrarāja or Māyūrāja flourish? He is of course older than 800 A.D. The author of the Kuṭṭanīmata throws a hint that Anaṅgharsha having gone to Heaven the actress had to take up Ratnāvalī lest she would forget her histrionic profession. Does this seriously suggest that Mātrarāja lived earlier than Śrīharsha? Unhappily I differ with the generality of the present-day scholars who attribute the three dramas, Ratnāvalī, etc., to Harshavardhana and I have to join the minority who consider that the dramas were written by Śrīharshadeva, the King of Ujjain, two centuries earlier than Harshavardhana. Śrīharsha was also the commentator on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, which is called Vārtika and he is certainly older than Rāhulaka, who is also known as Vārtikakāra on the same, and is assigned to 400 A.D.

To strengthen the suggestion that the Tāpasavatsarāja might be an older work than the Ratnāvalī arguments are not wanting. Before Śrīharsha the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī were exhausted by Subandhu, Śūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyūrāja and hence Ratnāvalī, who takes the place of Padmāvatī in the original story of Udayana, has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvatī, the central theme of this work, exists even in

the Bṛihatkathā. If the Kāshmirian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it:

महावरोधनस्यापि भार्यादुद्धिर्द्वये स्थिता ।

तस्य वासवदत्तायां पद्मावत्यां च भूपतेः ॥ ४-२७ ॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and kāvyas in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after; for Subandhu, a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadattā a series of inter-dramas one in another. Bhāsa used the same theme in his Svapnavāsavadatta. If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety, the story is the same and the author of the Nāṭya-darpaṇa quotes from it as

यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते रोमान्तराण्डपादेऽन्तर्व्याख्या... (page 39, Ms.)

and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word Svapnavāsavadatta as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां दृष्ट्वा राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः तस्या एव शयनीये सुष्याप । वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श । स्वप्नयमानश्च वासवदत्तामावभाषे । स्वप्नराश्वदेन चेह स्वापो वा स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा ।

There is a drama called Manoramāvatsarāja written by Bhīmaṭa who, according to Rājaśekhara, was the author of five dramas among which Svapnadaśānana is mentioned by Bhoja. We know that Manoramā was the handmaid of Priyadaśikā who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter-drama in it. Viśākhadeva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas, Mudrārākshasa, Devīchandragupta and Abhisārikāvāñchitaka, and in the last of these Padmāvati is characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvati was probably borrowed from the Buddhist Jātaka stories where Mākandikā or Anupamā, an envious creature, dupes Udayana.

प्रदुष्टोऽग्रग्राही सरितमवगाहभ्रमवशा-

दुपासीनः शाली फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।

कदावित्तानर्धी श्रुतपरिचयां क्रौर्यविरतां
विषञ्जालागर्भां चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥

(वत्सराजस्योक्तिः) (अमिसारिकावहितके)

There is a drama called *Padmāvati-pariṇaya* in which the hero is a Brahman and hence it has no connection with our *Padmāvati*.

Of these dramas where *Padmāvati* comes in, *Subandhu's* and *Bhāsa's* are older and *Bhīmaṭa's Manoramāvatsarāja* is later than the *Tāpasavatsarāja*; for in it *Rumaṇvan's* character is a later development upon that in the *Tāpasavatsarāja*. *Pāñchāla's* occupation of *Kauśāmbī* is common to both; but in *Bhīmaṭa's* work *Rumaṇvan* is made to be a traitor who took the side of *Pāñchāla* and set fire to *Lāvāṇaka*, the autumnal residence of *Udayana*, which in the *Tāpasavatsarāja* is set fire to by *Yaugandharāyaṇa* himself as in the original story of the *Bṛihatkāthā*. *Rumaṇvan* says :—

कौशाम्बी मम इत्त एव परया शक्त्या मया स्वीकृतः
पञ्चालाधिपतिः प्रभुः स भवतां न ज्ञायते काञ्चना ।
नन्वादीपित एष मोहितपानीकेन लावाणको
देवी संप्रति रक्ष्यतामयमहं प्राप्तो रुमणवान्वयम् ॥

The question of priority of *Viśākhadeva* to *Anaṅgaharsha* is still at issue.

Regarding the date of *Mātrarāja* another piece of evidence probably of internal and supporting nature, may be adduced to place him about 600 A.D. The rules of *Bharata* in using various metres suitable to the prevailing *rasa* and *bhāva* and to the five forms of *Dhruvas*, *Prāveśikī*, *Naishkrāmikī*, etc., are entirely ignored after *Kālidāsa*. In *Śūdraka*, *Kālidāsa*, and in some of the dramas attributed to *Bhāsa*, *Bharata's* dictum is carried to perfection. But in the later dramas the selection of the metre depended upon the poet's mastery of language irrespective of the propriety of the scene. The depiction of pathos to a high degree in this drama induces

one to place its author contemporaneously with Bhavabhūti, 'the master of pathos,' or even half a century earlier if diction and other dramatic devices in the plot can ever determine the age of a poet.

Another ground though not very sure to place the author in the sixth or early seventh century is the device in the plot that the hero becomes a Buddhist *tāpasa*. Buddhist monks were of two types, one of permanent set who could not once more enter into his family and the other of a temporary type where after the purpose was over he became a *grihastha* once more. Udayana and his clown became monks of the latter class. Bhagavadajjuka, a drama by Mahendravikrama of seventh century, also has an example of this type in the pupil there.

Our poet has developed such perfect individuality in both style and thought as any good critic can easily identify his verses quoted in any anthology or in a work on poetics. Verses quoted from a drama called Viśrānta-Śūdraka leave the stamp of his genius and there also Haragaṇa to show his loyalty to his lord Śūdraka burns his wife Harimatī and finds when he fails in his object to save his master that he had burnt his spouse needlessly. Then he repents for his great folly and gruesome sin and throws himself into fire like Udayana in our drama. But his master being watchful of him acts like Yaugandharāyaṇa in our drama, saves him and hands over to him Harimatī whom he had already saved. It is already said that the verses from the Udāttarāghava reveal the same tendency.

The general theme in this drama can easily be guessed if we know to what class of dramas it belongs. In Sanskrit dramas are either of entirely amorous sentiments or based upon any political plots or combination of both. Mudrā-rākṣasa is purely political while Śākuntala, Vikramorvaśī, Mālatīmādhava, etc., belong purely to the amorous class. Though this drama is apparently amorous in its theme and the hero,

a king, is subject to cruel separation from his wife, the central plot thrown to the background reveals the preponderance of the political stratagem. Most of the dramas in Sanskrit relate the adventures of a minister to glorify his sovereign's power or to reconquer the lost territories from the hands of an enemy while the monarch almost blind to his political condition which he generally leaves in the hands of his ministers, is otherwise engaged in winning the favour of a maid thrown across him by accident. Thus both political and amorous adventures respectively of the minister and the sovereign are combined to make up a theme and poetic devices are introduced from the canons of Kautilya and Vātsyāyana for the respective departments. In amorous themes *vipralambha* or separation before marriage is generally adopted. Poets like Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa, and our Anaṅgaharsha possess a rare genius for the elaboration of *vipralambha-karuṇa* bordering on *karuṇa* itself. This has immortalised their fame. As Bhoja and Abhinavagupta would have it, the *mānaśringāra* is the most powerful in intensifying the amorous pleasures but *karuṇa-vipralambha* has masterly effect permanently on the minds of the audience. The hero who kneels before his angry love is more pitied for his tactless folly with few cheers and the moment after it passes off as a piece of social humour. But *karuṇa-vipralambha* appeals to the heart of the audience to feel the cruel power of omnipotence and to condone with the hero. The impression is lasting in our minds. In this drama theme is so finely developed as to increase pathos steadily till it ends almost in ecstasy.

The Tāpasavatsarāja belongs to that class of dramas whose theme is a combination of politics and amours. And the latter is of the *karuṇa-vipralambha* type, powerful enough to melt down the heart of a sage. Ratnāvalī, Priyadarśikā, Mālavikā, Kaumudīmahotsava, Svapnavāsavadatta, Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa, Devichandragupta, Viśrāntaśūdraka are all similar in maintaining a politico-amorous theme, where one or

the other is predominant. In Ratnāvalī, Mālavikā and Priyadarśikā love-adventure is brought to relief, but in Sūdraka's Vatsarājacharita, Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa and Devichandragupta love-episode is enveloped by deep political necessities.

In Kaumudīmahotsava the hero whose father lost his kingdom and life in a battle, was driven to run for his life and grow up in disguise. Mantragupta, the minister of his father, by a series of stratagems recovered the lost kingdom from the hands of the Licchavis, his conquerors. The hero's advance of love to Kīrtimatī, the daughter of the king of Saurāshtra, excites no interest or sympathy.

In Devichandragupta the heroine Dhruvadevī, when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner, a Śaka by birth, and was much tormented to accept his hand. The brother of Chandragupta II, who was her husband, in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Śaka. By a series of political stratagems Kumārachandragupta made Dhruvadevī escape and took her place in a female garb. When the Śaka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevī and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber his enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kīchaka repaid by Bhīma. In this theme amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary.

In the Tāpasavatsarāja Udayana's extreme attentions to his amiable Vāsavadattā made him wholly confined to the harem where he was given up to various pleasing avocations. The king of Pañchāla invaded his territories and when Udayana encamped with his wife and small retinue in a distant autumnal abode which facilitated hunting also, his capital fell into

the hands of the enemy. Two chief ministers saw the folly and believed that the king would not heed to anything in the world as long as Vāsavadattā was with him. But she though young was bred up in noble tradition and was able to realise and maintain her position. She was the daughter of Pradyota of Ujjain, famous for his heroism and able administration. Wise ministers also surrounded him. Thus Vāsavadattā had her lessons in politics from her father and his ministers. Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān conferred together on their helpless condition and all their attempts to recover their kingdom from the hands of the Pāñchāla did not promise any success owing to Udayana's reckless neglect of his political affairs. Yaugandharāyaṇa resolved to present a united front to the conqueror to which Pradyota and his sons agreed. Yet their combined effort seemed to be too feeble and the assistance of one more powerful sovereign became absolutely necessary. Darśaka, the king of Magadha, had a sister of marriageable age and no suitable match still came forward. He had a powerful army whose assistance would be a permanent strength to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa made bold to acquire the maiden for his master and win over to his side a powerful neighbour, who also would be too glad to miss the offer. But Vāsavadattā stood in the way. Neither she nor Udayana would accept another being, may she be bright as a nymph, to share their pleasures. Mahāsena who saw the situation yielded to admit a rival to his daughter; for to him love finds no place when glory is at stake. He addressed an epistle to his daughter which opened her eyes to the political situation. Yaugandharāyaṇa to whom she showed godly reverence prevailed upon her and a plot was devised for her separation from the husband for some time. Their autumnal residence was set fire to when the king was absent on a hunting expedition. He returned half-way only to see everything reduced to ashes. He was informed that Vāsavadattā was burnt along with Yaugandharāyaṇa. He became almost mad and ran after her to perish in the

very flames. He accused the God of Fire of his dire ingratitude for it was his great ancestor, Arjuna, who cured him of his mortal ailments by using the herbs of the Khāṇḍava forest. He loathed to approach the ungrateful fire. On the advice of Rumaṇvān he became a Buddhist tāpasa and went to various holy places. Meanwhile Vāsavadattā's fate became known to Darśaka, which removed the only barrier to his offering of his sister, Padmāvati, to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa sent Udayana's picture through a nun to Padmāvati. Her love deepened into such reverence that she worshipped him everyday, herself becoming a nun. Yaugandharāyaṇa brought Vāsavadattā to the hermitage of a nun where Padmāvati stayed and requested the latter to give shelter to his sister till he brought back her husband who abandoned her. Padmāvati was much pleased with the amiable nature of Vāsavadattā and treated her very soon as her bosom friend. She revealed her heart to Vāsavadattā who after all admired the young maiden for her nobility of mind. Udayana and his clown both being monks visiting several sacred places reached the banks of the Yamunā where the nun's hermitage was situated. He heard of Padmāvati's devotion and as if by an accident met her. Padmāvati received the royal guest as became of a nun and a princess. During his wanderings a Siddha had prophesied that he would recover his Vāsavadattā when he married a royal maiden. What a curious ordinance of God was that! Could a dead person whose body was burnt to ashes present herself once more in the same mortal body? If he married a girl once more what would Vāsavadattā think of him who had said to her that he would not live a moment without her? But he should get her back at any cost. The hand of Padmāvati was accepted but he was mad after a dead woman; and madness too that was incurable! He was of course very kind to Padmāvati but she was miserable and intended upon suicide. Udayana and his clown were on the spot and saved her. This tormented the poor king more for his unfaithfulness to a devoted

princess. Meanwhile his ministers formed an alliance with Darśaka and Mahāsena and their combined armies encountered Pāñchāla who was in possession of Kauśāmbī and took him a captive. But Udayana had still no news of these proceedings. He was mad after Vāsavadattā. The prophecy was not fulfilled though he married Padmāvati. The Siddha might be wrong and it would be sheer ingratitude if he survived her. He must commit himself to flames. The confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges is the sacred spot where the death of a person brings him in the next birth to the realisation of his intense desires. Udayana resolved to die there. He asked his servants to prepare fire for him. He bathed in the holy waters. Meanwhile Vāsavadattā impatient of the weary paths of Yaugandharāyaṇa in spite of his mild admonition went to the same spot to commit the same forlorn crime. The mad man was seen with dishevelled hair raining drops of water followed by Padmāvati like a shade. Yaugandharāyaṇa saw him at a distance and repented for his folly or policy which tormented the king so cruelly. It was dark night. The king went round the fire when his jester-companion drew his attention to the horrid spectacle of a woman's flinging herself into the flames. The king's chivalry was quickened and he ran to save her who was none but Vāsavadattā. Yaugandharāyaṇa presented himself to the king when Rumaṇvān brought the tidings of the defeat of Pāñchāla. All joined together and everything ended well.

The plot is similar to that in the Svapnavāsavadatta but in depth of pathos Māyūrāja excels Bhāsa. Even Rumaṇvān and Yaugandharāyaṇa faltered twice at the piteous condition of the king and were about to put an end to his torments but a moment's thought revealed to them the grave political consequences. In this plot the king and Padmāvati alone were kept away from the truth and they were mere puppets in the secret guidance of his wise ministers who like Fates in the Grecian fables treated them as mere chattel. All the other

characters knowing the truth pretended to sympathise with his sorrows—a position really difficult to maintain on a stage. Our sympathies are for Vāsavadattā whose magnanimity rose to the occasion even at great mental torture. She trusted in the wisest counsel of the great minister but as a woman she was afraid of the mental tension of her husband.

Unlike Bhāsa's drama, every character here exhibits some deep individual trait though under the guidance of a superior will. The plot extends over six acts and pathos has an even development throughout. The language is polished unlike the Vatsarājacharita of Śūdraka whose fine strokes of original thought sufficiently compensate for his ruggedness of style.

A few verses are quoted below to illustrate the poetic genius of Anaṅgaharsha :—

भूयः पथ्यपराङ्मुखा विषयिणो भूपा भवन्त्यात्मना
निर्दोषासचिवान्भजत्यतिमहार्होकापवादज्वरः ।

बन्धाः शलाघ्यगुणास्त एव विपिने सन्तोषभाजः परं
बाह्योऽयं वरमेव सेवकजने भिक्खसर्वधा मन्त्रिणः ॥ (II. 9)

भूमीचाक्षिर्गताभिः कवञ्जितककुभः कालवक्त्रातिभाभि-
ज्ज्वालाजिह्वालताभिर्दिवमखिलजगद्ग्रासलोलं जिहानः ।

हाहाकारैर्जनानामनुसृतविषमोद्गारगम्भीरनादः
कल्पान्तभ्रान्तचामीकरशिखरनिभो याति विस्तारमग्निः ॥ (II. 4)

कर्णान्तस्थितपद्मरागकलिकां भूयः समाकर्षता
चक्ष्वा दाडिमबीजमित्यभिहता पादेन गण्डस्थली ।

येनासौ तव तस्य नमस्सुहृदः खेदान्मुहुः क्रन्दतो
विभ्रूकं न शुक्रस्य किं प्रतिवचो देवि त्वया दीयताम् ॥ (II. 13)

आदौ मानपरिग्रहेण गुरुणा दूरं समारोपितां
पञ्चास्तापभरेण तानवकृता नीतां परं लाघवम् ।
हस्तङ्गान्तरवर्तिनीमनुगमात्सपिण्डताङ्गीमिमां
सर्वाङ्गप्रणयां प्रियामिव तरुश्छायां समालम्बते ॥ (III. 15)

आक्षुष्टेः प्रतिपार्थिवं युवतयो जाता मनोबल्लभा
मग्नास्ते व्यसनार्यवे च बह्वस्ताभिः सहैवैश्वराः ।
देव्या यत्तु कृतं तथा विकलतामुत्सृज्य लोकोत्तरं
तस्यैषा कृपणोचितेन विधिना किं ग्लानिरुत्पाद्यते ॥ * (VI. 1)

(6)

A NEWLY DISCOVERED PROSE ROMANCE

BY

DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.),
Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore.

The object of the paper is to announce the discovery of a new prose romance, entitled *the Ambikāpariṇaya* by Tirumalāmbā, a lady writer of Southern India. It is the only extant work of a lady writer, written in elaborate and artificial Sanskrit, and embellished with various ornaments of poetic style.

SYNOPSIS OF THE STORY.

The work opens with a fanciful description of Moon, whose son was Budha. The son of Budha was Purūravas, who obtained Āyu as his son. Āyu's son was Nahuṣa who had Yayāti as his son. Yayāti was succeeded by his son Turvasu. Thus the lunar dynasty came into existence and flourished for a long time. In course of time, King Timma was born in this dynasty and married a princess named Devakī. His son, Īśvara was married to Bukkawāmbā. The son of Īśvara was Nṛsimha, who conquered the whole earth. He first proceeds in the eastern direction, then turns to the south and reaches the country of the Cholas. The country of the Cholas and the river Kāverī are described in detail. Then follows a vivid description of the dreadful battle. Having conquered the Chola country, Nṛsimha marches towards Rāmeśvaram, sees the ocean on the way and worships God Rāmeśvaram. Beautiful descriptions with *double entendre* of the ocean and Rāmeśvaram are given. Having vanquished the kings of that country, our conquering hero reaches Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa, defeats King

Mahāvīra, subdues the king of Maruva and invests the famous fort Mahādurga. Here he adores God Gokaṛṇa and makes rich gifts including *tulādāna*.

Followed by innumerable kings, he now marches towards the north and defeats the Kāmbhojas, Vālhikas, Tukhkhās and Suratrāṇa (=Sultan?). Having completed the conquest of the world, Nṛsiṃha returns to his capital Vidyāpurī, which is another name of Vijayanagara.

He marries Omāmbā and gets a son, who is named Achyuta in honour of God Achyuta. After Nṛsiṃha Achyuta is crowned king. Here follows a description of the youth of Achyuta. He goes to the stable one day and sees a beautiful horse. Description of the horse then follows. Achyuta goes to a forest and various sports are described. On returning to the capital, the king rests in a garden, sees a temple of Goddess Gaurī. In the temple, he sees a most beautiful princess, whose charms are described at length. He falls in love at the first sight. His love is reciprocated. Urgent state-affairs call the king back to the capital. The jester is however left behind to ascertain all the particulars about the princess. She turns out to be Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of two royal brothers Tirumala and—, and the daughter of Trapāmbā, a queen of the solar dynasty. She is married to Achyuta. Advent of spring, breezes, flowers, sports, and sunset are described in succession. In course of time, a son is born. He is named Veṅkaṭādri, in honour of God Veṅkaṭeśvara. He is a promising lad and is made heir-apparent at an early age.

THE AUTHORESS.

She seems to be a very well-educated and a cultured lady. She had studied the various systems of philosophy and poetics, was fond of poetry, drama, and the society of learned men.

She must have been a queen of King Achyuta for a Telugu poem '*Vijayavilāsamu* or *Subhadrāpariṇayamu*

mentions Tirumalāmbā as one of the queens of Achyuta Rai. A sister of her was married to Śevvappa Nāyaka of Madura. A Kāñcī inscription states that Achyuta married a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king. As Varadāmbikā is stated to be a daughter of a Salaga chief in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, composed by Rājanātha Kavi, and two queens only of Achyuta Rai are mentioned, the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king must have been Tirumalāmbā.

STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

The style is modelled on that of Bāṇa. The conquest of the world has some correspondence with the description in the *Kādambarī*. There is a remarkable mastery of language. A few compounds are longer than any found in the *Harṣacaritam* and the *Kādambarī*. The various qualities like *prasāda*, *anuprāsa*, *śleṣa*, are profusely used. Similes are original, apt and striking. The authoress is endowed with a wonderful imagination and has a vivid power of description. There is a *coloure locale* in her descriptions of places and persons. Short sentences often follow long and majestic compounds.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.

It is not only a charming prose romance but an important historical document as well. Mr. Krishna Śāstrī, the author of *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty, its Viceroys and Ministers*, nowhere mentions it and does not seem to be aware of its existence. It has never been utilised before. Written by the queen of King Achyuta Rai, it is a valuable record for the reigns of Nṛsiṃha and Achyuta.

FRAGMENTS OF BHATṬA NĀYAKA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMAN.

(Madras)

Among the most important of his predecessors in the sphere of literary criticism, whom Abhinavagupta had to deal with, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, was one. He was an avowed antagonist of the doctrine of *Vyañjanā* and *Dhvani*. He might have been the same Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka whom Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, mentions as the protégé of king Śaṅkaravarman. The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* was intended by the author to demolish the doctrine of *Dhvani* as stated by Ānandavardhana. It seems to have been modelled after the *Dhvanyāloka*. It should have been made up of certain basic *kārikās*, with prose-*vṛtti*¹ thereon. Illustrative verses taken from ancient writers, should have found their way into the work. Verses from the *Gāthāsaptasatī Rāmāyaṇa*,

¹ Here at least, it is believed that the question of differentiating the author of the *Kārikās* from that of the *Vṛtti*, will not arise as in the case of *Dhvanyāloka*. Abhinavagupta refers to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as to Ānandavardhana, as the author of both the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*. References to Abhinavagupta citing Ānandavardhana as the author of the *Kārikās* have already been given by Dr. A. Sankaran (Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, page 85). In addition, the following reference may be noted :

यथा ध्वन्यालोककारः

सन्धिसन्धकचटनं

(Vol. II, p. 519 of the
Madras Ms. of Abhinavabhārati.)

सन्धिसन्धकचटनं, etc., is a *Dhvani Kārikā* (III, 12) and Abhinavagupta clearly says that the author of the *Āloka* himself wrote the *Kārikās* also.

Rāmābhyudaya of Yaśovarman, etc., should have been incorporated into the work.

This Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have been a mīmāṃsaka. Some of the phrases which Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka uses betray that fact. The conception of the अंशत्रय of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have been borrowed from the mīmāṃsakas. Expressions like भावकत्वं, etc., remind us of the भावना of the mīmāṃsakas. Apart from these coincidences, we find Abhinavagupta actually ridiculing him for his mīmāṃsaka predilections. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in commenting upon the word इव in the famous Rāmāyaṇa verse रविसंक्रान्तसौभाग्यः, etc., has made the following remark : “इव-शब्दयोगात् गौयताप्यत्र न काचित्.” Abhinavagupta observes while criticising his statement :

आदर्शचन्द्रमसो हि सादृश्यम् इव शब्दो द्योतयति । निश्वासान्ध इति आदर्श-
विशेषणम् । इवशब्दस्यान्धार्थत्वेन योजने आदर्शचन्द्रमा इत्युदाहरणं भवेत् ।
योजनं चैतदिवशब्दस्य क्लृष्टम् । न च निश्वासेनान्ध इवादर्शः, स इव चन्द्र इति
कल्पना युक्ता । जैमिनिसूत्रं हि एवं योज्यते न काव्यमित्यलम् ।

(Dhvanyāloka, p. 63.)

In another place, in the Abhinavabhārati, Abhinavagupta ridicules him as following Jaimini :

यत्तु भट्टनायकेनोक्तम्.....तेन नाव्याख्याता समर्चिता,
'फलं तु पुरुषार्थत्वात्' इति केवलं जैमिबिरनुसृतः etc.

(Abhinavabhārati, Vol. III, p. 89.)

From these two extracts, it may be clear that Abhinavagupta regarded him as a mīmāṃsaka.¹

¹ Dr. De was probably not aware of these references when he made the following remark :

“Hiriyāṇṇa, in his article on ‘Indian Aesthetics’ in the Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. II, has dealt with the subject at some length. One may think, however, that his note that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was a mīmāṃsaka has not been clearly made out.” (Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 157 fn.)

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's criticism of the poetic composition of earlier and renowned poets :—

1. इह इससिंहादिपदप्रयोगे धार्मिकपदप्रयोगे च भयानकरसावेशकृतैव निषेधावगतिः । तदीयमीरुधीरत्वप्रकृतिनियमावगममन्तरेण एकान्ततो निषेधगत्य-
भावादिति तच्च केवलार्थसामर्थ्यं निषेधगतेः निमित्तम् ।”¹

(Locana, p. 19.)

2. “अहमित्यभिनयविशेषेण आत्मदशावेदनाच्छब्दमेतदपि”²

(Locana, p. 21.)

3. “हा हा हेति संरम्भार्थोऽयं चमत्कारः” इति,³

4. “इवशब्दयोगात् गौणताप्यत्र न काचित्”⁴

(Locana, p. 68.)

¹ This is a portion of the literary estimate of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka of the verse

भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो स सुणओ अज मारिओ देण ।
गोलाणञ्जकच्छकुडङ्गवासिणा दरिअसीहेण ॥

(Gāthāsaptasatī.)

² This is on the verse

अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्जइ एत्थ अहं दिअसअं पलोएहि ।
मा पहिअ रसिअन्धअ सोजाए महे ण मज्जहिसि ॥

(Gāthāsaptasatī.)

³ This is on the verse

स्निग्धश्यामलकान्तिखिसवियतो वेसलद्वलाका घनाः
वाताः सीकरिणः पयोदसुहृदामानन्दकेकाः कलाः ।
कामं सन्तु इदं कठोरहृदयो रामोऽस्मि सर्वे सहे
बैदेहीति तु कथं भविष्यसि इहा हा देवि धीरा भव ॥

(Rāmābhyudaya of Yaśovarman.)

⁴ This is on the verse

रविसङ्क्रान्तसौभाग्यतुलितमण्डलः ।
निव्यासान्ध इवादर्शः चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥

(Rāmāyaṇa.)

The following extracts refer to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's criticism of the doctrine of Dhvani :

1. “ध्वनिर्नामापरो योऽसौ व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।

तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे स्यात् काव्याङ्गत्वं¹ न रूपता ॥”

(Locana, p. 11 ; Jayaratha's
Commentary on the Alaṅ-
kārasarvasva, p. 9.)

The portion अङ्गत्वं¹ न रूपता is also quoted on p. 10 of the Locana in the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

2. Definitions of Kāvya :

“काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक् ॥”

(Locana, p. 12.)

3. “शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु व-न्याल्ल्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगी² भवेत् ॥

(Locana, p. 27 ; Kāvyaṅu-
śāsaṇa, p. 4 ; Jayaratha's
Commentary on Alaṅkāra-
sarvasva, p. 9.)

“सर्वत्र तर्हि³ काव्यव्यवहारः स्यात् ”

(Locana, p. 28.)

The following quotations bear on the *Śabdavyāpāra*, and the mode of Rasa-realisation :

“अभिधा भावना चाभ्या तद्भोगीकृतमेव च ।⁴

अभिधामतां याते शब्दार्थालङ्कृती ततः ॥”

¹ अङ्गत्वम् another reading and is preferable : Jayaratha adopts this.

² काव्यधीः is the reading according to Jayaratha.

³ This is quoted by Jagannātha Paṇḍita in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*, page 25.

⁴ These are quoted by Jayaratha also in his Commentary on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 9.

भावना भाव्यदोषोऽपि शृङ्गारादिगणो¹ मतः ।

तद्भोगीकृतरूपेण व्याप्यते सिद्धिमाह्वरः ॥ ”²

(Kāvyānuśāsana, p. 61.)

“ इत्यमानायवा मोक्षे याल्लस्वमिय³ स्फुटम् । ”

(Jayaratha on Alankārasarvasva, p. 9. Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition.)

DOCTRINE OF RASA-REALIZATION.

“रसो यद्वा परगततया प्रतीयते तर्हि⁴ तादृश्यमेव स्यात् । न च स्वगतत्वेन रामादिचरितमयात्काव्यादसौ प्रतीयते । स्वात्मगतत्वेन च प्रतीतौ स्वात्मनि रसस्योत्पत्तिरेवाभ्युपगता स्यात् । सा च युक्ता । सामाजिके प्रत्यविभावत्वात् । कान्तात्वं साधारणं वासनावेकासहेतुः विभावनायां प्रयोजकमिति चेत्, देवतावर्णनादौ तदपि कथम् ? न च स्वकान्तास्मरणं मध्ये संवेद्यते । अलोकसामान्यानां च रामादीनां ये समुद्र-सेतुबन्धादयो विभावाः ते कथं साधारण्यं भजेयुः । न चोत्सहादिमात्रं स्मर्यते । अननुभूतत्वात् । शब्दादपि तत्प्रतिपत्तौ न रसोपजनः, प्रत्यक्षादिव नाथकमिथुन-प्रतिपत्तौ । उत्पत्तिपक्षे च कल्पितव्यवस्थानुसिद्धि कर्तव्यप्रेक्षासु पुनरप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तच्च । उत्पत्तिरपि नाप्यभिभ्यक्तिः । शक्तिरूपस्याभिभ्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तत्रापि किं स्वगतोऽभिभ्यज्यते परगतो वेति पूर्ववदेव दोषः । तेन न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिभ्यज्यते काव्येन रसः । किं तु, अन्यशब्दैर्लक्षण्यं काव्यात्मनः, शब्दस्य, श्रृंगाराप्रसादात् । तत्र अभिधायकत्वं वाच्यविषयं, भावकत्वं रसविषयं, भोक्तृत्वं सद्बुद्धयविषयं—इति त्रयोऽशभूताः व्यापाराः । तत्राभिधाभागो यदि शुद्धः स्यात्, तन्प्रादिभ्यः शास्त्रन्यायेभ्यः श्लेषालङ्काराणां को भेदः ? वृत्तिभेदवैचित्र्यं वा अकिञ्चित्करम् । श्रुतिदुष्टादिवर्जनं च किमर्थम् ? तेन रसभावनाख्यो द्वितीयो व्यापारः यद्वाद्यादिभिर्वा विलक्षणैव । तच्चैतद्भावकत्वं नाम यत्काव्यस्य तद्विभावादीनां साधारण्यत्वापादनं नाम । भाविते च रसे तस्य भोगः, योऽनुभवस्मरणप्रतिपत्तिभ्यो विलक्षण एव इति विस्तरविकासनामा रससम्मोदैचिश्यननुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्स्वभावविद्वृत्ति⁵ दुर्लभविभाम्बिलक्षः परब्रह्मास्वादसचिवः । स एव प्रधानभूतोऽशः सिद्धिरूप इति । “उत्पत्तिर्नाम प्रधानमेव ।” इति

(Locana, pp. 67, 68.)

¹ गणो हि यत् ॥ is another reading noticed by Hemacandra in his Commentary on the Kāvyānuśāsana, p. 62.

² These are quoted by Jayaratha also in his Commentary on the Alankārasarvasva, p. 9.

The following is an extract found in the Abhinavabhārati, and Hemacandra's Kāvyañuśāsana. The idea contained in this passage is the same as that found in the extract already quoted from the Locana. Hence, it may be that Abhinavagupta quoted Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka verbatim in one place ; and summarised his arguments in his own words in another place. I think that the extract in the Locana may be a direct quotation and that in the Abhinavabhārati only a brief summary. Hemacandra, as in many other places, copies Abhinavagupta without acknowledgment. For the sake of convenient reference I give below, the passage from the Abhinavabhārati :

रसो न प्रतीयते, नेत्यद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते । स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ करुण्ये दुःखितं
स्यात् । न च सा प्रतीतियुक्ता । सीतादेर्विभावत्वात् । स्वकान्तास्मृत्यसंवेदनात् ।
देवतादौ साधारणीकरणयोग्यत्वात् । समुद्रलङ्घनादेरसाधारण्यात् । न च तद्वतो
रामस्य स्मृतिरनुपलब्धत्वात् । न च शब्दानुमानादिभ्यस्तत्प्रतीतौ लोकस्य सरसता-
प्रयुक्ताप्रत्यक्षादिव नायकयुगलकावभासे हि प्रसृत लज्जानुगुप्तासृष्टहादिस्वोचितचित्त-
न्तरोदयमभ्यप्रतयाकाशरसत्वमथापि स्यात् तन्न प्रतीतिरनुभवस्मृत्यादिरूपरसस्य युक्ता ।
वत्पत्तावपि तुल्यमेतद्दूषणम् । शक्तिरूपत्वेन पूर्वस्थितस्य पश्चादभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जन-
तारतम्यापत्तिः । स्वगतपरगतत्वादि च पूर्ववद्विकल्प्यम् । तस्मात् काव्ये दोषाभाव-
गुणालङ्कारमयत्वलक्षणेन नाव्ये चतुर्विधोऽप्येव निबिडनिजमोहसङ्कटतानिबारण-
कारणविभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मनाभिघातः द्वितीयेनांशेन भावकत्वव्यापारेण
भाव्यमानो रसः अनुभवस्मृत्यादिलक्षणेन रजस्तमोनुबोधवैक्रियबलात् रसिर्विस्तार
विकासलक्षणेन सर्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्धिभ्रान्तिलक्षणेन परप्रसादादसंविधेन
भोगेन परं भुज्यते ॥

(Abhinavabhārati, Vol. I—210, Madras
Manuscript ; Kāvyañuśāsana Commen-
tary, p. 61, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press.)

Miscellaneous.

तत्कर्ता च कविः प्रोक्तो भेदेऽपि हि तदस्ति यत्

[Ruyyaka's Commentary on the
Vyaktiviveka, p. 13 (T. S. S.).]

धाम्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्वाहृतृष्याया ।
तेन नास्य रसः स स्याद् दुह्यते योगिभिर्हि सः ॥

(Locana, p. 29.)

काव्येन भाव्यन्ते रसाः

[Kāvyaānuśāsana, p. 62 (Comm.).]

संसर्गादि यथा शास्त्र एकत्वात्तल्लयोगतः ।

वाक्यार्थस्तद्वदेवात्र शृङ्गारादी रसो मतः ॥

[Kāvyaānuśāsana, p. 62 (Comm.).]

काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति भावाः

[Kāvyaānuśāsana, p. 62 (Comm.).]

The following extract from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, found in the Abhinavabhāratī, may be taken to be a continuation of the prose passage already quoted from the Locana :

प्रधाने सिद्धिभागेऽस्य प्रयोगाङ्गत्वमागताः ।

गेयादेस्तथैवेते (?) त्रैधेनं ह्युपयोगतः ॥

लोपानपदपङ्क्त्या च सा च मोक्षस्पृगात्मिका ॥

(Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. III, p. 87.)

सिद्धेरपि नरेऽङ्गत्वं प्रजन्त्यास्तत्त्ववेमम् (स्तत्त्वमचतम् ?)

(Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. III, p. 89.)

RASA-DOCTRINE OF BHATTA NĀYAKA.

Among the various schools of literary criticism, the most prominent is the *Rasa* school. The followers of that school maintain that *rasa* is the soul of poetry. The process through which *rasa*-realisation takes place has been differently explained by various critics. Ānandavardhana held that it is realised through *Vyanjanā*, one of the functions, the most important function, of poetic expression. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who came after Ānandavardhana, tried to explain the process in the realisation of *rasa* in a different way. His explanation may be summed up as follows :—

Rasa should not be made out as arising in the person, whose action is represented on the stage, i.e., Rāma, etc., or as arising in the actor on the stage. For in either case, we cannot account for the supreme thrill the spectator experiences.

Nor could it be argued that the onlooker feels *rasa* on account of the corresponding *bhāvas* which may arise in him. For, when we are looking at a Rāma-play, we find exhibited 'the crossing of the ocean,' 'the building of a great dam across the sea,' 'two people coming out successful in a deadly conflict with fourteen thousand people,' etc., and these cannot call up similar experiences in our mind. So the only explanation possible, under these circumstances, will be this :— Words associated with *abhinaya* come to be possessed of three functions which are respectively अभिधायकत्व, भावकत्व and भोजकत्व which may be translated thus :—signification,¹ idealization, and illumination or revealing illuminations respectively. Every one of these functions has a distinct value. Through *abhidhāyakatva* the meaning of the words is understood; and one comes to know the story. This *abhidhā* should be considered to be a peculiar kind of *abhidhā*² for the following reasons. When we have different

¹ I do not accept the translation of Dr. De, which is as follows :—Denotation, generalisation and enjoyment. (History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.)

² Dr. De remarks :—

"The *abhidhā* is not merely the actual denotation of a word, but is given an extended meaning so as to include *lakṣaṇā* or 'indication' in its scope (*abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*) thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation." (Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.)

This remark is obviously incorrect. No writer on Śāstra will be foolish enough to include *lakṣaṇā* under *abhidhā*, and more so Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who was a staunch mīmāṃsaka. This mistake of Dr. De is due to the fact that he was not able to restore the correct text of the extract from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The reading found in Paṇḍit Durgā Prasād's edition of the Dhvanyāloka should not have been taken to be the genuine text of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The passage should be read thus—यद्गतादभिधायित्वमेषैव and not यद्गतादभिधा लक्षणेव as supported by Dr. De.

On page 234 of the same book, Dr De repeats the same mistake thus : "It is no (on ?) account of this function that *abhidhā* or 'denotation' is also 'indication,' i.e., the 'denotation' can give to the expressed sense a metaphorical significance as the basis of *Rasa*."

expressions to denote the same idea, we ought to use only such words which would not be jarring to the ear. To take a practical instance, the word *taru* will be less objectionable in a poetic composition than the word *vrkṣa*. Now this theory of **अतिदुर्बोध** cannot be maintained if we do not recognise any peculiarity in the *abhidhā* of poetic expression. The *abhidhā* in *taru* is different from the *abhidhā* in *vrkṣa*.

The second function, *i.e.*, *bhāvakatva* is intended to lift us up above ourselves. All individualistic associations are made to vanish at this stage. We forget that A is the actor B the scene and C ourselves. A sort of what is technically known as **साधारणीकरण** or generalisation is brought about. All these go into the make-up of Rasa-realisation.

The further stage is represented by the third function of poetic expressions, known as *bhojakatva* and this pertains to the spectator who feels the bliss consequent on rasa-realization, which consists in the culminating experience filled with bliss, amounting to illumination resulting from the dominance of *sattva*.

(8)

GUDHA-LEKHYA OR SECRET-WRITING

BY

Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY

(*Mysore*).

Archæologists and numismatists are of opinion that so far back as the 4th and the 5th centuries B.C. the art of writing was very well known in India. Coins with the inscription 'Negama' in Brāhmī characters on the reverse are assigned by Prof. Rapson to at least the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Considering the references to writing in the earlier Buddhist Birth Stories, Prof. Bühler and other scholars held the opinion that writing was in existence in India even so early as the 6th century B.C. Those who have reason to believe in the indigenous origin of the Devanāgarī alphabet think that writing was in use so far back as the time of Janaka, King of the Videha country, and father-in-law of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. It follows therefore that writing was current during the 4th century B.C. when Kauṭilya, the author of the Arthaśāstra, is believed to have flourished.

Considering the prevalence of espionage during the Maurya period, as testified by Megasthenes, there is reason to believe that along with writing there was also the contrivance of secret-writing devised for purposes of espionage. "If a mendicant woman," says Kauṭilya (I, 12), "is stopped at the entrance, the line of door-keepers, spies under the guise of father and mother, women artisans, court-bards or prostitutes shall, under the pretext of taking in musical instruments

or through *secret-writing*, or by means of signs, convey the information to its destined place."

As will be seen, secret writing differed in no way from ordinary writing then in use. What constituted the difference between them lay in changing the order of syllables of the words written or spoken. When spoken it is called *Mlechchhita* or confused speech and when written, *Gūḍha-lekhya* or secret-writing. There seem to have been many varieties of secret speech. While commenting on the sixty-four arts mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana*, *Yaśodhara* ascribes the device of one variety to *Kauṭilya* and a second variety to *Mūladeva* and describes them as follows :—

यत्साधुशब्दोपनिबद्धमप्यक्षरविपर्यासादस्पष्टार्थं तन्मलेच्छितं गूढवस्तुमन्त्रार्थम् ।

तस्य विकल्पा बहवः पूर्वाचार्योक्ताः । तद्यथा कौटिलीयम्—

I. तादेकान्तस्य कादेश्च स्वरयोर्ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः ।

बिन्दुष्मणोर्विपर्यासादुर्बोधमिति सञ्चितम् ॥

II. अकौ खगौ घळौ चैव चटौ जशौ तपौ नमौ ।

यशौ रषौ लसौ चेति बहौ ङळौजडौ दबौ ॥

एते व्यस्ता स्थिरारशेषा मूलदेवीयमुच्यते ।

III. ग्रहनयनवसुसमेतं बहाननाषाणि सागरा मुनयः ।

ज्वलनो गण्डकश्चङ्गं दुर्लभितं गूढलेख्यमिदम् ॥ इति—

What, though grammatically formed, becomes unintelligible on account of changing the order of syllables in words is called *Mlechchhita* or confused speech, devised for secret information. There are many varieties of this form of writing devised by ancient teachers. For example, that which was devised by *Kauṭilya* is as follows :—

I. "By changing the letters commencing with *ta* and ending with *ksha* for letters beginning with *ka* (and ending with *na*), by changing short vowels for long ones, and by changing the four bindus (*Anusvāra*, *Visarga*, *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhmāñiya*) for the four *Ūshma* letters (*ś, sh, s, h*),

respectively and *vice versa*, and written with trouble, it (the writing) is called *durbodha*, unintelligible.

II. Change of the one for the other in the pairs—*a* and *kā*; *kha* and *ga*; *gha* and *ñā*; *cha* and *ṭa*; *ṇā* and *ṇa*; *ta* and *pa*; *na* and *mā*; *yā* and *ṣā*; *rā* and *śā*; *lā* and *sā*; *v* and *hā*; *ksha* and *ḷā*; *jā* and *ḍā*; *dā* and *bā*; the rest being left as they are, constitutes Mūladeva's secret speech or writing.

III. Grahas (Soma cups or planets = 9), nayana (eyes = 2), Vasu (gods of the name = 8), Shadānana (six-faced God = 6), aksha (senses = 5), sāgara (oceans = 4), munis (seven sages = 7), Jvalana (fires = 3), gaṇḍakaśṛṅga (horn of the rhinoceros = 1); syllables written in this order (*i.e.*, 9th letter in the first place, 2nd in its own place, 8th in the 3rd place, 6th in the 4th place, 5th in its own place, 4th in the 6th place, 7th in its own place, 3rd in the 8th place, and the first in the 9th place, constitute Gūḍha-lekhya or secret-writing."

As an example of the last variety of secret-writing, we may take the following sentence conveying secret intelligence to a king :

‘रात्रुरायाति बहिर्बाव’

The enemy comes ; run away.

These syllables when misplaced will read as

बन्नुबावति याहिराश

The same expressed in the Mūladeviya form will read as follows :—

‘बन्नु बावति दिव्युषाह’

In the Kauṭīliya form it will read as follows :—

• आ कू टट की जा × पी दू ब ड

Verses with such misplacement of syllables or letters are called Vyākulākshara śloka, or verses of confused letters in

Tāntric works. While commenting on the word 'Hrīmkārī, the three hundred and first of the thousand names of Goddess Lalitā in the Lalitāsahasranāma, Bhāskararāya refers to Vyākulākshara verses and writes as follows :—

तत्पार्थसु स्वतन्त्रतन्त्रे व्याकुलाक्षरलोकेनोक्तः—

त्वं कामाक्षाप्रशम्यो ना नमसग्निमास्वयम् ।

रोमहृयो का विंशतनं तफादुलनाक्षिविम् ॥ इति ।

देवतारथगा मूक इति यो वेत्ति न क्रमम् ।

स व्याकुलाक्षरे मूको देवतारथगोपि सन्

इति वाचनक्रमः—

Translated into English this means :—

"The meaning of it (hrīm) is stated in the Svatantra-tantra in a verse in which the letters are put out of order, as 'tvam kāmāmnā, etc.', whoever does not understand the order pointed out in the word 'devatārathagomūka' has to shut his mouth in the interpretation of a verse of disordered syllables, though he may be riding in the chariot of the goddess."

What is meant in the above puzzle is this. In order to understand the proper order of syllables in a verse of deranged syllables, it is necessary to know the order of disorder pointed out in the word 'devatārathagomūka.'

Evidently the letters in 'devatārathagomūka' are indicative of numerals according to the convention of Indian astronomers and astrologers. It is very well known to the students of Indian astronomy how in Indian astronomical works numerals are denoted by *ka* and other consonants: The nine letters from *ka* to *jha* or from *ta* to *dha* denote the nine digits in order. *Na* denotes cipher. The five letters from *pa* to *ma* signify the first five digits in order. The eight letters from *ya* to *ha* symbolise the first eight digits in order.

Applying this rule to 'devatārathagomūka,' we can understand that it implies 8, 4, 6, 2, 7, 3, 5, 1, as the order of the disordered letters. Accordingly if the syllables in the deranged verse are put in order in the above way, the verse reads as follows :—

Vyomnā prakāśamānatvam
 grasamānatvam agninā |
 tayorvimarśa ikārah
 bindunā tanniphālanam ||

The meaning of this verse is that *h* in *hrīm* called *Vyoma*, sky, denotes light, or splendour and *r* termed fire indicates devouring. The letter *ī* signifies the investigation of the idea conveyed by these two letters and the nasal sound the contemplation on the whole idea.

Attention may be drawn here to the writer's article on 'A Theory of the Origin of the Devanāgarī Alphabet' published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume for 1905, regarding the appropriateness of the names of the letters of the Brāhmī alphabet to their respective hieroglyphical symbols which they were in their origin.

It is to be noted that in the form of the secret-writing devised by Kauṭilya, the alphabet is divided into three groups, the vowels, the consonants and the bindus. Among the vowels, the short are substituted for the long and *vice versa*. Among the consonants, the thirty letters from ka to ksha without the four Ūshma letters are divided into two groups of fifteen each. The fifteen of the first group are substituted for the fifteen of the 2nd group in their serial order. The four bindus, Anusvāra, Visarga, Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmāniya are replaced by *sa*, *sha*, *sa*, *ha* respectively in secret-writing. This form is simple. The Mūladeviya form is simpler than this and must therefore be later than the Kauṭilya.

The third variety is applicable to prose and changes the order of syllables in a group of nine syllables. 'As numbers

are denoted by names of gods and things, this form seems to be quite later than that of Mūladeva's device and cannot be earlier than the 6th century A.D. when the collective name of planets was used for nine. The Tāntric device may be of the same period inasmuch as it makes use of alphabetic letters to denote numerals.

(9)

SOME HINDU FISCAL TERMS DISCUSSED

BY

Dr. UPENDRANATH GHOSHAL

(*Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta*).

The fortunate discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya which has already illumined so many dark corners of Indian culture-history has also placed us in a position to visualise what may be called, the Hindu system of public finance at an important stage of its development. It is not difficult at the present time to attempt with the further aid of inscriptions and written records a systematic history of the rise, development and decline of the Hindu fiscal system. As a preliminary help to the study of this important branch of enquiry it is eminently desirable to examine the technical terms concerned on historical as well as analytical principles. In the present paper it is proposed to take up by way of illustration some of the commonplace terms applying to the old Indian system of public revenue, namely, *bali*, *kara*, *bhāga* and *śulka*.

BALI.

This is the oldest Indo-Aryan term for the king's revenue. In the *Rigveda* it is the exclusive designation of the Indo-Aryan king's receipts from his subjects as well as from conquered kings. Zimmer, as is well known, affirmed (*Alt. Leben*, p. 166) that *bali* in the former sense was originally a voluntary offering on the part of the subjects, and that only in later times it assumed the character of

compulsory payment or a tax. This explanation seems to have received some support from later German interpreters of the *Rigveda*. Grassmann, *e.g.*, in his *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* has for *bali* the equivalents Geschenke (present), Spende (gift), as well as Abgabe (tax or tribute), while he explains *balihrit* as abgabeleistende (tax-paying) and steuerpflichtig (liable to taxation). Even Geldner (*Der Rigveda in Auswahl, Erster Teil*) gives for *bali* the equivalent Spende (gift) along with Tribut, Zoll (toll) and Huldigung (homage). On the other hand the authors of the Vedic Index (s.v. *bali*) hold that there is no evidence in the *Rigveda* to support Zimmer's view. It is possible that *bali* was from the first of the nature of a customary contribution payable by the subjects, and not depending solely upon their free choice. In the Brāhmaṇa period *bali* had certainly assumed the character of a tax, as is shown, *e.g.*, by the well-known passage of the Ait. Br. (VII. 29) describing the Vaiśya as अन्यस्य वसिष्ठ, अन्यस्याघो यथाकामज्येयो (tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will). In later times when other items of taxation appear along with *bali*, the latter term seems to have been used in a wider as well as in a more restricted sense. As an example of the former kind may be mentioned that the standard lexicons frequently identify the terms *bali*, *bhāga* (- *dheya*) and *kara*, no doubt as common designations of the tax on land (cf. Amara, II. 8. 28; III. 3. 165; Ibid. 196; Śāśvata, 360, 626; Vaijayanti, I. 345). In its more restricted sense which is found specially in the Arthaśāstra, *bali* is clearly distinguished from these cognate terms. Thus Arthaśāstra, II. 6, while enumerating the sevenfold body of income (अस्य सप्तविधम्), mentions *bali*, *bhāga* and *kara* as distinct items included under the heading of *rāṣṭra* (country-parts). Again, while describing (II. 15) the functions of the superintendent of agricultural store-house (कोषपालः) the Arthaśāstra distinguishes *bali*, *śadbhāga* and *kara* with other items as component parts of *rāṣṭra*. Even the Manu-

saṁhitā distinguishes in the following passage between *bali* and *kara* :

बोद्धवन् बलिमादौ करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।

प्रतिभागश्च दण्डं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥

VIII. 307.

About the meaning of the term *bali* in this narrower sense there is some difference of opinion. By the commentators of the *Manusamhitā*, *bali* is explained in the passage just quoted as the king's (sixth) share of the produce and the like (शान्वादेः षड्भागः, etc.). In other words *bali* is identified with *bhāga*. On the other hand the *Arthasāstra* which, as we have seen, further distinguishes *bali* from *bhāga*, has to discover for it an independent meaning. Thus Bhaṭṭasvāmin, commenting on one of the *Arthasāstra* passages above referred to (II. 15), explains *bali* as षड्भागादन्वो यथादेशप्रसिद्धो दशविंशतिबन्धादिकः (the tenth or the twentieth part as current in different tracts and in excess of the sixth share). Similarly, Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on Amara, II. 8, 28, quotes an *Arthasāstra* view to the effect that *bali* as distinguished from *bhāga* and *kara* is the means of subsistence of the king's officials (राजभाटः षड्भागादिभ्यः प्रत्येकं दशावरजंगमादि देयः करः विशेष्योपजीव्यो बलिः). *Bali*, then, as used in the *Arthasāstra*, is essentially of the nature of a petty cess over and above the king's normal share of the produce. In his commentary on the last-named passage from Kautilya (II. 15), Gaṇapati Śāstri further identifies it with the so-called begging receipts of the king (बलिः षड्भागातिरिक्तः यथादेशप्रसिद्धो दशविंशतिबन्धादिकः ई शिवाभक्तं वदन्ति). Commenting on the other passage of Kautilya (II. 6) Gaṇapati Śāstri more explicitly defines *bali* as दण्डहारो निष्ठा वा. The same meaning is adopted by J. J. Meyer, the German translator of the *Arthasāstra*, who renders *bali* in both the above passages as *Spende* (gift), while he explains it to be a so-called voluntary gift or contribution to the

royal or state treasury (eine sogennante freiwillige Gabe oder Beisteuer an den Königlichen oder Staat-schatz). It is supported by the authority of Hema Chandra who in his *Anekārthasaṃgraha* (2. 489) gives for *bali* the equivalents *उपहार* and the demon called by that name. It may also be connected with the original signification of the term in the *Rigveda*.¹

If the above remarks be borne in mind, they may help us to fix with more precision than hitherto attained the meaning of at least one famous historical inscription containing these terms. Aśoka's Rummindei Inscription, as is well-known, closes with the words "*hida Bhagavam jāteti Lummini-gāme Ubalikekaṭe aṭha-bhāgiyecha*. Dr. F. W. Thomas who first conclusively proved the terms *Ubalikekaṭe* in this extract to mean 'free from *bali*' added that the latter term properly meant a religious cess (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 467). His explanation has generally been accepted by scholars, although it is noticeable that Hultsch in his newly published second edition of the *Corpus* translates it more freely as "*free of taxes*." Now applying the signification of *bali* as just mentioned (which we are justified in doing in view of the fact that the inscription like the *Arthaśāstra* distinguishes between *bali* and *bhāga*) we should translate *Ubalikekaṭe* as free from the additional cess. The purport of the whole passage, then, would be that the village in consideration of its being the birth-place of Buddha had its rate of land-revenue reduced by the Emperor to 1/8th, while the additional cess was abolished altogether.

¹ In connection with the two passages quoted above from Kauṭilya Shamaśāstry translates *bali* as religious taxes (p. 66) and as taxes that are levied for religious purposes (p. 112). This explanation is evidently based on the alternative meaning of the term as religious offering. In two passages of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II. 68 and III. 45) *Rājabali* actually figures in a list of five *balis* which is the Buddhist equivalent of the Brahmanical five daily sacrifices. Nevertheless there is nothing in the *Arthaśāstra* or its authoritative commentary, as Shamaśāstry himself recognises, to justify the above interpretation.

BHĀGA.

The term *bhāgadughā* as applied to one of the king's *ratnins* ("Jewels") occurs a number of times in the Yajus Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas (cf. Taitt. Sam., I. 8. 9. 2; Taitt. Br., I. 7. 3. 5; II. 4. 8. 1; Śat. Br., I. 1. 2. 17; V. 3. 1. 9, etc.). If Sāyaṇa's explanation of this term in connection with the passages of Taitt. Sam. and Taitt. Br. just cited (ये राज्ञः प्रायं बहु भागं प्रजान्यो गृहीत्वा राज्ञे दोग्धि प्रयच्छति स भागदुघः) is to be believed, *bhāga* as the technical designation of a specific tax was already known at this period. But elsewhere (comm. on Śat. Br., V. 3. 1. 9) Sāyaṇa explains the same term in the sense of "Carver," which shows the absence of a continuous traditional interpretation up to his own time. This, of course, has the result of leaving the meaning of the term in question an unsolved problem. In its technical sense as the designation of a specific tax on land (as distinguished from the more general sense in which, as we have seen above, it is identified with *bali* and *kara*) it occurs in the two Arthaśāstra passages to which we have referred above. Thus Arthaśāstra, II. 6, mentions *bhāga* with *bali*, *kara*, etc., under the heading of *rāṣṭra* while in II. 15, it includes *ṣaḍbhāga* with *bali*, *kara*, etc., under the same general heading. In this case *bhāga* undoubtedly means the king's customary share of the produce normally, though not universally, amounting to 1/6th. Bhaṭṭasvāmin, *e.g.*, commenting on the passage in II. 15, explains *ṣaḍbhāga* in the general sense of *Rājabhāga* and adds that the term one-sixth includes by implication other rates such as one-third and one-fourth prevailing in different tracts (षड्ग्रहणं प्रायिकत्वादप्येषामपि यथादेशमसिद्धानां त्रीयच्छतुर्थादिभागानामुपलक्ष्यम् ॥). Similarly the Arthaśāstra view quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin defines *bhāga* as राजभागाः षड्भागानि. In addition to the above, *bhāga* seems to have been applied in the Arthaśāstra by a natural extension of meaning to other taxes of a similar nature. Thus we have in Arthaśāstra, II. 24, the term *ṣaḍbhāga* meaning

the water-tax paid by the cultivators of wet lands at varying rates. The use of the term *bhāga* in this connection has perhaps to be understood in the light of the well-known theory of the king's ownership of land and water that is expressed in a couplet quoted in Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on the above:—राजा भूमेः पतिर्यदः शाक्यैरुक्तम् च । तान्म्यामन्तु बद्धम् तत्र स्वाम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥ Another example of the technical use of *bhāga* occurs in Arthaśāstra, II. 12, where we have the term *लवणभाग* meaning the king's share of the salt which is levied from manufacturers apparently under a system of State licenses. Mention is made in the same connexion of the king's levy of one-sixth (*षड्भाग*) of imported salt and provision is made for the sale of the king's share (*दत्तभाग-विभागस्य विक्रयः*). Another sense in which *bhāga* seems to have been used in the Arthaśāstra is the portion of merchandise paid by merchants to the king. In II. 16, describing the duties of the *पण्याप्य* with reference to the sale of merchandise in foreign lands, Kautilya says:—परविषये तु पण्यप्रतिपण्ययोरर्धभूतं चातमस्य शुक्लवस्त्रं न्यातिवाहिकगुरुमतरदेवमकभागम्यशुद्धमुद्धं परयेत् ॥ Here the reading *bhāga* is adopted both by Shamasastri and Jolly while Gaṇapati reads *bhāṭaka* instead. In another place, II. 35, we are told regarding the duties of merchant-spies in respect of the sale of merchandise:—शुक्लवस्त्रं न्यातिवाहिकगुरुमतरदेवमकभागमत्तपण्यागारप्रमाणं विद्युः. From the close similarity of this passage with the one quoted immediately above, it seems clear that the word *bhāga* should be read in the former case as well. Now *bhāga* in the above passages is understood by Shamasastri (pp. 120, 180) to mean 'the portion of merchandise payable to the foreign king' and 'one-sixth portion paid or payable by merchants' while Meyer renders it as *Königsanteil* (king's share).

KARA.

As the designation of a fiscal term *kara* appears to have been unknown to the earlier literature. In the Dharmaśāstras

it is already a familiar term, while it is of frequent occurrence in the Epics, the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas and the literature of Drama and *Kāvya*. In its general sense of a tax it is, as we have seen above, identified with *balī* and *bhāga* in the lexicons. The Jaina canonical literature similarly knows its use as the general designation of the tax on land as well as on moveables. The Abhidhānarājendra, *e.g.*, quotes a text mentioning no less than 16 kinds of *haras* of which द्रव्यकर has eighteen specified sources (including गोकर् महिषकर वृक्षकर वृगलीकर दूधकर पत्रापकर काष्ठकर), while it also mentions क्षेत्रकर in the sense of the different taxes of the nature of *śulka* and so forth that are levied upon fields (यो यस्मिन् क्षेत्रे ~~गच्छति~~ कृष्य विभिन्नो करः स क्षेत्रे क्षेत्रविषयः करः). The narrower application of the term *kara* as the designation of a specific tax occurs in the Arthaśāstra and the Manusmṛitā passages we have quoted above. Its precise significance like that of *balī* is differently interpreted by different authorities, as is shown by the following examples:—द्रव्यादानम् (Medhātithi), भूमिनिषतं देयं हिरण्यम् (Sarvajñanārāyaṇa) गुह्यदायादिकम् (Rāmachandra), ग्रामपुरवासिभ्यः प्रतिमासम् भाद्रपौषादिमासत्रयमेन वा ग्राह्यं (Kullūka), ग्रामवासिभ्यः प्रतिमासिकम् (Rāghavānanda). The last two interpretations are very much in accordance with Bhaṭṭasvāmin's explanation of the term in his commentary on Kauṭilya, II. 15:—करः प्रतिवर्षदेयः भाद्रपदिकवासनिकाद्युपादायश्च. With it may be connected the definition of *kara* in Kṣīrasvāmin's quotation:—प्रत्येकं स्थावरजंगमादिदेयः करः. Kara is thus evidently of the nature of a periodical tax levied more or less universally on villagers. It is apparently this vague and unsatisfactory definition that has led modern interpreters of the Arthaśāstra to attempt a more precise analysis of its meaning. Thus in connexion with the two Arthaśāstra passages above-mentioned Shamasastri translates it in one place (p. 66) as 'taxes paid in money' and elsewhere (p. 112) as 'taxes or subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others.' Meyer, while rendering it on the authority of Bhaṭṭasvāmin as

Jahressteuer (annual tax), thinks Shamasastri's first explanation to be possibly correct, while he also suggests for it the equivalent Bodensteuer (ground-tax). (See his translation of Arthasāstra, Vol. II, p. 81 n.) Gaṇapati Śāstrī, on the other hand, explains *kara* in the above passages as a tax levied in respect of fruit trees (फलवृक्षादिसम्बद्धं राजदेयम्). Of all these explanations it may be said that they are not authenticated by sufficient evidence in their favour.

The Girnar Rock Inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (c. 152 A. D.) shows *kara* in use as a distinct source of revenue at this period and throws some light upon its nature. There it is said of the satrap that he met the expenses of construction of the dam of the Sudarśana lake out of his own purse and without oppressing his subjects by means of *kara*, *viṣṭi*, and *praṇaya* (अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजनपदं जनं स्वस्मात् कोषान्महता जनौघेन). From this it would seem that *kara* was held like *viṣṭi* and *praṇaya* to be an oppressive tax.

ŚULKA.

Perhaps the earliest mention of *śulka* as a tax occurs in the Atharvaveda where we have in one place the verse:—
 यो ददाति शितिपादमविं लोकेन समितम् । स नाकमभ्यारोहति यत्र शुल्को न
 क्रियते अवलेन बलीयसे ॥ (A. V., III. 29. 3; S. P. Paṇḍit's edition, Vol. II, p. 496). In the above the reading *śulka* is based upon the evidence of all the manuscripts and oral reciters of the Veda that were available to the editor. It has been followed by Whitney and Lanman in their classical translation of the A. V. (Vol. I, p. 136). It is also adopted by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the above passage. In the Dharmasūtras *śulka* is a familiar fiscal term (cf. Gaut., X. 25; Āpast., II. 26. 9; Vaśiṣṭha, XIX. 37). Pāṇini in one of his sūtras (V. 1. 47) provides for the formation of words from *śulka* (तदस्मिन् दृढवाचकान्शुल्कोपादा दीयते) and the term occurs in the gāṇa अर्चयति (Pāṇ., II. 4. 31). Like *bali* and *bhāga* *śulka* has

a non-technical as well as a narrower technical sense. As an instance of the former kind may be mentioned the definition in the Kāśikā on the above *sūtra* of Pāṇini :—*रक्षानिवेशो राजभागः शुल्कः* which the Bālaṃanoramā further explains as *रक्षा तदर्थं निवेशो भृतिः रक्षानिवेशः* and the Padamañjarī explains similarly as *निवेशो भृतिः रक्षानिमित्तको निवेशो रक्षादिनिवेशः*. According to this interpretation *śulka* is a general designation for tax. The narrower technical sense of *śulka* is illustrated in the standard lexicons which uniformly render *śulka* as *घट्टादिरेष* (cf. Amara, II. 8. 27; Anekārthasaṃgraha, II. 19, etc.). What other items are included in the expression *आदि* will best appear from Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the above-mentioned passage of Amara :—*घट्टो नदीतरस्थानमादिशब्दात् गुल्मप्रतोल्यादौ प्रावेश्यनैऋत्यपद्रव्येभ्यो राजप्राहः भागः शुल्कः*. *Śulka*, then, comprises the ferry-duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties that are paid by merchants. The corresponding Pali term *suṅka* occurs in the same general sense of tolls, duties and customs (see P.T.S. Dictionary, s.v. *suṅka*). The commentators of the Manusamhitā in the passage above cited (VIII. 307) likewise explain *śulka* in the general sense of duties paid by merchants. This is shown by the following examples :—*शुल्कं वणिक्प्राप्यभागम्* (Medh.); *शुल्कं स्थलजलपथादिना वाणिज्यकारिभ्यो नियतस्थानेषु द्रव्यानुसारे प्राह दानमिति प्रसिद्धं शुल्कं तरादिदेयम्* (Sarvajña); *शुल्कं वणिगादेर्हृष्टघट्टादिनियतस्थानेषु द्रव्यानुसारेण यद् प्राहयम्* (Rāghava); *शुल्कं पथिकैर्गुणिगादिभिर्देयम्* (Nandana). A somewhat more restricted application of the term *śulka* occurs in the Arthaśāstra. In II. 6, *śulka* heads the list of items constituting the "*durga*" or the fortified town, while *वणिक्*, *नदीपाल*, *तर*, *वर्तनी* and other items are included under the heading of *rāṣṭra*. In the two passages that we have referred to above (Arthaśāstra, II. 16; II. 35) *śulka* is distinguished from *गुल्मदेय* and *तरदेय* as well as *वर्तनी*. *Śulka*, then, is specifically the tax levied on merchants inside the fortified town and is distinct from the ferry-duties, etc., that are levied in the country parts. It

is in strict conformity with this view that Kauṭilya elsewhere (II. 21) lays down rules for the collection of *śulka* by the superintendent of tolls at the toll-house situated near the main gate of the town. But *śulka* could also be collected at the ports, for in Aś., II, 28, dealing with the duties of the superintendent of ships (नाव्यसूत) we are told that merchants should pay their share of the toll in accordance with the usage of the ports:—पत्तनानुवृत्तं शुल्कभागं बणिजो दद्याः. In the same chapter Kauṭilya says that at frontier-stations ferrymen should collect tolls, charges for carriage, and road-cess:—प्रत्यन्तेषु तरा शुल्क-मातिबाहिकं वर्त्तनीञ्च गृहीयुः. This shows that *śulka* could be levied at the frontier-stations as well.

(10)

ATTHAKAVAGGA AND PĀRĀYAṆAVAGGA AS TWO INDEPENDENT BUDDHIST ANTHOLOGIES.

BY

B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.Litt.

(*Professor of Pali, Calcutta University*).

Two among the oldest specimens of Ethical and Paritta selections, which engage the attention of any critical student of the Tripiṭaka, are the two groups of poems—the Atthakavagga (the Book of Octaves) and the Pārāyaṇavagga, both now included in the canonical anthology called the Suttanipāta. We say these were two among the oldest specimens, because these, as is evident from numerous Piṭaka quotations from them collected by Trenckner¹ and Rhys Davids,² had existed as separate collections of poems by themselves, prior to the Nikāyas and Vinaya Texts, and long before the compilation of the Suttanipāta, of which they are now integral parts. That these were among the pre-Nikāya materials of the Buddhist canon cannot be doubted, as has been already shown by Professor Rhys Davids in his highly suggestive chronological table of Buddhist literature from the Buddha's time to the time of Aśoka (Buddhist India, p. 188).• The truth of their separate existence as two groups of poems complete in themselves long before they were incorporated in the Suttanipāta is amply borne out, over and above the Nikāya and Vinaya quotations, by the fact that we have two separate books of canonical commentaries on them, namely, (a) the Cullaniddesa, a canonical exegesis on the Pārāyaṇavagga and the Khaggavisāṇasutta, and (b) the Mahāniddesa,

¹ See Fausboll's edition of the Suttanipāta, pp. iv-v.

² J. P. T. S.

a canonical exegesis on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*.¹ Of these old commentaries, enumerated separately by the *Dīghabhāṇakas* and collectively under the name of *Niddesa* by the *Majjhima* repeaters (*Sumaṅgalavilāsanī*, I, p. 15), the *Cullaniddesa* represents in form, style and exegetical method an earlier stage than the *Mahāniddesa*, which latter, besides being in terminology and other respects more advanced than the former, furnished a few geographical data, indicative unmistakably of an epoch of commercial expansion to Greek countries, Babylon, Ceylon, Java, and probably to China and Eastern Turkestan.

The *Cullaniddesa*-list of countries and peoples is identical with the stock list of the canon (*Anguttara*, I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260). The *Mahāniddesa* contains (pp. 154-155, 415) a curious list of countries, seaport-towns and trade-routes, which goes to prove an expansion of commerce extending far beyond India proper. The list includes a few towns within India proper, *e.g.*, *Tamali*, *Suppāra*, *Bharukaccha*, and *Suratṭha*, which are not mentioned elsewhere in the canon except the *Jātaka*-Book. The *Mahāniddesa*-list is as follows:—*Gumba*, *Takkola*, *Takkasila*, *Kālamukha* (Black-faced), *Maranapāra* (Shore beyond death), *Vesuṅga*, *Verapatha* (Path infested by enemies), *Java*, *Tamali*, *Vaṅga*, *Elavaddhana* (Sheep-rearing country), *Suvaṇṇakūṭa*, *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* (Further India), *Tambapaṇṇi* (Ceylon), *Suppāra*, *Bharukaccha* (Baroach), *Suratṭha*, *Angana*, *Gaṅgana*, *Parama-Gaṅgana*, *Yona*, *Paramayona*, *Alasanda* (Alexandria), *Marukantāra* (Sandy wilderness), *Jaṇṇupatha* (? *Vaṇṇupatha*—sandy track, *Jātaka* No. 2), *Ajapatha* (Goat track), *Meṇḍapatha* (Sheep-track), *Sanḥupatha* (Thorny track), *Chattapatha* (Shady track), *Vaṇṣapatha* (Bamboo track), *Sakuṇapatha* (Bird-track), *Musikapatha* (Rat-track), *Daripatha* (Cave-track, *i.e.*, tunnel or valley), and *Vettādhāra* (Cany-

¹ The *Nettipakaraṇa* which, like the *Cullaniddesa* and the *Mahāniddesa*, is based upon the expositions of *Mahākaccāyana*, contains verses from the poems now found in the *Suttanipāṭa*, but almost all of them are from the fourth and fifth books.

track). Of these the names compounded with *patha* and *ādhāra* are those of the trade-routes, *e.g.*, the Bird-track denotes the course of a ship determined by the flight of the bird (Aṅguttara, III, p. 368). Probably in this list we have references to a two-fold route, *viz.*, that by land and that by sea. The historical value of the list might be brought home by comparing it with others, earlier and later. First, a story of Indian merchants in the Pāyāsi-Suttanta gives but a very meagre description of a caravan-route from the eastern extremity (*pubbanta*) to the western (*aparanta*), that lay through a vast sandy desert and which was on that account very perilous. The Apanṇaka-Jātaka (No. 1) gives but a detailed account of the same route and of the perils attending journey along it. The Jātaka evidently means by *pubbanta* Benares, and by *aparanta* some destination beyond Rājputānā. The Vaṇṇupatha-Jātaka (No. 2) practically gives just another version of the same story, bringing out in particular the fact of land-pilots guiding caravans. But these earlier accounts of the trade-route do not take us beyond India proper. For instance, the five kinds of wildernesses (Kantāras) mentioned in the Apanṇaka-Jātaka were in reality the names of five successive portions of the route over the deserts in Rājputānā. The Mahāniddeśa-list includes a few more interesting names such as Daripatha (tunnel), Vetrādhāra (cany track), which, judging from the Chinese traveller's pathetic account and vivid description of the land-route from China to India, carry us to places perhaps as far east as Eastern Turkestan, if not to China. Secondly, the Milinda, a work which cannot be dated earlier than the first century B.C., allude more than once to India's trade-connections with Alexandria in the West, China in the East, Scythia and Turkestan in the North and the Coromandel coast in the South (pp. 327, 328, 331, 359). It is important to note that the Milinda speaks of trade-routes by sea only (p. 359) and that with the exception of Scythia (Saka), China (Cina), Vilāta and Kolapattana, the remaining names of

the Milinda are all included in the earlier Mahāniddesa-list. In the earlier books of the canon we hear, according to Professor Rhys Davids, only of the traffic within the confines of Northern India (Buddhist India, pp. 103-104), but attention has already been drawn to a pre-Jātaka story of sea-going merchants determining the direction of land by the flight of birds, although the names of foreign ports are not there mentioned. There are a few Jātakas, e.g., Seri-vāṇija (No. 3), Valāhassa (No. 196), Bāveru (No. 339), Catudvāra (No. 439), and Suppāraka (No. 463), which furnish references to merchant-vessels sailing to Babylon, Ceylon, Further India and other unknown ports. Compared with these scattered allusions and accounts, the Mahāniddesa-list would seem at once to be more complete, that is to say, later, though earlier than the accounts in the Milinda, the periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and the Travels of Fa Hian.

The Vatthugāthā (Prologue, attached to the Pārāyaṇavagga, as it now occurs in the Suttanipāta) seems to have been a later addition, later we mean than the Pārāyaṇavagga itself, and later also than the Cullaniddesa, which is a canonical commentary on the Pārāyaṇavagga and the Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta. That the Prologue was not originally an integral part either of the Pārāyaṇavagga or of the Cullaniddesa is evident from the fact that it has not found place in the Commentary of the Cullaniddesa.

The interest of the Prologue is that it points to the Godāvarī being at the time the southern boundary of Aryanised India by mention of the principal stopping-places¹ of a

¹ *South-east to North*—Magadhapura (Rājagaha, according to the commentator) to Sāvatti. The stopping-places beginning at the capital of Magadha were Vesālī, Bhoganagara, Pāvā, Kusinārā, Kapilavatthu, Setavya, and Sāvatti. *North to South-west*—Sāvatti to Patitthāna (Paithan). The stopping-places (beginning from Sāvatti) Sāketa, Kosambi, Vedisa, Gonaddha, Ujjeni, Mahissati and Patitthāna. Cf. the list of principal stopping-places of the road from Ayodhyā to Aśvaka and back in the Rāmāyaṇa, II, cantos LXVIII and LXX.

trunk-road or trade-route (Dakkhiṇāpatha, Southern Road) from the capital of Magadha to Sāvatti, and from Sāvatti to Patitṭhāna, then the capital of Alaka and an emporium of trade. And if Buddhaghosa's information¹ about Assaka and Alaka, both mentioned in the introductory stanzas, as being two independent Andhra kingdoms on the banks of the Godāvarī be correct, the Prologue leads us to think of a time when the Andhras as powerful nations in the south made an impression on an Aryan tradition so far as to obliterate the memory, echoed throughout the older Dharmasūtras, of the whole Deccan peninsula lying either to the south of the Vindhyan or to that of the Narmadā as the land of the unclean (Mlecchadeśa).

Further judging from the quotations in the Culla and Mahā-niddessa from the Suttas which are now found in the Suttanipāta and which are not to be found in the earlier books,² it follows that in the time of their composition the Suttas or poems which are now incorporated in the Suttanipāta were prevalent in the community,³ although we cannot definitely assert that the verses were quoted precisely from the Suttanipāta as it now reaches us and not from any detached poems forming the material for the later anthology, the Suttanipāta, which is a rich treasure of earlier poetic efforts of the Buddhists. If we are not thus justified in assuming the existence of a complete anthology by the name of Suttanipāta, "the Collocation of Discourses," as far back as the dates of composition of the Culla and Mahā-niddesas,

¹ Paramatthajotikā, II, 2, 581.

² *E.g.*, the stanzas, "kāma te paṭhamā senā, etc.," quoted on pages 96, 174 and 333 of the Mahāniddesa, were extracts from the Padhāna Sutta, now found in the third book of the Suttanipāta, and in the Lalitavistara (Chap. XVIII). The Sutta, be it noted, occurs neither in the Mahāpadānasuttanta nor in the Vinaya Mahāvagga, which together give an account of Buddha's life from his birth to the schism at Kosāmbi.

³ In the opinion of Professor Fausbøll, the greater part of the third book, *i.e.*, the Mahāvagga, is very old. See his edition of the Suttanipāta, p. lv.

we can imagine at least from the inclusion in the Cullaniddesa of an extra poem in addition to the Pārāyaṇavagga, *viz.*, the Khaggavisāṇasutta, now forming a part of Uragavagga, the first book of the Suttanipāta, an earlier process which led in course of time to the compilation of the anthology in its present form. The selections made in the Divyāvadāna (p. 20), which is a composition of post-Aśokan date, comprise the poems of the Aṭṭhaka-group plus the Śailagāthā and the Munigāthā, the former occurring in the Majjhima (II, p. 146) as Selasutta, and with the same title in the Suttanipāta (III, 7), and the latter in the Suttanipāta (I, 12) under the title Muni-sutta, and referred to in the Bhabru Edict as Munigāthā.

Thus we see that the two companion groups of poems—the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga, of which the former is strictly an ethical selection and the latter a metaphysical selection used later as a Paritta Book, had existed as separate anthologies prior to the Nikāyas and the Vinaya books, and long before the present reduction of the Suttanipāta, up till the composition of the Culla and Mahā-niddesas, which are philological commentaries on them. They do not seem to have been incorporated in the Suttanipāta up till the composition of the Nettipakaraṇa which, like the Niddesas,¹ was modelled on the expositions of Mahākaccāyana. We also noticed that the scheme of ethical selection in the Divyāvadāna, a Buddhist Sanskrit work of post-Aśokan date, comprises just the poems of the Aṭṭhaka-group plus the Śailā and the Muni-gāthās, and that the Munigāthā and perhaps the Sāriputta-Sutta of the Book of Octaves are two among Aśoka's selected passages in his Bhabru Edict.

In face of these evidences one can hardly resist the temptation to presume that the ethical selections prevalent

¹ Note that the author of the Mahāniddesa (pp. 197 foll.) is content with citing Mahākaccāyana's exposition of certain stanzas of the Aṭṭhaka-group, without feeling the necessity of adding a single word of his own. The expository discourse of Mahākaccāyana is now found in the Saṃyutta, III, 9.

in the Buddhist community before and after Aśoka were all on the lines of the Atthaka-group. The force of this conclusion is intensified as we proceed with our investigation into the texts which were compiled or composed later. The famous Pāli work, called the *Milindapañha*, which is believed by Prof. Rhys Davids and other European scholars originally to have been a translation from Buddhist Sanskrit, embodies two schemes of ethical selections, one of which is mixed up with Parittas. None need be surprised that these selections are poems belonging more or less to the Atthaka group. They are as follows:—

(1) The first scheme (*Milinda*, p. 20) includes the following:—

Dhammacakkhapaṭṭanasutta	} Parittas.
Mahāsamayasuttanta	
Mahāmaṅgalasuttanta	} Ethical.
Samacittapariyāyasuttanta	
Rāhulōvādasuttanta	
Parābhavasuttanta	

Be it noted that the list corresponds to the scheme in the *Pramatthajotikā*, II, Vol. I, as will be evident from the following quotation (p. 174):—

“Mahāsamayasutte ca atha Maṅgalasuttake
Samacitte Rāhulōvāde Dhammacakke Parābhave.”

(2) The second scheme (*Milinda*, p. 349) includes the following:—

Mahā-Rāhulōvāda (*Majjhima*, No. 148).¹
Mahā-Maṅgalasuttanta (*Suttanipāta*, II, 4).²
Samacittapariyāya (*Aṅguttara*, II, iv, 5).³

¹ Trenckner identifies the Sutta with the Cūla-Rāhulōvāda in the *Majjhima*, No. 147, which is the same as that in the *Samyutta*, XXIV, 120. See his *Milinda*, p. 429. Dr. Rhys Davids says that the Sutta may be one contemplated by Aśoka's Bhabru Selection No. 7. See his “Questions of *Milinda*,” I, p. 32, f.-n. i.

² The Sutta also occurs in the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

³ Trenckner's notes in the *Milinda*, p. 429. The Questions of King *Milinda*, I, p. 32, f.-n. i.

Parābhavasuttanta (Suttanipāta, I, 6).

Purabhedasuttanta

Kalahavivādasuttanta

Cūlavyūhasuttanta

Mahāvūhasuttanta

Tuvaṭṭakasuttanta

Sāriputtasuttanta

} Aṭṭhakavagga in the
Suttanipāta.

Of these, the last six occur, as noticed above, in the same order in the Book of Octaves, and the two Suttas, *viz.*, Mahāmaṅgala and Parābhava seem to have been taken from the first two books of the Suttanipāta, and it is important to bear in mind that the later Buddhist commentators evaluated these two poems as two companion ethical discourses, one being incomplete without the other.¹ While the second scheme of ethical selections shows a close resemblance to Aśoka's passages in the Bhabru Edict, the first scheme exhibits a departure from Aśoka's lines by mixing up the Parittas² and ethical discourses.

It is especially of interest here to note that the Milinda contains two schemes (pp. 349-350), one of ethical discourses and the other of Samāgamas or Parittas, which are exactly on a par with the twofold selection of Aśoka, *viz.*, ethical passages in the Bhabru Edict and the Parittas contemplated by some of the Bharhut sculptures. These also remind us of the two companion groups of poems, the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga, which were incorporated later in the Suttanipāta. In spite of the fact that these two companion groups of poems were intoned alike (*sarena bhasitā*), it is

¹ Paramatthajotikā, II, Vol. I, pp. 166-167 : "Maṅgalasuttaṃ kira sutvā devānam etad ahoṣi: Bhagavatā maṅgalasuttaṃ sattānaṃ vuddhiṃ ca sothiṇ ca kathayamānena ekamsena bhavo eva kathito no parābhavo handa dāni, yena sattā parihāyanti vinassanti, taṃ nesam parābhavaṃ pi pucchāmāti."

² The Dhammacakkhapaṭṭana and the Mahāsamaya Suttas appear on the list of Samāgamas in the Milinda, pp. 349-350.

not difficult to understand that they differed from the beginning in purpose and value. The Book of Octaves consisted of poems which were calculated to be ethical discourses in verse, while the Pārāyaṇa group being rather metaphysical in character could have anything but sound-value for the popular chanter and hearer. That is to say, while the former served the purpose of an ethical selection, the latter was, to all intents and purposes, a mere Paritta selection.

SECTION III
ARABIC AND PERSIAN

(1)

THE LETTER ق AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN PERSIAN LOAN-WORDS IN ARABIC

BY

Prof. Dr. A. SIDDIQI
(Dacca University).

The sound represented by the Arabic letter ق (*q*) is found in all the Semitic languages, and, as it is unknown to Aryan languages, it is generally considered to be peculiar to Semitic languages.¹ The pronunciation of ق varies in different parts of Arabia and Palestine, and the variations are: *q*, *k*, *gh*, *g*, etc., whereas in the spoken Arabic of Egypt one hears so often a ق pronounced very much similar to a *hamza*.² The Turkī or East-Turkish is perhaps the only non-Semitic language having the sound *g*. In the Turkish of Constantinople, however, it has been simplified to *k*, although in writing the letter ق has consistently been retained. Turkish, it may be remembered, is neither a Semitic nor an Aryan language but is a member of the Ural-Altaic family of languages, and, as such, has no affinity with Persian, except that the two languages are next-door neighbours, and, in certain cases, both the languages are spoken in one and the same locality.

We can, therefore, conclude that ق (*q*) is not an Aryan or an Iranian sound. The fact that we come across the sound in modern (*i.e.*, post-Islamic) Persian is due to Semitic or Turkish influence. In Ancient as well as in Middle Persian

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik der Aethiopischen Sprache*, 2nd Edn., p. 43.

² For certain other variants see Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, etc., p. 52.

there is no trace of it and even to-day Arabic and Turkish words having a ق are generally pronounced by the Persians as if they had a *ghain* (غ). The sound ق, though not an Iranian one, is found in a large number of Persian loan-words in Arabic and certain other Semitic languages like Syriac. As a matter of fact almost all such loan-words as found their way into Arabic were first adopted by the Aramaic (of which group Syriac is an important member), and it was from the Aramaic that they were taken into Arabic.

Now the question arises: why, in the case of Persian loan-words, the Persian *k* was represented by ق (*q*) and not by the Semitic *k*. It may here be remarked that similar is the case with Greek, Indian or other loan-words in Semitic languages, e.g., κλειδα appears in Persian as کلید but in Arabic as إقليد (with a *q*, as also in certain other Semitic languages),¹ κἀνδηλα = قنديل (Aramaic: *qandilā*), βερικοκκα = برقوق (Aramaic: *barqūqā*) and many others. Not only Aramaic but also Aethiopic² turns a foreign *k* into a *q* with few exceptions. In the case of Aramaic as well as Hebrew there was also an orthographical difficulty which surely contributed to the adoption of *q* in preference to *k*. The Aramaic and Hebrew *k* (כ, ק) has two sounds, a hard (=ק) and a soft (=כ), the latter being the case when the letter stands at the end of a syllable and also in certain other circumstances. The Arabs pronounced those words with a *q*, just as they heard from the Aramaeans or the Hebrews. There are, however, certain loan-words in Arabic which have most probably been borrowed directly from non-Semitic languages, for example قَرْنَفَل which came into Arabic directly from its Indian home, and it must have been from Arabic that the Greeks got their καρπόφυλλον.³ We also

¹ Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, pp. 15-16, and Siddiqi, *Studien ueber die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Goettingen, 1919), p. 58.

² Dillmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

³ Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 144,

see that in the case of a few words an Aramaic *k* is represented by a *q* in Arabic, e.g., دِمَقْس a metathetical form of مَدَقْس which latter word was borrowed from the Aramaic (both Syriac and Jewish Aramaic having it as *mitaksā*), its Greek original being μέταξα.¹

It is, thus, quite clear that the Semites expressed a foreign *k* normally by *q* and the Arabs are not an exception to this rule. The reason for their choosing the sound *q* to express a foreign *k*, as I pointed out some years ago,² must have been that, since the Semite pronounced his own *k* with a very slight aspiration, he did not consider it to be identical with the simple unaspirated foreign *k*, and the result of his attempt to imitate that foreign sound was a Semitic *q*.

As far as loan-words of Persian origin are concerned, a *q* represents a Persian *k* in certain cases but a *s* (= *h*, phonetically = *a*) of modern Persian in others. This queer equation (*a* = *q*) perplexed Muslim philologists for centuries, Sībawaih being the first to have made an attempt at its explanation which cannot be accepted in the face of modern philological research.³ Now that we have some knowledge of the earlier stages of the Persian language, we are in a position to say with absolute certainty (i) that a *k* (preceded by a vowel or by *r* or *n*) of Ancient Persian, viz., the language of the *Avesta* as well as of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions was pronounced as a *g* or *gh* in later Iranian (i.e., the Middle Persian) dialects; ⁴

¹ Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

² Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³ Sībawaih, *Al-Kitāb*, edited by H. Derenbourg, Paris, 1881—84, Vol. II, p. 375 (§525), and my *Studien*, pp. 21—23.

⁴ In Pahlavī writing it generally appears as *-k* but sometimes as *-kg*; cf. Huebschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 238 *et seq.*, and Salemann, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 257. In the Turfān Fragments, which are written phonetically, *-g* has been adopted generally, *k* and even *q* being employed in isolated cases. The use of *q* is explained by the fact that these fragments are written in Syriac characters. The phonetic value of *k* and *q* is obviously the same,

(ii) that furthermore this *k* (> *g*) formed part of the important Middle Persian endings *-ak* and *-īk* or *-ag* (= *-agh*) and *-ig* (= *-igh*) and also of the endings *-āk*, *-ūk* and *-ōk*. In modern Persian the final *-k* (= *-g*) has, with the exception of a very few instances, disappeared, as it had already fallen, during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. We still have that *g* in the plural or certain other forms where it was guarded by some further ending, e.g., *bandagān*, *bandagī*, etc. If the *-k* was preceded by a long vowel there was no difficulty in pronouncing the word, after the disappearance of the ending, e.g., تازی and دیبا (compare تاجیک); but in cases where the *-k* was preceded by a short vowel, and this short vowel had to be expressed in writing by some other letter which was neither a long nor a short vowel; and a *h* was employed which is conventionally equal to an *a*, as in بندۀ (bandā).

There is a very large number of Persian words in Armenian, the more ancient of those loan-words (with a *k*-suffix) having a *-k*, the younger ones an *-ay*.

Similarly we see that ancient Persian borrowings into the Semitic languages have generally a *-g*, while those of a later date (a time when the *k* had become a *g* in Persian itself) have a *g* (= Arabic *j*).

The following are only a few of the numerous Persian loan-words in Arabic (with the Persian suffixes *-ak*, *-āk*, *-ūk* and *-īk*) generally recognised as such by Arabic philologists:—

(a) - *ak*: بادق = Persian بادۀ, بادۀ (bādā), Pahlavī *bātak* = * *bādhak*.

برق = Persian برۀ (barā), Pahlavī *varak*.

بيدق = بيادۀ Middle Persian **piyādhak*. *Piyādā* must have been **padātaka* in Ancient Persian (cf. Sanskrit *padātika*). In certain Iranian languages, for example in Balōchī, the final *-k* still appears

(d) - *ik* : خَرْدِیْ = خَرْدِیْ, Middle Persian *khurdik* or *khwardik* = Armenian (l.-w.) *khortik-k*.

شَبِیْ = سَبِیْج.

زَنْدِیْ (with the forms زَنْدَقِیْ and زَنْدِیْ) requires a more detailed treatment, as Prof. Bevan has tried to derive it from the Aramaic word *zaddiq* (= Arabic *ṣiddiq*).¹

The word in question appears in the post-Islamic Arabic, there being no trace of it in the pre-Islamic literature. All Arabic sources declare unanimously that it is of Persian origin. Some Arabic Philologists derive it from زَنْدَه كَرْد ² or زَنْدَكِر ³ or even زِنْدَه, because the term *zindiq* was generally applied to one who believed that the world exists from all eternity. Others hold that it means "a man of circumspection," Ar-Riyāshī's actual words being: إِذَا كَانَ نَظَّارًا فِي الْأُمُورِ.⁴ Certain later Arabic works and Persian lexicons give as its original Persian form زَنْدِیْ ⁵ which is the etymological equivalent of the Middle Persian form *zandik*. Also the form *zandik* exists in Modern Persian and is actually given by certain dictionaries.⁶ All these modern works seem to connect

¹ Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, pp. 159 *et seq.*

² Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab*, p. 75, and Sachau's remarks on the word.

³ Ibn Sīdā, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Vol. XIV, p. 73. * *Zindkar* (= *zindag* + *kar*) means in Middle Persian "the giver of life." In one of the *Turjān Fragments* (No. 311) the word occurs twice and is applied to Mānī himself: (1) "...[O.] Mānī, the Lord, the giver of life. He gives (new) life to the dead.....," (2) "O, luminous Mānī! of increasing glory, giver of life!" In spite of that it can hardly be asserted that *zindiq* is to be derived from *zindkar*.

On Armenian *zindkapet*, see Huebschmann, *Armenische Etymologie*, p. 41.

⁴ *Al-Mu'arrab*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Al-khafā'ijī, *Shifā'u'l-ghalīl*, p. 112; *Farhang-i Rashādī*, s. v.

⁶ *Burhān-i Qā'ī*, s. v.; *Farhang-i Nāṣirī*, s. v.

it with the *Zand* (the Pahlavī commentary of the *Avesta*) and explain it as "one versed in or observing the tenets of the *Zand*." Arabic lexicographers explain it as "a materialist" and "a man of circumspection," and also as "one well-versed in *Zand*." The word *zindīq* (in Arabic) comprises, as Goldziher points out, "different shades of heresy and hardly admits of a simple definition."¹ It has been applied not only to the Zoroastrians, Manichaeans, Muzdakites and free-thinkers,² but also to Buddhists and even to Christians.³ It is by no means used to denote the Manichaeans alone. The Muslims used it for anyone having a belief contrary to their own. Even certain sects of Islam were so designated. In Middle Persian or Pahlavī it was used in a similar sense, and in younger Avestic it appears, in the form *zanda*, as the name of certain heretics.⁴ Thus it is not impossible that the word existed in the language of Persia even before Mānī was born.

The author of the *Fihrist*, which is the best and the richest source of our information on Manichaeism, uses the word *zindīq* for Manichaeans generally and in the sense "heretics" just in the way as it is used by other Arabic authors, some of whom have applied it to Mānī himself.⁵ For those fully initiated in the religion of Mānī, on the other hand, he uses the terms صِدِّيق (plural صِدِّيقُونَ)⁶ and صِدِّيقُونَ "the congregation or body of *Siddīqs*" without the slightest hint as to any relation or affinity between *zindīq* and *Siddīq* or its Aramaic equivalent, which Professor Bevan⁷ considers to be

¹ Nicholson, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 372.

² *Al-Mughrib*, I, p. 235.

³ Ṭabarī, III, p. 422.

⁴ Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Woerterbuch*, column 1662.

⁵ Ibn Shihna, quoted by Kessler in his *Mani. Forschungen ueber die Manichaeische Religion*, p. 369. Berlin, 1889.

⁶ Also Bīrūnī, *al-Athār u'l-bāqiyā*, pp. 207 and 208. Leipzig, 1878.

⁷ Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 160; Nicholson, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 375.

the original of the Persian word *zandik*. Ibnu'n-Nadīm has used for the *Siddiqun* also the term **المُجْتَبِينَ** "*electi*" in contradistinction to **السَّامِعِينَ** "*auditores*."¹

Bevan thinks the *dd* of a probable *Saddiqai* was replaced by *nd* in Persian and relies upon "the conversion of the Sanskrit *Siddhānta* into *Sindhind*,"² but this is surely not sufficient to prove the case. The first *n* in *Sindhind* might simply be due to the influence of the *n* in *Siddhānta*.

Etymologically *zandik* is surely derived from the Persian root *zan*, Gathic (Avestic) *zan* (= south-western Persian *dan*) "to know." In the *Avesta* we also come across the forms *zanta*, *zantā*, *zantō* and *zānatā*, furthermore *zantay* "getting acquainted with; knowledge" and *zantav* "getting acquainted with; information."³ The Middle Persian *zandik* (with its abstract noun *zandikih*) must belong to the root *zan* and must have been used in the sense γνωστικός originally and applied to "heretics" afterwards. The original meaning of the word must, therefore, have lived on side by side with the secondary meaning till the time when the Arabs began to use the word in their language, and knew that it also meant: "نظائر في الأمور."

It can, therefore, be asserted that it is neither historically nor philologically possible to consider *zandik* to be a loan-word

¹ Fluegel, *Mani, Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, pp. 73 and 367, and Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

² Browne, *loc. cit.*

³ Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, columns 1659, 1660 and 1661. The modern *dānistān* is derived from the south-western Ancient Persian *dan*, the equivalent of *zan*. Also in Middle Persian we find *zānād* (= modern *dānād*), *zānām* (= *dānām*) of the North dialect as against the *dānēm* (= *dānam*), *dānāgān* (= *dānāyān*), etc., of the south-west dialect. (These different forms will be found in the *Turfan Fragments*, edited by Mueller under the title "*Handschriften-Reste, etc.*," 2nd Part, Berlin, 1904.) The *z* has been retained by certain Iranian dialects even up to the present day.

from the Aramaic, and that there is hardly any doubt about its Persian origin.¹

Having found out the origin of the final -q in loan-words in Arabic, we are able to trace certain words to their Persian originals which ancient scholars did not consider to be loan-words at all. Such are رَوْنَق, رَوْنَق, رَوْنَق (and رَمْرَقَة). رَوْنَق (rawnaq), a word very often used by the ancient Arabic poets, (Imru'ul-Qais, Aus b. Ḥajar, Abū Dhūwaib, Khansā' and many others), has no derivation in Arabic. Also its Syriac equivalent, *rōnaq* (pronounced *rōnaqlh*) is not a word of Semitic origin. I cannot think of any Persian word other than *rōnās*³ with its numerous forms which can be arranged in two series as follows:

(i) *rōghnās* > *rōyanās* > **rōenās* > *rōnās* ;

(ii) *rōdang*, *rōdan* > *rōyang*, *rōyan*.

The Syriac word shows that its Persian original must have belonged to (ii), perhaps it was some form of *rōyang*—**rōinag* (?) —or of *rōdang*. The Arabic word, on the other hand, inclines towards (i) *rōnās*, the older form of which must have been **rōnāk* (?).

نَمْرَق (namraq, numruq, nimriq) has no derivation in Arabic; it has, however, found favour with the Arabs⁴ and also occurs once in the *Midrash Qobelet* in the plural form נַמְרָקִין (*numrūqēn*).⁵

¹ On certain parallels of *zindīq* and *zandaqī* see my *Studien*, p. 90.

² Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. xvi; Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 and 73.

³ "A kind of grass used for polishing things, Madder, dyeing plant."—*Burhān-i Qāṭi*; "water of a knife, sword, etc."—Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*.

⁴ Imru'ul-Qais, *Dīwān*, Poems 34 and 40. *A'shā* (quoted by Al-Jawhari, s.v. نَمْرَق); the plural نَمْرَقَات: *Shu'arā'un-Naṣrāniyya*, p. 241, *Dīwānu'l-Hudhaliyyīn*, 228, *Qur'an*, 88, 15.

⁵ As pointed out by Professor J. Horovitz (in his letter dated the 2nd August, 1919) to whom I am greatly indebted.

The Persian equivalent of the word is **namrak* (=modern *narma*) = Avestic **namra* = old Indian *namrá*.¹ The arabicised form of the Persian *narma* (older *namak*) is نَرْمَق,² as was already known to Arabic scholars.³

It is only in a very few cases that a final *-k* in Persian has been arabicised into a *kh* or a final *-kh* into a *-q*, e.g. زَرْنِیح = Syriac (l.-w.) *zarnīk* (pronounce *zarnīkh*) = Persian زَرَنِي = older *zārnīk* and اَبْرِيق⁴ (plural اَبَارِيق⁵) = Syriac (l.-w.) *ābrēq* = Greek (l.-w.) ἰμβρίκιον = Pahlavī *āp* "water" + *rēkh* (the root of *rēkhtan*).

¹ Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, column 1042; Horn, *Neupersische Etym.*, p. 230.

² Az-Zafayān, *Dīwān*, Section 4 (p. 99), Ru'ba, *Dīwān*, Poem 41 (p. 109).

³ Al-Jawālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab* (pp. 146-47).

⁴ 'Abīd b. al-Abras, *Dīwān*, p. 29, also Alqama, A'shā *Kitābul-Aghānī*, V, 167; *al-Aṣma'iyyāt*, 53.

⁵ *Hamāsa*, p. 559, *Qur'ān*, 56, 18. See also Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitābu'sh-Shū'r wa'sh-Shu'arā'*, pp. 116 and 156.

(2)

THE MAYKHÁNA: A LITTLE KNOWN WORK
ON POETICAL BIOGRAPHY.

BY

Prof. MOHAMMAD SHAFI
(Lahore).

Although Persian *Tadhkiras* have received considerable attention wherever Persian poets have been studied, yet the *Maykhána* of 'Abd-al-Nabí seems to have been known to few. Bland who published¹ a list of forty-two *Tadhkiras* in 1846 does not mention it, nor does Ethé, who has an ampler list in the *Grundriss*. No copy of the work is traceable in any European collection known to me, with the exception of the State Library at Munich where a modern copy of the *Diwán*² of 'Urfí has appended to it an extract covering three pages from the notice of 'Urfí contained in the *Maykhána*. In India in spite of persistent efforts to trace copies of the work I have not been able to discover more than two. It is likely that there are a few more copies of it in this country but they have yet to be discovered.

Curiously enough equally little is known about the life of 'Abd-al-Nabí, the author of the *Maykhána*. There is a short notice of him in the *Tárikh Muḥammad Sháhí* (or *Nádir-al-Zamání*). One or two facts about him are known from the preface of another work of his, of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Rieu's Catalogue of Persian

¹ In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, see Vol. 9, p. 111.

² See Aumer's Catalogue of Persian MSS., Munich, 1866, p. 37.

MSS., p. 1004-b). For the rest we have to depend on what we can find about him in the *Maykhána* itself.

And yet I believe, that the *Maykhána* is one of the most valuable *Tadhkiras*, and an indispensable original source book for the lives of the poets who flourished in India under Akbar and Jahangir and that its author deserved a better fate.

Until our own times little use appears to have been made of the book. The late Mawlána Shibli was the first scholar in India to direct attention towards it, but he actually used the book only in two articles of his *Shi'r-al-'Ajam*, viz., those on Háfiz and Tálíb of Ámul. Prof. Browne utilized some information supplied by it on Háfiz through the *Shi'r-al-'Ajam*.

Under these circumstances the following notice of the author and his work might be of some interest.

THE AUTHOR OF THE MAYKHÁNA.

The facts of the life of Mulla 'Abd-al-Nabí based on the autobiographical material contained in the *Maykhána*¹ are as follows :—

He was born in Qarvín about 998 where his father Khalaf Beg was carrying on some sort of trade which the author does not name. His grandfather on the maternal side was Mulla Fakhr-al-Zamán, Qádí of Qarvín, who claimed descent from Khwája 'Abdulla Anṣarí. It is after him² that 'Abd-al-Nabí calls himself "*Fakhr-al-Zamání*." His father went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return renounced the world and died in A. H. 1001, of plague.

'Abd-al-Nabí's early days were passed in Qarvín where he seems to have received ordinary education. He began to write poetry at an early age and frequented the society of poets. He had also developed a pronounced taste for

¹ Particularly in Martaba 2.

² 'Abd-al-Nabí is very proud of his grandfather's learning and gift of poetry.

story-telling, which was greatly aided by a remarkably tenacious memory. He tells us that he could retain the well-known lengthy narrative of the adventures of Amír Ḥamza by listening to it only once and that if in those days a hundred verses were recited in his presence in an assembly he could on returning home reproduce at least seventy out of them.

With his mind thus stored with romances and stories of the East he visited Meshed at the age of nineteen. From his countrymen returning from India he daily heard glowing accounts of the Empire of the Great Mughal during the month or so that he stayed there and he resolved on visiting India. He reached Lahore by the Qandahar route towards the end of 1017 and after a sojourn of four months in that city he reached Agra in 1018, where his relation Mírza Nizámí held the post of newswriter (Wáqi'a Nawís) at the Court. The Mírza who was very fond of the Ḥamza Romance appears to have appointed him his story-teller and with a little practice 'Abd-al-Nabí acquired considerable skill in the art.

Four years later (in 1022), on his way from Agra to Ajmer, he got introduced to Mirzá Amánullah, a son of Mahábat Khán, who became so charmed with 'Abd-al-Nabí's story-telling that he at once took him into his service and a little later appointed him his librarian. The society of Amánullah, who was himself a poet and has left a *diwán*, revived in 'Abd-al-Nabí his love for poetry and as librarian he had splendid opportunities for study which he utilised very well, for during this period he planned his three works which we will notice presently.

While thus engaged he contracted a venereal disease and fearing unpleasant developments he managed to obtain leave from his master for returning to Persia and taking with him the rough drafts of his works he left Ajmer for Lahore *via* Narnaul about the middle of 1024, in the habit of a common beggar. He reached Lahore in the beginning of 1025. This

was the time when a severe epidemic of plague was raging in Lahore; so he hurried to Kashmir, of which province his relative Nizámí was at the time Bakhshí and Díván. After nearly two years' sojourn in Kashmir he returned with the Mírza to Mándú, where the Imperial Court was towards the end of 1026, and accompanied him to Bihar to which province the Mírza was posted as Díván. From 1027 onwards 'Abd-al-Nabí was at Patna. In 1028 he entered the service of Sirdar Khán (Khwája Yádgár), brother of 'Abdulla Khán Fíruzjang and whose *jágir* was at Manger, and to him he dedicated his *Maykhána*. The last date mentioned in the book is 1029 in which year he was still at Patna.

This is nearly all that we know about 'Abd-al-Nabí from the *Maykhána*.

From the British Museum copy of his *Nawádir-al-Hikáyát* we learn that he visited Agra in 1029 and that he was alive in 1041, for his introduction to that work was dated in that year.

The date of his death is not traceable, nor can it be ascertained if he could return to his native land, for he appears in his *Súgínameh*¹ to be thoroughly home-sick.

Before passing on to the *Maykhána* which appears to be 'Abd-al-Nabí's *magnum opus*, it may be noted here that his achievements as a poet as far as can be judged from what he has preserved of his poems in the *Maykhána*,² do not seem to be of a high order, and he appears to have recognized the fact himself.

While in the service of Amánullah he planned three works, *viz.* :—

¹ See pp. 516 et seq. of the *Maykhána* (Lahore, 1926).

² He has quoted in the *Maykhána* his *Súgínameh* of about 200 baits, and apart from this he had written some 1,500 verses. 25 verses of his own he quotes on occasions in the book. He wrote in his early days with 'Izzatí as his *Takhallus*, later on he changed it into Nabí.

i. *Dastūr-al-Fuṣṣahā* or the Story-teller's Manual, containing instructions and rules for the guidance of those who told the story of Amīr Ḥamza. This work he completed during his stay in Kashmir. No copy of it is traceable.

ii. *Nawādir-al-Hikayāt* or *Baḥr-al-Nawādir*. This is a collection of anecdotes and historical notices. The British Museum has a copy of one out of the five volumes of which the work consisted according to its preface, dated 1041 (Rieu, p. 1004-b).

iii. The *Maykhāna*.

THE MAYKHĀNA.

We now turn to the *Maykhāna*. Our author began the compilation of this work before every other on account of the great popularity that *Sāqīnamehs* enjoyed in his time. He set to work on the book in 1023 or 1024 at Ajmer and in one month collected about fifteen *Sāqīnamehs* with biographical notices of the poets. He had suddenly to leave for Kashmir as mentioned above but he continued to work on the book until in 1028 he finished the first two sections of it, and apparently in the same year he also finished the third and the last. There are traces in the book of a revision in 1029.

From the two MSS. of the work which I have seen there seems to be an earlier recension with 67, and a later one with 71 notices.

The book is divided into three *martabas* or sections. The *first* notices 26 poets who had written *Sāqīnamehs* but had died before the end of 1029 (the year of the author's final revision) beginning with *Nizāmi* and ending with *Faghfir*. They are arranged chronologically according to the year in which each poet died. Only ten out of these poets belonged to the period preceding 963 (the date of the accession of Akbar). Only one of these poets, *viz.*, *Shikibi*, the author had personally associated with.

The *second section* notices twenty-two poets who were still alive in 1029 and who had written *Sāqinamehs* beginning with Muḥammad Sūfī and ending with the compiler himself. Most of these poets he had met with and with some he had associated.

The *third section* notices twenty-five poets who had not written *Sāqinamehs* till 1029 but whose company the poet had frequented. It begins with *Nazīrī* and ends with *Darvīsh Jāvīd*.¹

The distinguishing features of the *Maykhāna* which was intended by the author to serve both as a collection of biographical notices (*Majmu'a Akhbar*) and of verse (*Bayād Sukhan*), are as follows :

(1) It gives very full and detailed account of the lives of a considerable number of Persian poets with most of whom the compiler was contemporary. In most cases he gives the name of the poet noticed and particulars about his family, his position among poets, his patrons, his works with the number of verses composed, the date of his death and the place where he is buried, if he is dead, and the author's date of interview with the poet, if he met him, and his age at the time. He has also given the poet's *Sāqinameh* if he has one or other specimens of his verses.

In this respect the *Maykhāna* compares very favourably with other *Tadhkiras*.

(2) His sources for these accounts are usually reliable.² Notices of poets mentioned in Section 2 are mostly based, as he tells us, on their own statements made to the author or on the statements of their relatives or intimate friends or both.

¹ Out of the sixty-one poets who were contemporary with Akbar and Jahangir 36 had visited India, 11 were Indians and 8 were the townsmen of the author. With a large majority of these he was contemporary.

² The dates which he apparently takes from the *Makhzan Akhbar* cannot be said to be reliable. But this remark applies only to the first few notes.

In the first category are, as he expressly informs us, *Shápir Rázi*, '*Árif Igi*, *Wasli*, *Kámil* of Jahrum, '*Askari* of Káshán and presumably *Rukná* and *Murshid* who were with him for over one year in the service of Mahábat Khán.

In the second category are '*Urfi*, *Sanjar*, *Malik Qumí*, *Furqatí*, *Faghfúr*, *Vahshi Ghayáthá*, *Fasihí*, *Dústi* of Samargand and *Ghurúri* of Káshán.

In the third category is Muhammad Súfí.

It may also be presumed that the accounts of poets noticed in Section 3, as well as those of *Tálib* of Ámul, *Malikí*, *Fuzíní* and *Awj* almost all of whom he had opportunities of associating with, rest on the authority of the poets themselves.

In Section 1 *Shikilí* is the only poet who communicated to him certain facts about himself. As to the others he has nine references to an unknown work, the *Makhzan-i-Akhbar* by Mír Mukhtár. He has also used the prefaces of the *diwáns* of '*Iráqí*, *Khusraw*, *Thaná'í* and *Faizí* in his articles on these poets. Among his other authorities are Dawlatsbáh's *Tadhkira*, the *Jawáhir-al-Asrar* of Ádhari, *Baharistán* and *Nafahát*; and I believe also Tuḥfa-i-Samí and Nafá'is-al-Ma'áthir though the last two are not named by 'Abd-al-Nabí.

In case of some poets, e.g., *Aqdasi*, *Mirzá Gházi Sháhí* and several others, he has quoted verses of their contemporaries in order to throw light on the incidents of their lives.

It may be noted here that most of the author's statements about the movements of Jahangír or his nobles tally admirably with those contained in the *Turuk Jahángirí* and this fact furnishes a proof of the fairly high standard of accuracy generally maintained by the author.

(3) The style of the author is comparatively speaking plain and unadorned and his statements direct and straightforward.

(4) The author has preserved in his work thirty-two more or less complete *Sáqínamehs* (beside five fragmentary

ones) and five *Tarjī* or *Tarkīb* bands, some of which are rare or unique. He has thus preserved, relatively speaking, correct texts of thousands of verses of his contemporaries.

(5) Notices on the following poets I have found only in the *Maykhāna* :

Waslī; *Askarī* of Kāshān; *Malikī* of Qazvīn; *Safā'i* of Tibrīz; *Harīfī Musannif*; *Mīr 'Abdallāh Mazha'i*; *Diya'i Muwashshī*; *Rāmi* and *Darwish Jāwīd*. Detailed account of the lives of the following poets I have met with only in this work: *Dūstī* of Samarqand; *Partavī*; *Ghiyāthā*; *Shāpūr Rāzī*; *Fuzūnī* of Astarābād; *Ghurūrī* of Kāshān; *Kāmil* of Jahrum; *Awjī* of Kashmir; *Shirāzī* of Hamadān; *Mawzūn-al-Mulk*, and 'Abd-al-Nabī himself. The *Maykhāna* gives a favourable impression of the Mughal India, at least as compared with contemporary Persia. When 'Abd-al-Nabī reached Lahore he was struck with the low prices and plenty and ease that obtained in India as also with the free and unrestricted life that everybody seemed to live here. His words are :—

عجب ملکی بنظر ابن حقیر درآمد - ارزانی و فراوانی - د بگر
یکے از خوبیہائے ہندوستان این کہ ہر کس در ہر محل نہ مہر بر بقے
کہ زیست کند هیچ کس را قدرت آن نیست کہ ذہی آن امر
نماید ¹ -

Similar to this are the remarks of 'Arif-i-Igī quoted by our author:

ملکے دیدم بغایت آبادان و معمور و بلا دی مشاہدہ کردم
از برائے آسایش و رفاهیت دی ذہایت مطبوع - یا خود قرار دادم کہ
تمام عمر درین دیار صرف نمایم ² -

¹ *Maykhāna*, p. 502, l. 4.

² l.c., p. 423, l. 6.

After reading these remarks it is easy to understand the attitude of our author's countrymen as shown in the following remarks of his :—

این مثل میان عالمیان اشتهار سرشاری دارد که هر کس یک
 نوبت گشت هند نمود و بهرۀ ازین ملک فیاض برداشت وقتی که
 بایران رفت اگر در راه این سرزمین و این بلا و نه میرد البته در
 آرزوی این خاک مراد می میرد ¹ -

This remark reminds us also of the munificent patronage extended to poets in those days by the kings and nobles not only in Northern India but in the Deccan as well.

¹ l.c., p. 201, l. 8,

(3)

ILLUSTRATIVE POETRY IN PERSIAN.

BY

M. G. ZUBAID AHMAD, Esq., M.A.

(*Arabic-Persian Dept., University of Allahabad.*)

Introductory remarks.—No one interested in the Persian language and literature can ignore or undervalue the beauty and charm of Persian Illustrative Poetry which had a great fascination for the poetic genius of the latter part of the 17th century, and is still appreciated very much by readers. Yet this type of poetry has not been properly and exclusively discussed or criticised so far by any critic Eastern or Western. Even the most critical work like the شعرالعجم does not contain more than a few passing remarks here and there. The important place it occupies in the domain of Persian lyric poetry is worthy of a closer and more serious study than that has yet been accorded to it. In this paper I have attempted to discuss it at length, tracing its origin, development and the various phases through which it has passed and to remove a misapprehension that seems to have crept in the writings of some English orientalists as to its nature and meaning.

Nature and meaning.—What is meant by Mithaliyya poetry is known to every Persian scholar. Any couplet, in one hemistich of which a poet makes an assertion and in the other gives an illustration, may be said to be an example of this type of poetry. For instance, the poet in one hemistich asserts that the more a man is acquainted with death the less does it harm him. He illustrates it by saying that poison does not do any harm to him who is accustomed to it.

چو شد زهر عادت مضرت نه بخشد * بمرگ آشنا کن بتدریج جانرا

Take another example. When the poet has to say that a man should not lose his heart if he finds that one door has been shut against him, for ten other doors are opened instead for him, he remarks by way of illustration that when a man's tongue becomes dumb, ten fingers of his hands take its place and work for it.

ده در شود کشاده اگر بسته شد درے
انگشت ترجمان زبان است لال را

Origin.—It is evident that its origin is based on Simile. A simile, as all of you know, consists of four parts, مشبه (what is compared), مشبه به (what is compared to), وجه مشبهه (point of similitude), and حرف تشبيه (particle of simile). The varieties of these ingredients give rise to different kinds of simile, of which Tamthil concerns us mostly here. When each of مشبه و مشبه به and وجه مشبهه is compound, the simile is technically called Tamthil. Abdul Qadir Jurjani adds one condition more in the Asrarul Balaghat. He says:—

التمثيل التشبيه المنزع من امور و اذا لم يكن التشبيه عقلياً
يقال انه يتضمن التشبيه ولا يقال ان فيه تمثيلاً وضرب مثل و اذا كان
عقلياً جاز اطلاق اسم التمثيل عليه -

that is, for Tamthil, the وجه شبه should not only be مرکب but علم معاني و ديان also, but other standard books on مطول (science of significations and art of exposition) like the and others do not agree to this view which is really incorrect. This slight difference of opinion, however, does not matter much, especially so far as the subject under discussion is concerned. Only the compoundness of وجه شبه is relevant here, of which the following may be taken as a few examples:—

کآن مشارالذفع فوق رؤسنا * واسیافنا لیل تهاوي کواکب

نظر کردم زروے تجریت هست

خوشیهائے جہاں چو خارش دست

کہ اول دست را خارش خوش افتد

به آخر دست دردست آتش افتد

ابراز هوا برگل چکان مانند زنگي دايگان
در کام رومي بچگان پستانِ ذر انداخته

This تمثيل is developed into three different forms:—

- (i) Proverb, that is, a short familiar sentence expressing a well-known truth or moral lesson. For instance, only one post has fallen vacant and there are a number of candidates; whereupon one might remark: يك انار و صد بيمار. It is needless to say that numerous candidates applying for one and the same post have been compared to a hundred patients craving for one and the same pomegranate. Here the وجه شبه, that is, many men's standing in need of one and the same thing is compound. Whenever this وجه شبه is found, this proverb may be used. A proverb is always مركب مشبه which becomes well known on account of its frequent use, the clearness of idea and the force of expression. The importance of a proverb may be clear from the following quotations:—

قال ابراهيم النظام - اجتمع في المثل اربعة لانجتمع في غيره
من الكلام - ايجاز اللفظ - اصابته المعنى حسن التشبيه وجودة الكناية -
قال ابن المقفع - اذا جعل الكلام مثلاً كان اوضح للمنطق
وانق المسمع - ووسع لشعوب الحديث وقال ابن عبدربه الامثال
وشيء الكلام و جوهر اللفظ و حلي المعاني التي تخيرتها العرب
وقدمتها العجم ونطق بها كل زمان و لهج كل لسان هي البقية
من الشعر واشرف من الخطاب - لم يسر شي سيرا ولا عي عومها -
حتى قيل اسير من مثل - قال الشاعر -

ما انت الا مثل سائر - يعرفه الجاهل والخبير

Any sentence, hemistich or a couplet that is not common like a proverb, may be quoted in the same way whenever there is any resemblance between it and the context. In prose writings wherever we use couplets they come under this category. There is always a sort of comparison between the purport of the couplet and the context where it occurs.

As **مشبه به** must be decidedly superior in point of similitude, the couplet to be quoted must be clearer and more expressive than the context where it is used, otherwise the very purpose of quoting the couplet is defeated. Once Sultán Maḥmūd Ghaznavi, while ready to attack an enemy, sent him a letter asking him thereby to surrender. The Sultán seeing the messenger returning, said to his minister, 'Let us see what reply he brings.' The minister at once recited this couplet of Firdausi:—

اگر جز بکام من آمد جواب * من و گرز و میدان و اغراسیاب

How relevant and emphatic the recitation was I need not say.

(ii) The other form of Tamthil is to give an illustration, that is to say, in order to make one's statement clear, one has to give an example. Here the statement is **مشبه مرکب** and the illustration is **مشبه به مرکب** and what is common to both is **وجه شبه مرکب**. For example, the poet, to illustrate his assertion **تهیدستان قسمت را چه سود از رهبر کامل**, remarks **که خضر از آب حیوان تشنه می آرد سکندر را**.

(iii) The third form of تمثیل is **حسن تعلیل**, that is, a simile based on a poetical assignment of cause.

تا چشم تو ریخت خون عشاق * زلف تو گرفت رنگ ماتم

Here the blackness of the beloved's ringlets is compared to the black dress of mourning and the cause of this mourning has been poetically and fancifully assigned to the beloved's killing the lovers.

Out of these forms of Tamthil, Illustrative Poetry is generally connected with the second form, namely, **مثال** (Illustration). In order to demonstrate the validity of a general remark that he makes, the poet gives an apt illustration which brings it home to the reader or the hearer as the case may be. For instance, to illustrate

the fact that the temporal cannot comprehend the eternal, the poet says that the wave is unable to understand the true nature of the sea,

موج از حقیقتِ گهرِ بکرِ غافل است
حادث چه گونه درک نماید قدیم را

or to illustrate the assertion that to leave the tumultuous world is better than to enter it, the poet says that the rose-bud enters the garden with straitened heart and departs smiling,

رفتن از عالم پر شور به از آمدنست
غنچه دلتنگ دباغ آمد و خندان برخاست

or to illustrate the observation that the older a man the greater his greed, the poet says that the nearer the morning the heavier the sleep:

آدمی پیر چو شد حرص جوان می گردد
خواب در وقت سحر گاه گران می گردد .

When this type of illustration is coupled with poetical causation, the beauty of the couplet is considerably enhanced.

از تیر آه مظلوم ظالم امان نیابد
پیش از نشانه خیزد از دل نغان کمان را

روشن دلال خو شامد شاهان نه گفته اند
آئینه عیب پوش سکندر نمی شود

چوب را آب فرو نه برد حکمت چیست
شرم دارد ز فرو بردن هرورده خویش

IRSAUL MASAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE POETRY.

There is a great difference between Illustrative Poetry and the figure of speech called *امثال* (Proverbial Commission). This figure lies in quoting a proverb in a couplet and so it is a kind of *تضمین*, while Illustrative Poetry, as explained above, consists in giving an illustration for the

assertion made by the poet in the same couplet. The following are a few examples of *ارسال المثل* :--

Nizāmī says :

مثل زن چنیں شاه گویندگان * کہ یا بندگانند جو یندگان

Hāfiz says :

ز قسمت ازلی چہرہ سیہ بختان
 بشست و شوی نگردن سفید و این مثل است
 مرا بکشتی بادہ در افکن اے سانی
 کہ گفتہ اند نکوئی کن و در آب انداز

From these examples it is clear that in *ارسال المثل* the explicit use of a proverb is predominant.

Wherever the English orientalists—I say English, because I do not know the view of German and French orientalists—have talked of the style of *صائب*, the great champion of Illustrative Poetry in Persian, they have described it to be altogether a new style or have confused it with *ارسال المثل*. It seems to me that they have not understood the great difference that distinguishes Illustrative Poetry (*مثالیہ شاعری*) from *ارسال المثل*. The late Professor Browne has referred to the former in three or four places in his famous 'Literary History of Persia,' but excepting one place he has confused it with *ارسال المثل*.

The first reference we find on page 64, Vol. II, where describing *ارسال المثل* among other figures of 'speech, he says:—

"This love of introducing proverbs into their verses is very characteristic of several Persian poets, notably Šā'ib of Isfahān who served as a model to a host of Turkish verse-writers; and, in much earlier times, Abul Faḍl Assukkari, of Merv, who, as Ath-Tha-ālibi informs us in his *Yatimatud Dahr*, was very fond of translating Persian proverbs into Arabic."

From this quotation it is clear that he correctly understands *ارسال المثل* but at the same time confuses it with Šā'ib's style which consists in Illustrative Poetry. One fails to understand why he introduces, while speaking of *ارسال المثل* the name of Abul Faḍl Assukkari who used to translate Persian proverbs into Arabic. This tendency of his has nothing to do with *ارسال المثل* as this figure and the translation of proverbs from one language into another are two different things. Nor is there any resemblance between Abul Faḍl's style and that of Šā'ib. Perhaps the mere word proverb is responsible for this confusion.

In the second place we find the same reference on page 164, Vol. IV, where he says :—

“I find Šā'ib especially attractive both on account of his simplicity and his skill in the use of the figures entitled *ارسال المثل* and *حسن تعليل*”

In the third place he refers to *مثالية شاعري* on page 260 of the same volume, but here he is not incorrect, perhaps because it is not his own statement but he has quoted Maulāna Shibli and so he has translated the word ‘*مثالية*’ used by Shibli as ‘aptness of illustration.’ If this rendering is correct, *مثالية شاعري* cannot be identified with *ارسال المثل* a term, rendered by Mr. Gibb “proverbial commission.”

Mr. Gibb has also confused *ارسال المثل* with *مثالية شاعري*. He says :—

“The practice of quoting proverbs which was always more or less popular, was carried to great lengths by the poets of the third and fourth periods.” (History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I, page 114.) By the poets of the third and fourth periods, he means those Turkish poets who followed the style of the Persian poet Šā'ib. Among them Nabí was a great appreciator and imitator of his style.

Professor Browne does not seem to have himself thought over *ارسال المثل*. Perhaps he has followed Gibb on this

point. As a matter of fact *مثاليه شاعري* never comes under the category of *ارسال المثل*. All the books, both Arabic and Persian, define it as the introduction of a proverb in the verse. One finds the following definition or something like it in almost all the Arabic books on rhetorics.

ارسال المثل عبارة عن ان ياتي الشاعر في بعض بيته بمثل من امثال من تقدمه او من كلام نفسه فيجريه مجري المثل -

Out of all the authentic Persian books on rhetorics, I may quote one or two authorities. For instance, *شمس محمد بن قيس* in his excellent book *معايير الشعار المعجم* describes *ارسال المثل* as a form of *تضمين* containing a proverb. (*Vide* page 263, Gibb Memorial edition.) His words are:—

و اگر مثل سائر در شعر خویش تضمین کنند آنرا ارسال المثل خوانند -

نا دیده روز گرم ازاں رسم داں نیم
آرے بروز گار شود مرد رسم داں

The author of the *هفت قلزم* has defined it in the same way.

To be brief, proverb is a proverb and nobody will confuse it with an illustration which is the basis of *مثاليه شاعري*

THE STAGES OF ITS RISE AND DEVELOPMENT.

By this time it is sufficiently made clear that *مثاليه شاعري* is based on *تمثيل* or *مثال* which in its turn depends on simile. As simile exists from the very beginning, *تمثيل* also must be existing from the ancient times. It is almost an admitted fact that Persian poetry was, at least in its existing form, inspired by Arabic poetry at the time when, after the conquest of Persia by Arabs, Arabic literature had become predominant and so we must trace *Tamthil* from the Arabian Age of Ignorance. Although in those days, the poetic genius of the Pagan Arabs was at the highest pitch, yet the art of *Tamthil* was not fully developed. The following couplet may be regarded

as one of the best examples of Tamthil used in the Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry :

فانك شمس والملوك كواكب
اذا طلعت لم يبد منها كوكب

Up to the end of the Omayyad period تمثيل could not be developed any further in the Arabic literature as has been correctly remarked by Professor Abdur Rahman in his recently published and excellent book *ممرات الشعر*. The Abbaside poets, known as مولدين cultivated and raised it to a very high level. It was from them that the Persians learnt poetic composition and so the Persian poetry of the very first period is not devoid of the examples of that high type of Tamthil which had been developed in Arabic after so long a time at the hands of مولدين. As Persian poetry went on progressing by leaps and bounds, تمثيل also continued to be evolved accordingly until the latter half of the 17th century when it reached its zenith in the form of مثاليه شاعري by the efforts of its own worthy advocates and lovers like Kalīm, Ghanī and Šā'ib. But one should not conclude that Illustrative Poetry is exclusively the product of the 17th century. Nor is it altogether a new style originated by Šā'ib, as the European orientalists say about him. Of course he paid greater attention to it than his predecessors did; but it does not mean that he was the inventor of this type of poetry. We find stray examples of illustrative verses in the poetry of all the periods of Persian literature. I give below some of them periodwise.

I—EARLY MUTAQADDIMIN.

1. Rudagi :—

شاه سرو است و بخارا بوستان * سرو سوه بوستان آيد همي
شاه ماه است و بخارا آسمان * ماه سوه آسمان آيد همي

As Rudagi was the Chaucer of Persian poetry, we must not expect from him illustrative verses of the developed form. The germs are, however, visible in these couplets,

2. Abu Shakúr Balkhí:—

به دشمن برت مهرباني مباد
 كه دشمن درختے است تلخ از نهاد
 درختے كه تلخش بود گوهر
 اگر چرب و شیرین دهد مرورا
 همان میوه تلخت آرد هدید
 از چرب و شیرین نكخواهي مزید

3. Firdausi:—

مست است بتا چشم تو و تیر بدست
 بس کس كه ز تیر چشم مست تونه جست
 پوشد عارضت زره عذرش است
 كز تیر بقر سد همه كس خاصه زمست

In these two lines we find also.

سر نا سزایاں بر افراشتن * و زیشان امید بهی داشتن
 سر رشته خویش گم کرد نست * به جیب اندرون مار پرورد نست
 درختے كه تلخ است ویرا سرشت * گوش بر نشانی به باغ بهشت
 و دژ جوی خلدش به هنگامه آب * به بیخ انگبین ریزی و شهد ناب
 سرانجام گوهر بكار آورد * همان میوه تلخ دار آورد

II—LATER MUTAQADDIMIN.

(1) Sanā'i:—

چو علمت هست خدمت کن چو بے علمان كه زشت آید
 گرفته چینیاں احرام و مكی خفته در بطحا
 تو علم آموختی از حرص اینك ترس كاندل شب
 چو دزدے با چراغ آید گزیده تر برد کالا

هر خسه از رنگ و رفتارے بدیں ره ك رسد
 درد باید صبر سوز و مرد باید كامزن
 هفته ها باید كه تا يك پنبه دانه ز آب و گل
 شاهدے را حله گردن یا شهیدے را كفن

The last verse is followed by a number of couplets of the same type:

2. Omar Khayyam :—

دست چومنے که جام و ساغر گیرد
 حیف است که آن دفتر و منبر گیرد
 تو زاهد خشکی و منم فاسق تر
 آتش نه شنیده که در تر گیرد

3. Anwarī:—

بشهر خویش دروں بے خطر بود مردم
 بکان خویش دروں بے دها بود گوهر
 در جهان و از جہاں بیشی
 همچو معنے که در بیان باشد

بر تر نکشد قدر ترا دست وزارت * افزون نکند سعی شمر ساحت یم را
 از حاصل گیتی چو تویی را چه تمتع * وز خاتم خضر اچه شرف خنصر جم را

4. Nizāmī:—

کہن کیسہ شد خاک بنہاں شکنج
 کہ ہر گز بروں نارد اواز گنج
 ز از کیسہ نو در آرد خروش
 سبوتے نواز تری آید بجوش

5. Khāqani's poetry abounds in مثالیہ اشعار. The following couplets have been taken from one Qasida beginning with
 پیر تعلیم است الحق من دل

چو صرع آمیخت با عقلے نہ سر ماند نہ د ستارش
 چو دزد افتد دربارے نہ خر ماند نہ پالایش
 زنے باشد نہ مردے کز دو عالم خانہ سازد *
 کہ ناہید است و نئے کیواں کہ باشد خانہ میزانش
 سخا ہنگام درویشی فزوں تر کن کہ شاخ زر
 چو درویش خزاں گردن پدید آید زر فشانش
 بدیں اقبال یک ہفتہ کہ بفزاید مشو غرہ
 کہ خون ماہ دو ہفت است آنکہ افزو نیش نقصانش
 چو درویشی بدرویشاں نظر بہ کن کہ قرص خور
 'بعر یاناں دھد زر ہفت و خون بینند عربانش

6. Zahír Fáyábi :—

هر آهني كه بر سر چو بے كنند راست
چون رمح تو چگونه قرار جهاں دهد
اعجاز موسوي نه بود هر كجا كسے
چو بے شعیب وار بدست شبان دهد

III—MUTAWASSITIN.

1. Sa'di.—In Sa'di's poetry a good many illustrative verses are found scattered here and there.

تا مرد سخن نه گفته باشد * عیب و هنرش نهفته باشد
در بیشه گماں مبر كه خالیست * شاید كه پلنگ خفته باشد
پلیدی كند گربه بر جايه پاك * چو زشتش نماید بیوشد نه خاك
تو آزادي از نا پسندیده ها * نه ترسي كه بروے فتد دیده ها

سعدیا این همه فریاد تو بے چیزے نیست
آتشے هست كه دود از سر آن مي آید

2. Khusrao.—He composed a Qasida known as مثالیه شاعری maintaining therein this type of بحر الانرار throughout. I give below a few verses of its beginning :

كوس شد خالي و بانگ غلغلش در دسراست
هر كه قانع شد به خشك و تر شه بجز و براست
عاشقي رنج است و مردان را ديسينه راحت است
سلسله بندست و شیران را بگردن زبور است
مرد پنہاں در گلیمے بادشاهے عالم است
تیغ خفته در نیامے پاسبان کشور است
را هر و چون دریا كوشد مرید شهوت است
بیوه زن چون رخ بیار اید به بند شوهر است

Besides this Qasida we find stray examples of Illustrative Poetry throughout his poetry.

راز خون آلود خویش اے دل منه با من بروں
کیں و رقی خام است حرف از وے بروں خواعد گذشت

3. Salman Sāwajī :—

در درجِ دُرِ عقیق لبِت نقد جانِ نِهَاد
جنسِ نفیس بود به جاے نِهائِ نِهَاد

4. Hāfiz :—

در عیشِ نقدِ کوشِ که چوں آبِ خورِ نماند
آدمِ بهشتِ روضه دارِ السلام را
ازیں چمنِ گلِ بے خارِ کس نه چید آرے

چراغِ مصطفویِ باشرارِ بولہبی است

During the last classic age (دورِ متاخرین) (from 1500 to 1856) Illustrative Poetry rises up greatly into prominence, so much so that it becomes the chief characteristics of some of the poets of this period like ḡhanī and Ṣā'ib. This period dawns with the rise of فغانی whose poetry is recognised to have more or less all the peculiarities of the age of متاخرین. Among the poets of this period, Nazīrī (d. 1612) was the first to have paved the way to مثالیہ شاعری. Perhaps for this very reason, Ṣā'ib who was very fond of this type of poetry, prefers Nazīrī to Urīf as he himself says :—

صائب چه خیال است شوی همچو نظیری

عرفی به نظیری نه رسانید سخن را

I give below a few examples of illustrative verses from the poetry of Nazīrī. One cannot fail to notice that charm of Illustrative Poetry which is so peculiar to the poets of later days.

شکوه نقصان داشت فصلے از میاں انداختم

نرخِ ارزاں بود کالا در دکانِ انداختم

پس از وارِ ستگیها بیشتر گشتم گرفتارش

چو صیدے جست صیادش زاول سخت تر گیرد

اں دهد در گریه پند ماکه باما دشمن است

هر که می گیرد شناور را بدریا دشمن است

بوصلش تارسم صد بار در خاک افگند شوقم
 کہ نو پروازم و شاخے بلندے اشیای دارم
 محبت در دل غم دیدہ الفت بیشتر گیرد
 چراغے را- کہ دو دے هست شعلہ زود در گیرد
 جراحتم همه راحت شد از سعادت عشق
 گلے کہ در رے من بشگفت ز حار من است
 بر صوفی بے وجد و بال است عبادت
 بر شیشہ کہ خالیست ز مے سجده حرام است
 بے عشق عقل را ہنرے در دماغ نیست
 بد سوز دان فتیلہ کہ از شعلہ داغ نیست
 ناموس و ننگ در نظر من برابر است
 ہر کس ز خود گزشت ز شادی و غم گزشت

غنی (d. 1651) کلیم (d. 1647) سلیم (d. 1668) and صائب (d. 1677) into the poetic arena, the growth and cultivation of Illustrative Poetry knew no bounds. It reached its zenith at their hands. As the last three poets lived together for some time in Kashmir, and Salīm also visited the beautiful and inspiring country where he died, it may be concluded that their taste of Illustrative Poetry was developed to this extent by mutual influence and a spirit of healthy competition.

Kalīm differs from others in this respect that his illustrations are often more poetical and fanciful rather than natural. I quote below a few examples :

روشن دلاں خوشامد شاہاں نگفتہ اند
 آئینہ عیب ہوش سکندر نمی شود
 قطع امید کردہ نخواهد نعیم دھر
 شاخ بربدہ را نظرے بر بہار نیست
 روز گار اندر کمیں بخت ما است
 دزدی دائم در پٹے خوابیدہ است
 ہا مال حوادث نتوانم کہ نباشم
 چون نقش قدم خانہ من بر سر راہ است

Ša'ib and Ghaní both confined themselves to didactic poetry to a great extent. Their poetry abounds in illustrative verses so much that one can hardly find a single ode absolutely free from them, while on the contrary, in their Diwáns there are numerous odes in which all the verses are exclusively illustrative. Ša'ib had a great admiration for Ghaní's poetry. When he had gone back to Persia, he always enquired eagerly from all those who went from Kashmir to Persia if he had brought him any present from Kashmir.

It is said that Ša'ib appreciated this couplet of Ghaní

حُسنِ سبزے بکھٹ سبز مرا کرد اسیر
دامِ همرنگ زمینی بود گرفتارِ شدم

so much that he said, "Would that I had given all my verses to Ghaní and he would have given me this one couplet alone in return."

This school of poetry declined soon after the death of صائب as the later poets paid little attention to it. Qá-'Áni, the most notable poet that Persia produced in the 19th century, added freshness to the art of simile but not exactly on the lines of Illustrative Poetry. I may quote here a few examples of his beautiful تشبیهات مرکبه (compound simile) :

دو زلف مشکبار او بچشم اشکبار من
چو چشمه که اندر و شنا کنند مایرها
بکھف کشت عمر خود کم از مترس نیستم
که منع جانور کند همی ز کشت زارها
ماه من مانند به سرو ار سر و جولان داشته
سرو من مانند به ماه ار دستاں داشته
نسر طائر بیضه شهباز و شب همچو غراب
بیضه شهباز بنگر کز غراب آمد پدید
بگردن تپره ابرے بامدادان برشد از دریا
جواهر خیز و گوهر ریز و گوهر بیز و گوهر زا

چو چشم اهر من خیره چو روے رنگیاں تیره
 شده گفתי همه چیره بشعرش علت سودا
 شبه گون چوں شب غاسق گرفته چوں دل عاشق
 باشك دیده و امق برنگ طره عذرا
 تنش باقیر آلوده داش از سیر آموده
 بروں بر سرمه سوده درون پر لولوالله

However beautiful and charming these similes may be they do not come under the category of *مثالیه شاعری* and so we have to conclude that this type of Persian poetry came to an end with the death of the great *Sa'ib* who had survived all his colleagues of this school of poetry. But in Turkish this type was carried to a great length by the poets of the third and fourth periods among whom *Nabî* occupies a prominent place.

Illustrative Poetry in Urdu.—Urdu poetry was born and nursed under the influence of Persian poetry at the time when the latter had been degenerated at the hands of *بیدل، ناصر علی* and *شوکت بخاری* and so in the beginning the health of the newly born child was very precarious, but thanks to the climate and other influences, the danger was soon averted and the infant recouped his health under the sound guidance of the really genuine poets like *Mir* and *Ghalib* on one hand and *دبیر و انیس* on the other.

To do away with the metaphor, Urdu poetry for some time could not avoid the excessive use of the figure of speech called *ایہام تناسب* which had played a great part in the poetry of Persian poets of the last classic age. In the same way the imitation of Persian Illustrative Poetry was carried to a large extent. We find a number of scattered verses of this type in the poetry of the early poets like *Nāsikh* and *Dhauq* but this tendency went on diminishing until the present when again it seems to be revived. I quote one or two examples from these Urdu poets ;

1. Násikh :—

سیکڑوں آہیں کروں پر دخل کیا آواز کا
تیر جو آواز دے ہے نقص تیر انداز کا

کیا روز بد میں ساتھ رہے کوئی ہم نشین
ہتے بھی بھاگتے ہیں خزاں میں شجر سے دور

سیہ بختی میں کوئی کب کسی کا سانہہ دیتا ہے
کہ تاریکی میں سایہ بھی جدا رہتا ہے انسان سے

2. Dhauq :—

پھرتا ہے سیل حوادث سے کہیں مردوں کا منہ
شیر سیدھا تیرتا ہے وقت رفتن آب میں
پھونچے ہم آتش زبانوں کو ضرر دشمن سے کیا
شمع کو کرتا ہے روشن تر ستم گلگیر کا

Merits and demerits.—I may say a word or two about merits and demerits of *مثالیہ شاعری*. Whenever poets look at things in a new way and put them into a very charming way, giving a very vivid and impressive expression to philosophical thoughts which are inspired in their minds by the grandeur of imagination, brilliancy of fancy and magnificence of idea, this type of poetry is produced. Everybody knows that a piece of wood is too light to sink into water; but the poet looks at this very simple natural phenomenon from an altogether different point of view and draws a very beautiful and sublime lesson from it. He says that water does not drown one whom it has once brought up in its lap. Illustrative Poetry is indeed genuine poetry as long as the illustration is true to nature; for instance, illustration given in these couplets is natural:

تا مرد سخن دگفتہ باشد * عیب و هنرش نہفتہ باشد
در بیشہ گماں مبرکہ خالیست * شاید کہ پلنگ خفتہ باشد

or

در جهانی و از جہاں بیشی * همچو معنے کہ دریاں باشد

Otherwise it is fanciful and imaginary ; for example, the illustration given in the following couplet is not natural and so it is not genuine poetry :

از آه تیر مظلوم ظالم امان نیابد
بیش از دشانه خیزد از دل دغاں کماں را

Although Illustrative Poetry or illustrative way of poetic expression has not been recognised as a separate branch of poetry by any authority on Persian language and literature, yet it has a permanent place and has taken a very prominent part in enriching the treasures of the sweet Persian language with the material of which any literature may be proud.

SECTION IV

HINDI



PICTURE OF KABIR DAS

TWO VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS OF KABIR DAS'S WORKS.

RAI SAHIB SHYAM SUNDAR DAS, B.A.
(Benares).

In the collection of Hindi manuscripts belonging to the Nāgarī-Prachārīnī Sabhā of Benares there are two very valuable manuscripts of the works of Kabīr Dās. The first of these, which is dated Samvat 1561, was written in Benares by one Khem Chand for the use of Malūk Dās. It consists of $71\frac{1}{2}$ leaves or 143 pages. There are 15 lines on each page and each line consists of 46 letters. Thus the whole manuscript is 3,084 Ślokas in extent. The size of the pages is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches \times $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The second manuscript, which is dated Samvat 1881, consists of 59 leaves or 118 pages, each page having 18 lines and each line having 52 letters. The extent of this manuscript is approximately 3,451 Ślokas. The size is 13 inches \times $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The first manuscript is divided into three parts, comprising Sākhīs (810), Padas (402) and Ramainis (15), while the second has only the first two. In the first manuscript Sākhīs extend to 44 pages, Padas to 84 pages and Ramainis to 15 pages, the extent of each being 949, 1,811 and 324 Ślokas. In the second manuscript Sākhīs extend to 38 pages and Padas to 60 pages, the extent of each being 1,228 and 2,223 Ślokas respectively. It will thus be seen that while in the first manuscript the Sākhīs extend to 949 Ślokas, in the other they are about 1,228 Ślokas. Similarly the Padas in the first extend to 1,811 and in the second to 2,223 Ślokas. Thus the second manuscript has more Sākhīs and Padas than

the first, but this is not a matter of surprise, when we remember that the second manuscript was written more than three hundred years after the first. But the value of the second manuscript consists in its similarity of text with that of the first.

As I have already said, the first manuscript is dated Samvat 1561 (1504 A.D.). Now the time of Kabīr Dās is approximately given by scholars in the end of the 15th century A.D. Beal in his Oriental Biographical Dictionary fixes 1490 A.D. as the time of Kabīr Dās and considers him to be contemporaneous with Sikandar Lodi (1481–1517). Dr. Hunter fixes 1300 to 1420 as the time of Kabīr. Various other scholars have given various other dates. In the Bhārat Bhraman the following verses are quoted in proof of the year of Kabīr Dās's birth and death :—

चौदह से पचपन साल गिरा चंद एक ठाट हुए ।

जेठ सुदी वह सायत को पूरनमासी तिथि प्रगट हुए ॥

संवत् पन्द्रह सै डेगे पाँच यों मगहर कियों गयन ।

अगहन सुदी एकादसी मिले पवन में पवन ॥

This would fix the birth of Kabir Das in 1398 and his death in 1448.

Dr. Führer, in his Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, says that to the east of the town of Khirnipur in the Basti district on the right bank of the river Ami there is a cenotaph (*rauza*) of the famous reformer Kabīr Dās or Kabīr Sāḥeb erected in 1450 by Bijli Khān and restored in 1567 by Nawāb Fidai Khān. It is therefore clear that Kabīr Dās must have died before 1450 A.D. I think the year of the death as given in the Dohā quoted above (*i.e.*, 1448 A.D.) is correct. Now the first of the manuscripts mentioned above is dated Samvat 1561 or 1504 A.D. It was therefore written within 56 years of Kabīr Dās's death.

It is a well-known fact that Kabīr Dās was not a man of letters. He was imbued with devotion to the Great God

॥ श्रीरामजी ॥ अथ कबीरजी की बाणी लिखत ॥ प्रथम गुरदेव को अंग लिखत ॥ कबीरसत गुरस वांन को सगा ॥ सोधी सई न दसि
 हरिजी स वांन को सिद्ध ॥ हरिजन सई न जाति ॥ १ ॥ कबीर बलिहारी गुर आये ॥ दोहाडी के बार ॥ जिनि मांनिष ते देवता
 या ॥ करन न लागी नारा ॥ कबीरसत गुरकी महिमा अंनता ॥ अंनत कीया उपगारा ॥ लोचन अंनत उघाडि या ॥ अंनत दिवाव
 सारा ॥ कबीर राम नाम के पढे तेरो ॥ देव को ऊछ नोहि ॥ कबि गुरस तो छिऐ ॥ दोसर ही मत मांहि ॥ १५ ॥ कबीरसत गुर के स
 द के कहूं ॥ दिस अणणी का साच ॥ कलियुग हम सुख डिपड़ा ॥ मुहुः कम मेरा बाछ ॥ १५ ॥ कबीरसत गुर लई कामाण करि ॥
 ब्राह्मणों गातीर ॥ एक जु बावुं पीतिख ॥ नीति रित्या सेरी ॥ कबीरसत गुर साचा सरिवा ॥ सब दुबावुं को ॥ लागत
 हा भि मिदिगया ॥ पंडा कलि जे छेका ॥ कबीरसत गुर मांयो बाण सुरी ॥ धरि करि सुधी मूणि ॥ अगि उघाडे ॥ जगि स्या ॥ गंड
 दवा सुफटि ॥ ८ ॥ कबीरदू से न बोले उनमनी ॥ बचल भे ल्या मारि ॥ केहे कबीर भीतर सिद्धा ॥ सत गुर के दुधिया रि ॥ २ ॥ क
 बीर गुरुवा बावला ॥ बहरा कवा कोन ॥ यां ऊं धेये गुल भसा ॥ सत गुर भाव्या बाण ॥ २० ॥ कबीर पछे नोणा जाइया ॥ सो क
 बेद के साथ ॥ अगो धे सत गुर भिल्या ॥ दीप कदीया हाथि ॥ २१ ॥ कबीर दीप कदीया ते लभसि ॥ बाती दई अष्ट ॥ मूर की भां
 सा जाण ॥ बजरिन अगो हमा ॥ २२ ॥ कबीर गणन प्रकाया गुर भिल्या ॥ सो जिनि बीस रि जाइ ॥ जबो ब्य दऊपा करी ॥ तब गुर
 भिलिया आजा ॥ अकबीर गुर गरवा भिल्या ॥ रलिगया अटै दंण ॥ जाति पति कल सब भिट्या ॥ नां वधे रोगि कोण ॥ २४ ॥ कबीर
 का गुर भी अंधला ॥ चेला हे जाच ॥ अंधे अंध ठेलिया ॥ इन्क पपड़ ॥ ता ॥ २५ ॥ कबीर ना गुर भिल्या ॥ न सिध प्रया ॥ लाल चरये
 डावा ॥ इन्क भूमि मारें ॥ घटि पाय रकी नावा ॥ २६ ॥ कबीर दो स विदीवा जोइ करि ॥ दोद ह दामां हिं ॥ तिहि घरि कि सको वंनि
 रोण ॥ जिहि घरि गो बंद नोहि ॥ २७ ॥ कबीर निस अंधिया री कारेण ॥ चोर सील घ चदा ॥ अति अचर उदे कीया ॥ ना ऊदि छि मही मंद

and in his effusion of that love sung verses in company with the beats of his *khanjanī*. He sang in the language of the people which attracted attention and in course of time gathered round him a large number of followers and disciples. Under the circumstance it would be futile to expect any collection of his verses written by himself during his lifetime. His followers and disciples might have taken down his verses and the probability is that after his death some one or more of them might have collected, collated and compiled them. The first of the manuscripts written in Samvat 1561 was no doubt a copy of some earlier manuscript, but that earlier manuscript is not in existence or at least has not yet been discovered. Under the circumstances we can give this manuscript the honour of being the earliest collection of Kabīr Dās's works.

An examination of this manuscript reveals the fact that his verses were crude and rough and that he had absolutely no idea of Grammar and Prosody. He sang his verses to the accompaniment of the beats of his *khanjanī* without caring whether they were too long or too short. He was a great devotee and in his effusion of love cared little for these conventionalities, so long as his soul was satisfied and his hearers were attracted. Besides, he had a message to give and he did so in his own peculiar language and style. A further examination of his verses reveals the fact that the language employed by him was neither Avadhī nor Brajabhāshā. It was a mixture of various dialects with a preponderance of Panjābī words and grammatical forms. It is strange that the Panjābī dialect exercised such a great influence on the language of Kabīr Dās, who was born in Benares and lived there almost to the end of his days, unless we assume that his adoptive parents were of Panjābī descent or that he passed his earlier days in the company of some Panjābī Sādhu. The other probability is that the verses of Kabīr Dās fell into the hands of some Panjābī Sādhu and he in taking them down twisted the language of Kabīr Dās and gave it a

Panjābī turn. Some of the verses would easily admit of this interpretation, but there are others, and their number is in no way insignificant, which cannot be so explained away. The second manuscript which was written 320 years after the first here comes in and is very helpful in refuting this theory. The text of the verses as given in this manuscript is the same as that of the first with very slight difference. In fact the chief and the only difference between the two manuscripts is that the second contains more verses than the first. This fact may be ascribed to two causes—either the extra verses are interpolations or the manuscript is based on a larger collection.

The Guru Granth-Sāhib of the Sikhs was compiled by Guru Arjun in 1661 or exactly one hundred years after the completion of the first manuscript. Now this Granth-Sāhib contains a large number of the verses of Kabīr Dās and it will be very interesting to compare these verses with those contained in the two manuscripts.

Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of scholars is the fact that a hundred years before the advent of Kabīr Dās, Amir Khusro had written very polished and beautiful verses in the three important dialects of Hindi, viz., Avadhī, Brajbhāshā and Khaṛī Bolī. This would go to show that even a century before Kabīr Dās beautiful and excellent verses in polished language could be composed. But Kabīr Dās discarded all rules of Grammar and Frosody and sang verses in his rough and rugged style.

Along with these manuscripts I also exhibit a picture of Kabīr Dās, which I have been able to secure from the Calcutta Museum.

In the end I may mention that these two manuscripts are being compared and collated under the auspices of the Nāgarī-Prachārīnī Sabhā, and an edition of Kabīr Dās's works based on these two manuscripts will be published by the said association in the near future.

हावा॥ ज्ञानन सुप्रियो निरगुण मारा॥ बिषे धिर धिनी कीया बिचारा॥ भाव भगति सह रि न अराधा॥ जनम मर न की॥ मिती न स
 क्ष॥ सधन मिती जन मकी॥ मर न नुरा नो आदा॥ मन क म ब च न न ह रि भ ज्पा॥ अं कर बी जन सादा॥ रा ति ण च रि सु र ही उ दि का
 पीया॥ श्री रे ह ध ब ल कं दीया॥ बं ला घु स त न जी न दया॥ ब ल बा धि बि छो ही मया॥ ता का ह ध आ प ड हि पी या॥ ज्ञान बि चार
 क व न ही कीया॥ जे ऊ छ लो ग नि सोई कीया॥ आ ल मं दु ब्बा दि ही लीया॥ पी या ह ध रु ध के आया॥ मु डे गा ट त ब दो थ ल म
 या॥ बा क स ले च म रा कं दी नी॥ पु चार गा ड क रो ती की नी॥ नि र क रो ती बि वे संगा॥ ये दो धो यो ने के रंगा॥ ति हि रु क रो ती पो णं
 यीया॥ य ज ऊ छ पो ने अ धि र ज की या॥ अ धि र ज की या॥ लो क भो पी या सु हा ग ल नी रा डी म्बार थि स ब की या॥ बंध्या स म स
 रीर॥ वा ए के प द न ए क ही पो णं॥ क री रे सोई न री जां मी॥ मा टी सु मा टी ले पो ती॥ ला गी के दो क हां ध र की नी॥ ध र की नी र
 पा प्र वि न की नी॥ छो ति न पा ड ली क बि धि दी नी॥ या का ह मं सुं क हो बि चारा॥ कूं प्र व ति रि हो प्र दि आ चारा॥ ए या धं न जी व
 के म र मां भो नि अ मं नि जी व के क मं॥ क रि आ चार शु ब ल स ता वा जा व बि ग स तो र य पा वा॥ म लि ग रो म सिला क रि भू जा
 तु ल सी तो डि भ या न र ह जा॥ ग ऊ र ले पो ने दो वा॥ ह मं ला ड म र अ पे या ना॥ मा च सी ल बा जो का दी जे॥ भ व भ गे की से
 वा की जे॥ भा व भ ग ति की से वा मो नो॥ स नु र प्र ग ट के हे व ही छो नो॥ अ न भे न प नि ग म न न रा डी॥ प की र ति मि लि म न मे म
 न स मा डी॥ जा ब ल ग भा व भ ग ति न हीं क र हो॥ न ब ल ग भ व स ग र कूं ति रि हो॥ अ न भ ग ति बि स वा स बि न॥ के ट म से से ल
 के के की र ह रि भ ग ति बि न॥ मु क ति न ह रि म ल धो रे मं गी॥ अ न भ ग ति बि बा णा॥ सं ह रा ण स म मं चि॥ सा श्री॥ इ
 द १०॥ अं ग॥ द रे॥ ए व॥ ४७॥ न म रा म॥ स पु रं स व त र॥ १२॥ नि प क र या वा णा॥ स म धा व स च र प ठ तां छ म जुं क
 दो स व य वि वा नां स श्री रा ग म प धा र॥ १३॥ यो न स नि त भ या व॥ १४॥ नो वा म दो को न दि य ता र

SECTION V

URDU

کرتے ہیں - اور نظم میں بیان کرنے والے تصنیعات شاعرانہ زبان اور محاورات کی مدد سے فلسفیانہ خیالات - مناظر قدرت - محاکات اور جذبات کی تصویریں پیش کر کے اصل واقعہ میں خاص اثر پیدا کر دیتے ہیں - اگر غور سے دیکھا جائے تو یہ مجالس اخلاقی معاشرتی - مذہبی - فلسفی اور ادبی معلومات کا منبع اور سرچشمہ ہیں جس سے ہر شخص بلا قصد و احساس کٹے ہوئے مستفید و متمتع ہوتا ہے - ولنعلم ما قال قد جم من فضله ماشاع في امم و من فضائله مالم يقل له فم -

موقع دیتا ہے - واقعات کر بلا کے سننے سے حق و باطل پہچاننے کی تمیز - فضائل و زوائد سمجھنے کا شعور - حق پر ثابت قدمی - ظلم و جور سے انکشاف - حفظ مراتب کا خیال - نرم دلی - مہمان نوازی غرض ہر قسم کی اخلاقی اور معاشرتی تعلیم حاصل ہوتی ہے - دینی فائدے ان معنوں میں کہ ان واقعات کے سننے سے ایمان پر جلا ہوتی ہے - خدا کی وحدانیت و عدالت - رسول کی رسالت - اماموں کی امامت اور قیامت کا یقین تازہ ہوتا ہے - امام علیہ السلام کے شہادت کے سلسلہ میں نماز - روزہ - حج - جہاد وغیرہ کا ذکر سنکر خدا کی طرف رجحان اور عبادت کا ولولہ دلیں پیدا ہوتا ہے - گویا اصول دین اور فروع دین دونوں کی تعلیم و تلقین بوجہ احسن ہوتی ہے اور دنیا پر دین کو ترجیح دینے کی تاکید ہوتی ہے - شریفانہ جذبات دینیوں داں و ستھ کی سختیوں میں مرنے نہیں پانے اور لطیف و نازک احساسات خود غرضی اور اصول معارضہ کی کشمکش میں فنا نہیں ہونے پاتے - حق پرستی اور حق شناسی تمام خیالات پر غالب رہتی ہے - اسی ذکر جمیل کا صدقہ ہے جو آج مسلمانوں میں قابل رشک روحانیت باقی ہے اور اسی مقدس بزرگ کا تصدق ہے جو اصلی اسلام اور حقیقی ایمان کی جھلک دکھائی دیتی ہے - یہی مطالب پیش نظر تھے جو خواجہ معین الدین چشتی علیہ الرحمہ نے فرمایا ہے

شاہ است حسین بادشاہ است حسین

دین است حسین دین پناہ است حسین

سر داد و نداد دست در دست یزید

حقا کہ بنائے لالہ است حسین

واقعات کر بلا کا ذکر نثر و نظم دونوں میں ہوتا ہے - نثر میں بیان کرنے والے یہہ خیال کرے کہ ایک ہی واقعہ کو بار بار سننے سے سامعین اکتا جائیں گے ہر دفعہ اخلاقی - فلسفی - منطقی - ادبی اور مذہبی مسائل کو شروع میں بطور تمہید کے بیان کرتے ہیں - پھر واقعات کر بلا کی جانب نہایت خوش اسلوبی سے گریز

جس نے نہ محض اُنکی سلطنت و سرداری کو تباہ و برباد اور اُنکو ذلیل و خوار کیا بلکہ اُنکا نام صفحہ ہستی سے مٹا دیا۔ آج مسلمانوں کی ساری آبادی میں بنی اُمیہ کا بنس تک باقی نہیں ہے۔ اور اگر کوئی اس خاندان کا باقی بھی ہے تو وہ اپنے کو ظاہر نہیں کرتا۔ شہادت امام حسین نے ایک طرف تو مسلمانوں کے دل کو ایسا پیسا کہہ سکتا ہے کہ باقی نہ رہی اور دوسری جانب کفر و الحاد کے گھرے بادل چھانت کر اصلی اسلام اور حقیقی ایمان کو آفتاب کی طرح روشن کر دیا۔ امام حسین کے ماننے والوں کی تعداد دن بدن بڑھتی جاتی ہے۔ شہادت امام نے نہ محض مسلمانوں کو متاثر کیا بلکہ آج کثیر التعداد غیر مسلم بھی اس بے نظیر قربانی کو عظمت کی نگاہ سے دیکھتے اور امام حسین کو برگزیدہ خدا مانتے ہیں۔

بغداد کے بادشاہ^۱ معزالدولہ کے عہدہ حکومت میں جو خاندان بویہ کا تیسرا بادشاہ تھا عشرہ محرم کی بنا پڑی۔ انعقاد عشرہ محرم دس روز عزای امام کیلئے مخصوص کیئے گئے اور عاشورہ کے دن جملہ کاروبار دنیاوی بند کر کے غم و الم منانے کا دن قرار دیا گیا۔ اسوقت سے اسوقت تک برابر اسکو ترتی ہوتی رہی۔ ہندوستان میں مجلس عزاء خلیفہ ہند کے عہد سے شروع ہوئیں اور تیسویں صدی کے وقت میں باقاعدہ عزاداری ہونے لگی عادل شاہی اور قطب شاہی زمانہ میں اسکی ترقی ہوئی چنانچہ مسلمان محرم میں دس روز تک خاص طور پر اور سال بھر میں جب کبھی فرصت ہوتی ہے اور موقع ملتا ہے مجالس برپا کر کے لوگوں کو بلا تپے اور واقعات کربلا کا ذکر کر کے اس مقول تبیغ جفا اور شہید راہ خدا کی بیکسی مجالس عزاء کے نوائے پُر نوحہ و زاری کرتے ہیں۔ اس قسم کی مجالس سے ایک طرف تو دنیوی اور دوسری جانب دینی فائدے حاصل ہوتے ہیں۔ دنیوی نفع ان معنوں میں کہ ایک جماعت کا غرض مشترک کے ساتھ ایک خاص رقت اور مقام پر اکٹھا ہونا آپس میں ہمدردی اور اخوت پیدا کرتا ہے اور تبادلہ خیالات کا

(۱) شہید اعظم معز الدولہ ابو الفدا

گو اس واقعہ سے بظاہر باطل کو فتح اور حق کو شکست ہوئی مگر یہ وہ شکست ہے جو ہزارہا فتح سے بہتر ہے - واقعات کربلا کا اثر قوت و غلبہ کے فتح کا اثر چند روز تک رہتا ہے اور یہ وہ شکست نما فتح ہے جس کا اثر تا قیام قیامت رہیگا - فتح کئی طرح پر حاصل ہوتی ہے - لوگ جبر و سختی سے بھی مغلوب و محکوم ہوتے ہیں - رحم و کرم سے بھی مستخر و گرویدہ ہوتے ہیں - ظلم سے بھی آدمی دب جاتا ہے اور احسان سے بھی بندہ بے دام بن جاتا ہے - جفا و ستم سے بھی مقصد حاصل ہوتا ہے اور صبر و استقلال سے بھی کار براری ہوتی ہے - مگر صاحب فہم اسکو جانتا ہے کہ کونسی فتح دیر پا اور پر اثر ہے - واقعات کربلا نے یہ انقلاب پیدا کر دیا کہ یزید کو جسکے سامنے قبل از شہادت امام حسین مجال نہ تھی کہ کوئی محکمہ و آل محکمہ کا ذکر اچھی الفاظ میں کرتا یا اُنکا نام عزت کے ساتھ لبتا اب ان حضرات کا ذکر جمیل اور امام حسین کی توصیف خاموشی کے سانہ سننی پڑتی تھی اور کبھی کبھی اس واقعہ کا الزام اپنے نوکروں پر رکھکر خود بھی اظہار تاسف و ملال کیا کرتا تھا - یزید کا بیٹا جب تخت^۲ سلطنت پر بیٹھا تو اُسنے بالاعلان ہزارہا مسلمانوں کے مجمع میں کہتے ہو کر یہ کہا کہ میرے باپ نے جو مظالم عزت رسول کے ساتھ کئے ہیں اُنکی وجہ سے ہم کو اس دنیا میں رہنے اور اپنے کو بنی نوع انسان کہنے کا حق نہیں رہا - تم لوگ جسکو چاہو بادشاہ بناؤ میں اس تخت سلطنت سے جس پر آل محکمہ کے خون کا دھبہ ہے دستکش ہونا چاہتا ہوں - یہ کہکر عزت نشین ہوا - اور شاید چالیس دن یا بقولے تین مہینہ کے بعد انتقال کر گیا - حق یہ ہے کہ بنی امیہ نے حامیان اسلام کے متانے میں ایسی سخت سیاسی غلطی کی ہے

(۱) ناسخ التواریخ - نورالعین فی مقتل الحسین ملا ابواسحاق اصفہانی - صفحہ ۱۹۸

(۲) صواعق محرقة - نیابیع المردت - مصنفہ امام قندوری شیخ الاسلام قسطنطنیہ -

(۳) ابن اثیر جلد ۸ - صفحہ ۲۰۶ - تاریخ تمدن اسلامی - جلد ۴ - صفحہ ۱۹۸ -

تاریخ کامل جلد نہم - صفحہ ۵۴ - المقریزی جلد اول - صفحہ ۴۹۰ -

عاشور کا دن خاص طور پر غم و الم منانے کا دن قرار دیا گیا - گھروں سے نکل کر باہر علانیہ طور پر مجالس عزا برپا ہونے لگیں اور رفتہ رفتہ عراق، ایران، ہندوستان اور دیگر بلاد اسلامی میں طریقہ عزا جاری ہوا - ہر ملک کے مقامی حالت کے اعتبار سے مجالس عزا کے عنوان میں بھی تھوڑا بہت فرق پیدا ہوا - ایک مخصوص مقام اسکے لئے قرار دیا گیا جسکو عرب ”حسینیہ“ اہل ایران ”ماتم سرا“ اور ہندوستانی ”امام بارہ“ کے نام سے پکارنے لگے - ذاکر کو عرب ”فائض“ (یعنی جو امام حسین پر نوحہ کرتا ہو) اہل ایران ”روضہ خوان“ (یعنی جو کتاب روضۃ الشہداء سے واقعات کر بلا بیان کرتا ہو - اہل ایران ایک مدت تک اسی کتاب سے ممبروں پر جا کر پڑھتے تھے) اور اہل ہند ”مرثیہ خوان“ (جو تحت اللفظ پڑھتا ہو) ”حدیث خوان“ (جو حدیث بیان کرتا ہو) اور ”سوز خوان“ (جو سوز و نوحہ وغیرہ پڑھتا ہو) کہنے لگے - ان مجالس میں جب واقعات کر بلا بیان کئے جاتے ہیں تو خود بخود صبر و شکر، تسلیم و رضا، تحمل و بردباری، استقلال و ثابت قدمی، تہور و شجاعت، تقویٰ و ورع، زہد و عبادت، خلق و مروت، عدالت و مساوات، احسان و الطاف، رحم و کرم، عفو و حیا، جود و سخا، خدا ترسی و خدا پرستی اور اسکے مقابل میں بیرحمی، سنگدلی، بیوفائی، حرص، طمع، وعدہ خلافی، بزدلی، بے حیائی، احسان فراموشی، نا خدا ترسی، بخل، جہل، کج فہمی، خشونت، عیاری، کید، حسد، بغض، کینہ، ترکِ آوامر، خلاف ورزی، امر شریعت، ظلم، جور، ستم، نا انصافی، بے ایمانی، دغا، فریب اور مکر وغیرہ کی جیتی جاگتی تصویریں سامعین کے چشم تصور کے سامنے آ جاتی ہیں جن سے ہر انسان اخلاقی فوائد حاصل کر سکتا ہے - اگر نظر غور سے دیکھا جائے تو انہیں فضائل و رذائل کے اختیار و اجتناب پر عقبی کی سرخروٹی اور دنیا کی کامیابی زیادہ تر محمول

ہے -

بنی ہاشم مکہ میں اپنے اعزا و اقربا کی شہادت پر گریہ و زاری کرتے رہے اور محکمان امام حسین خاندان رسالت کی تباہی سنکر روتے بیٹتے رہے - مگر سب سے پہلی مجلس جس میں واقعات کربلا کا ذکر غیروں کے سامنے حزن و ملال کے ساڑھے کپا گیا یزید کے محل میں اسوقت برپا ہوئی ہے جبکہ شہادت امام حسین کی خبر سنکر ہندہ زوجہ یزید ننگے سر دربار یزید میں چلی آئی ہے اور یزید نے فرط غیرت سے اپنی عبا اُسکے سر پر ڈالکر امام حسین کے غم منانے کی اجازت دی ہے - رسول کی نواسیان تیرہ و تار قید خانے سے نکالکر محل سرا میں بھیجی گئیں - واقعات کربلا بیان کئے گئے - ہندہ نے شہادت امام حسین پر اپنی غیر حالت کی اور عترت رسول کو قید سے چھڑا کر مدینہ روانہ کرا دیا -

مدینہ پہنچنے کے بعد امام حسین کے بیٹے امام زین العابدین سے (جو شدت مرض کی وجہ سے کربلا میں ظالموں کے ہاتھوں سے بچ گئے تھے) جو لوگ ملنے آئے تھے انکے سامنے حضرت واقعات کربلا کا ذکر اور اپنے مصائب بیان فرماتے تھے - سامعین فرط رقت سے بے چین ہو جاتے تھے - شعرا جب امام کی خدمت میں آتے تھے تو امام حسین پر مرثیہ پڑھتے تھے - دعبل خزاعی^۱ اور ابراہیم بن عباس نے امام علی رضا علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام کے سامنے پر جوش مرثیے پڑھے جس پر حضرت نے زکثیر انعام دیا - اسیطرح جناب امام زین العابدین کے وقت سے برابر قریب قریب ہر امام کی حضوری میں شعرا مرثیے پڑھتے رہے - پاک طینت مسلمان اپنے گھروں میں خفیہ طور سے مجالس برپا کرتے رہے - مصر میں جب دولت^۲ فاطمی قائم ہوئی تو اسوقت اسکو زیادہ ترقی ہوئی

۱ شہید اسلام ص ۳۵۶ - تاریخ کامل - مقتل ابو صفی -

۲ مقتل موالم - ناسخ التواریخ - شہید اسلام -

۳ ناسخ التواریخ - امراء الشیمة مطبوعہ اصلاح کھجورہ ضلع سارن -

اب نہ کوئی ہمدرد ہے نہ یاور و ناصر - ایک حسین کی ذات
باقی تھی وہ بھی آفتاب لب بام ہے - جوش محبت اور فرط غم
میں جذبات دل ایک پر درد نوحہ کی صورت میں ظاہر ہوتے ہیں۔
جسکے چند شعر ذیل میں درج کئے جاتے ہیں :-

یا شمر ہذا کہفنا و عما دنا
و ملاذنا من سائر الاسواء

اے شمر - یہہ حسین ہمارے پشت پناہ ہیں اور تمام عزیز
و اقارب میں صرف یہی ایک ذات ہے جو ہماری زندگی کا سہارا ہے

دعنا نقبل نكره و نشمه
قبل الرحيل و قبل وجد فناء

مجھکو اجازت دے کہ قبل رحلت و فنا کے گلوئے
بریدہ کا بوسہ لے لوں اور سو نگہ لوں -

دعنا نودعه و مجلس عندہ
یا شمر قبل تفرق و ثناء

اے شمر - مجھکو اجازت دے کہ قبل مفارقت و جدائی کے
اپنے بھائی سے مل لوں اور اُنکو رخصت کر لوں

دعنا تغطي وجهه برداء
دعنا نعالج جرحه بدواء

ہمیں اجازت دے کہ ہم انکے چہرہ پر اپنی چادر
کا سائہ کریں اور زرخموں کا علاج کر لیں -

یہہ پہلا نوحہ ہے جو امام حسین پر کہا گیا -
مجالس مزا کا انعقاد

یوں تو عترت رسول قید کی حالت میں بھی ہر وقت
اور ہر لحظہ اپنے مصائب پر اشکوں کی ندیاں بہاتے رہے -

صفۃ روزگار پر جب غیر معمولی - اہم اور سنگین واقعات ظہور پذیر ہوتے ہیں تو فضائے عالم سنسان، اہل عالم کے خیالات میں تلاطم اور قلوب میں وحشت پیدا ہوتی ہے - خون اور بے گناہوں کا خون، پھر رسول کے نواسے کا خون ایسا نہ تھا جو دشمنوں کے دلوں کو بھی مجروح نہ کرتا - جوش میں ایک کام تو کر بیٹھے مگر جب اسکی اہمیت اور اثر سے واقف ہوئے تو واقعات کے چہپانے، لوگوں کے خیالات پھیرنے اور نشانات کے مٹانے کی طرف توجہ ہوئی، مختلف تدابیر اسکے لئے اختیار کئے - سلطنت کا دباؤ اور جان کا خوف اگر مہر لب نہ ہو جاتا تو ایسے پرجوش اور درد انگیز مرثیے لکھے جاتے کہ تمام دنیا میں آگ لگ جاتی اور صحن عالم ماتم سرا بین جاتا - افسوس ہے کہ دشمنوں نے رسول اللہ کی یادگار اور حامی دین رسول کے مٹانے ہی پر اکتفا نہیں کی بلکہ باوجود اسکے کہ اپنے کو مسلمان کہتے تھے امام حسین اور انکے رفقاء کی لاشوں کو بے گور و کفن^۱ رہنے دیا اور جب دوسروں نے خوف خدا سے انکو دفن^۲ بھی کیا تو نشانات قبر مٹانے^۳ میں کوئی دقیقہ اٹھا نہ رکھا اگر چہ کامیابی نہ ہوئی - عترت رسول کے ساتھ جو سلوک کیا اسکا بیان اس سے پہلے کر چکا ہوں غمزدہ ماؤں اور آفت رسیدہ دیواؤں کو اتنا موقع بھی نہ دیا کہ اپنے وارث اور بیٹوں کی لاش پر دو آنسو بہا سکتیں -

جب امام حسین گھوڑے سے زمین پر تشریف لائے تو بیکس بہن کا دل تڑپ گیا - بے چین ہو کر خیمہ سے باہر نکلی اور قتل گاہ کو روانہ ہوئی - پردہ نشین بی بی جو گھر سے کبھی باہر نہ نکلی ہو آج اضطراب قلب سے مجروح بھائی تک پہنچنے کے لئے بہتک رہی ہے - دنیا آنکھوں میں اندھیر ہے - دل سنگ مصائب سے چور ہے - دو پہر میں سارا کنبہ آنکھوں کے سامنے کت گیا

۱ ابن خلدون - نورالعین فی مقتل الحسین - ناسخ التواریخ - شہید اسلام -

۲ نورالعین - مائتین فی مقتل الحسین - ناسخ التواریخ - مقتل عوالم - شہید اسلام -

۳ تاریخ کامل - ناسخ التواریخ - شہید اسلام ذبیح عظیم -

عیسیٰ نے سولی پر چڑھ کر دنیا میں آسمانی بادشاہت کا سکہ جمایا -
 امام حسین نے نہ محض اپنی جان نثار کی بلکہ اپنے ساتھ بہتر
 جانیں اور سارے خاندان کی عزت و وقار قربان کر کے قیامت تک
 کیلئے بقائے اسلام کی سند حاصل کی - علاوہ اسکے یہہ عالم
 محبت و عشق کی باتیں ہیں - یہاں کی زمین جدا - آسمان
 جدا - قانون جدا - دلائل و براہین کا یہاں گذر نہیں - عقل و
 فہم کو دخل نہیں - یہاں ہر تکلیف راحت معلوم ہوتی ہے اور
 جسقدر مصائب بڑھتے جاتے ہیں اسی قدر روح کی قوت اور دل کی
 مسرت بڑھتی جاتی ہے - یہہ وہ دنیا ہے جہاں دیوانگی کا نام ہشیاری اور
 موت کا نام زندگی ہے -

مزے جو موت کے عاشق بیاں کہہ کرے
 مسیح و خضر بھی مرنے کی آرزو کرتے

جب عشق مجازی میں لوگ تن من دھن قربان کرتے
 ہیں تو یہہ تو عشق حقیقی ہے - یہاں تو دنیا و مافیہا
 سب سے قطع تعلق کرنے پر بھی شاهد حقیقی کے ملنے میں تامل
 رہتا ہے - یہہ جوش محبت اور انتہائی عشق تھا جس نے امام حسین
 کو جانکاه مصائب اور دلگداز شدا ئد میں بھی ثابت قدم رکھا -
 امام کی نگاہوں میں شاهد حقیقی کے جلوہ کے سوا کچھ
 دکھائی نہ دیتا تھا - فوج مخالف کا ہر تیر شاهد حقیقی
 کے تیر نظر اور ہر تیغ تیغ ادا کا کام کرتی تھی - احباب -
 اعزا - اقربا - بھائی - بھتیجے - بھانجے - بیٹے -
 حتیٰ کہ چھ مہینہ کی جان سب اوسکی راہ میں قربان
 کر دی اور یہی سمجھتے رہے کہ ابھی کچھ نہیں کیا - چوت
 پر چوت کھارہے ہیں اور زبان یاں خدا میں مصروف ہے - تن
 زخموں سے چور ہے اور آپ شاهد ازل کے حضور میں سر بسجود ہیں -
 کسی اہل دل سے پوچھئے کہ یہہ کیا راز ہے اور اسیں کیا لطف ہے -

وہ دیار حسن کے آستان وہ رواج و رسم کہ الاماں
 وہی سر ہمیشہ قلم ہوئے جو رہے سجود نیاز میں

کہ خون کا پیاسا ہو گیا۔ اگر یہہ کہا جائے کہ امام حسین اپنے اعزاء و اقرباء و احباب کو جان دینے سے روک کر خود گلا کتا دیتے تاکہ خون ریزیاں نہ ہونے پانیں۔ تو امام حسین نے خود ہی ایسا ارادہ کیا تھا مگر سمبھوں نے ہاتھ جوڑ کر عرض کی کہ ہم اپنی زندگی میں امام پر آنچ نہ آنے دیں گے۔ ہمراہیوں میں عزیز تھے یا احباب جو مثل عزیز کے تھے۔ عرب کی ہمت و غیرت اور خون کا جوش اسکو کب گوارا کر سکتا تھا کہ امام علیہ السلام اُنکی آنکھوں کے سامنے سر کٹائیں اور وہ خاموشی سے دیکھا کریں۔ اگر امام اس پر اصرار فرماتے تو یہہ لوگ خود گلاکات کر مر جاتے۔ علاوہ ازیں امام حسین کے تنہا شہید ہونے سے واقعات کربلا کی یہہ وقعت و عظمت نہ ہوتی جو اب ہوتی ہے اور امام حسین کے شہادت کی غرض فوت ہو جاتی۔ پھر بھی اگر غور سے دیکھا جائے تو امام حسین نے اس خونریزی کو کئی موقعوں پر ٹالا ہے۔ مدینہ میں جب اس کا اندیشہ ہوا تو مکہ تشریف لیگئے۔ مکہ میں جب اس کا خطرہ پیدا ہوا تو حج کو عمرہ سے بدل کر کوفہ روانہ ہو گئے۔ کربلا میں جب چاروں طرف سے گھر گئے تو ایسے بے ضرر شرائط پیش کئے جن سے صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ امام کو لڑنا مقصود نہ تھا۔ مگر جب کوئی چارہ کار نہ رہا تو راہ خدا میں سر کٹانے کو تیار ہو گئے۔

فضائے عالم ہر جب کبھی ظلم و جور و بد اخلاقی اور ناحق کوشیوں کی تیرہ و تار گھٹائیں آتی ہیں تو فطرت کے قانون نے قربانی کا خزن برسا کر مطلع کو صاف اور اہل عالم کی آنکھوں کو روشن کیا ہے۔ جتنی گہری تاریکی ہوتی ہے اُنہی ہی سنگین قربانی کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے اور جتنی سنگین قربانی ہوتی ہے ویسے ہی کم و بیش اُسکا اثر ہوا ہے۔ آلی میکس (Alymachus) نے اپنی جان دیکر رومیوں کے برے رسوم کا سد باب کیا۔ حضرت

(۱) نام میں اختلاف ہے بعض آلی میکس (Alymachus) اور بعض (Telemachus) کہتے ہیں۔ پورے قصہ کے لئے ملاحظہ ہو گولڈن دیتس (Golden deeds) صفحہ ۱۰۰ اور روسن ہسٹری۔

اور مستحکم کرلیتا - جب امام حسین نے بیعت کرنے سے انکار کیا تو یزید کو اپنی غرض پورا کرنے کا اچھا موقع ہاتھ آیا - اور یہ سمجھکر کہ امام حسین انکار پر قائم رہینگے حصول بیعت کیلئے اصرار کرتا گیا - یہاں تک کہ جب امام حسین نے ایسی بے ضرر شرط پیش کی تھی کہ ترک وطن کر کے بلاد اسلامی سے باہر سکونت اختیار کرنے کی اجازت دیجائے تو اُسکو بھی اُسے قبول نہیں کیا اور اسی پر زور دیا کہ یا تو امام حسین بیعت کریں یا اُن کا سر تن سے جدا کیا جائے - امام حسین اسکو کب گوارا کر سکتے تھے کہ اسلام تباہ و ذلیل ہو اور وہ دیکھا کریں اُنہوں نے وہی فیصلہ کیا جو ایک مقدس بزرگ اور مذہبی سردار کو ایسے موقع پر کرنا چاہئے تھا - امام حسین کا یہی ایک فعل کہ اُنہوں نے اسلام کی بقاء کیلئے اپنی جان قربان کر دی اُنکی معرفت - حق پرستی - عظمت اور مذہبی سرداری ظاہر کرنے کو کافی ہے -

بعض لوگوں کا خیال ہے کہ اگر امام حسین چاہتے تو خون ریزیاں نہ ہونے پاتیں - ان حالات کے دیکھنے سے سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ امام حسین کیا صورت اختیار کرتے - فاسق و فاجر کی بیعت کر کے اصل اسلام کو دفن کر دینا اور یزید کے تراشیدہ اسلام کو مان لینا امام حسین کے سے با خدا آدمی سے ناممکن تھا - امام حسین تو نبی کے نواسے - دین حق کے حامی اور واقف اسرار ایزدی تھے - کوئی معمولی سچا مسلمان بھی ایسے شخص کو جس کے افعال یزید کے سے ہوں خلیفہ وقت تسلیم کرنے کے لئے اس زمانہ میں بھی راضی نہ ہوگا نہ کہ اُسوقت میں جبکہ اصلی اسلام اور حقیقی دین کی نشادیاں موجود تھیں - پھر امام حسین نے محض بیعت سے انکار کیا تھا - کوئی شورش یا بغاوت نہیں کی تھی - اور نہ یزید کی سلطنت کو کسی قسم کا نقصان پہونچانے کی کوشش کی تھی - ایک آدمی اور وہ بھی بے ضرر اُسکے بیعت نہ کرنے سے یزید کی سرداری میں کیا کمی ہوئی جاتی تھی جو اُسکو حصول بیعت کا یہہ اصرار تھا

انکی دیوی تھی جسکی پرستش دل کے معبد میں کیا کرتے تھے - ان کے نکرت سرداری کے خلاف تھا کہ اسلام پر نام ہو محمد رسول اللہ^۱ کا اور پابندی کریں - یہہ اسلام اور اسکے احکام کی پابندی اوسی وقت تک ضروری سمجھتے تھے جب تک کہ مقاصد دنیوی کے حصول کا ذریعہ ہو سکے - امام حسن انکے سرشت سے واقف تھے اور چاہتے تھے کہ دنیا پر بھی انکی حالت منکشف ہو جائے - اسلئے نہایت دانائی سے امیر معاویہ سے صلح کر کے خلافت ظاہری سے دست برداری دیدی اس طرح پر امیر معاویہ کو سلطنت کے ساتھ مذہبی سرداری بھی حاصل ہو گئی جب حسب خواہش سرداری مل گئی تو پوست کندہ حالات لوگوں پر ظاعر ہو گئے - امیر معاویہ نے دینی سلطنت^۲ کے مستحکم کرنے میں دین کا خیال بالکل چھوڑ دیا اور اسلام کی تخریب شروع کر دی - ظلم و جور کی حد نہ رہی - لوگوں کے قلوب انکی طرف سے پھرنے اور امام حسن کی طرف رجوع کرنے لگے - امیر معاویہ نے اسکو محسوس کر کے آل محمد کی زندگی میں روحانی سرداری کا قائم رکھنا غیر ممکن ہے امام حسن^۳ کو زھر دلوادیا - اور امام حسین کے دبانے کی کوشش کی - جب یزید کی باری آئی تو اوسنے ایک طرف تو محرمات و منہیات اسلام جایز کر کے اصل اسلام کو مٹانے کی کوشش کی - اور دوسری جانب امام حسین سے بیعت حاصل کر نیکی تدبیریں کیں - چونکہ امیر معاویہ کے عہد سلطنت کے حالات سے تجربہ ہو چکا تھا اور خود بھی سمجھتا تھا کہ امام حسین کی زندگی میں خواہ وہ بیعت کریں یا نہ کریں اسلام کو اپنی مرضی کا محکوم بنانا اور روحانی سرداری کو اپنے قبضہ میں رکھنا محال ہے - اسلئے چاہتا تھا کہ کوئی صورت ایسی ہوتی کہ اس آخری شخص کو بھی جو اصلی اسلام اور دین حق کی تعلیم کرنے والا ہے - قتل کر کے دینی سلطنت کے ساتھ دینی سرداری بھی اپنے لئے مسلم

(۱) مروج الذهب - جلد ۶ - مدارج النبوة جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۱۲۶ - مطبوعہ ناصری پریس -

(۲) -

(۳) استیعاب - تاریخ احمدی - مروج الذهب

کا نہ تھا - اسی بنا پر خانۂ کعبہ کے مجاور کو وہ لوگ وقعت کی نظر سے دیکھتے اور مذہبی سردار مانتے تھے - اسلام نے بھی دین کو دنیا سے افضل بتایا - اور محمد و آل محمد بھی ہمیشہ دین اختیار کرنیکی تعلیم - ترک دنیا کی تلقین اور دنیاوی شان و شوکت اور سلطنت کو ذلیل و خوار سمجھنے کی تاکید کرتے رہے اور اپنے طرز عمل سے دین و دنیا دونوں کا فرق دکھایا کئے - مسلمانوں کے دل میں جو وقعت و عزت روحانیت اور استغناء کی تھی وہ سلطنت و شان و شوکت کی نہ تھی - سلطنت کے احکام ظاہری طور پر مانتے تھے - مگر روحانیت قلوب پر حکومت کرتی تھی - امیہ اور انکی اولاد میں حب جاہ و سلطنت اور طمع و حرص کا مادہ اتنا زیادہ تھا کہ بڑھتے بڑھتے خاندانی مرض ہو گیا تھا - یہہ لوگ حصول سمطنت و سرداری کو اپنی زندگی کا مقصد خیال کرتے تھے - یہہ دیکھکر کہ باوجود دولت و ثروت کے اُن کا اعزاز و وقار اُن لوگوں کے مقابلہ میں جو ہیں مگر علم و روحانیت میں مشہور ہیں کم ہوتا ہے انکو ہمیشہ یہہ فکر رہی کہ یا تو علم و روحانیت اپنی طرف منتقل کر لین یا غلبہ اور قوت کے زور سے روحانیت کو سطنٹ کے مقابلہ میں ذلیل و خوار کر دیں - اور یا اُن لوگوں کو جو روحانیت کے حامی ہیں نیست و نابود کر دیں اور اس طرح پر سرداری اپنے لئے مسلم کر لیں - یہی غرض تھی جو امیہ نے اپنے چچا ہاشم سے مخالفت کی - ابو سفیان نے رسول اللہ سے جنگ کی اور امیر معاویہ نے حضرت علی کا مقابلہ کیا - مگر قسمت دیکھے کہ ہر زمانہ میں ناکامیابی کے سوا کچھ ہاتھ نہ لگا - ان لوگوں کا خیال اتنا کہ مذہب و روحانیت اصل میں کوئی چیز نہیں ہے - بلکہ لوگوں نے حصول سرداری کے لئے ایک ذریعہ بنا لیا ہے - اسلام سے اونکو کوئی واسطہ نہ تھا - اور نہ اونہوں نے اسلام طبعاً قبول کیا تھا - فتح مکہ کے وقت جان بچانے کیلئے مسلمان بن گئے تھے - سلطنت و سرداری

(۱) تاریخ خمس - جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۹۷ - مطبوعہ مصر - مدارج النبوة جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۶۲۶ - مطبوعہ ناصری پریس - ابوالفدا - صفحہ ۳۳۹ - تاریخ الانبیاء - جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۳۸۹ - روضة الصفا جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۱۳۹

(۲) تاریخ مطبری - جلد ۴ - صفحہ ۴۲۲ -

اسلئے کہ کوفیوں نے امام علیہ السلام کو اپنے ہدائت اور تلقین ایمان کے لئے بلایا تھا نہ کہ جنگ کے لئے اگر کوفیوں کو یزید سے لڑائی کرنی تھی تو وہ امام حسین کو کیوں بلاتے اور اگر امام حسین کو یزید سے لڑنا تھا تو وہ کوفیوں ہی سے کیوں مدد طلب کرتے - اگر ایسا ہی تھا قبائل طے اور اہل یمین سے مدد کی خواہش کرتے جیسا کہ محمد ابن حنیفہ نے^۱ رائے دی تھی اور جہاں کا بچہ بچہ نصرت امام میں جاں نثاری کو حیات ابدی سمجھتا - نہ کہ کوفیوں سے جنہوں نے حضرت علی اور امام حسن کے ساتھ ایسا برتاؤ کیا تھا کہ امام حسین کو اُنپر کبھی اعتماد ہو ہی نہیں سکتا تھا اور اسی بے اعتباری کا یہ نتیجہ تھا کہ جب کوفیوں نے امام علیہ السلام کو ہدائت کیلئے بلایا ہے تو باوجود کثیر التعداد خطوط اور قاصدوں کے امام علیہ السلام نے اُنکا اعتبار نہیں کیا اور حضرت مسلم کو صحیح حالت دریافت کرنے کیلئے اپنی روانگی سے پہلے روانہ کیا - علاوہ ازیں اگر امام علیہ السلام کی نیت لڑائی کی ہوتی تو اعلیٰ بیت اور بچوں کو اپنے ساتھ نہ لیجاتے اسلئے کہ اُنکی حفاظت کا یقین جسقدر مکہ میں جہاں سارے بنی ہاشم موجود تھے ہو سکتا تھا اور کسی جگہ نہیں ہو سکتا تھا اور نہ ہر مستفسر سے یہ فرماتے کہ میں قتل ہونے کے لئے جا رہا ہوں اور عورتیں اسیری کے لئے - اصل یہ ہے کہ امام علیہ السلام قصد کوچکے تھے کہ یزید کی بیعت نہ کرینگے اور سمجھتے تھے کہ انکار بیعت سے کیا کیا مصائب جھیلنے پڑینگے - ایک نہ ایک دن یہہ آفت آنیوالی تھی اس کے لئے - طیار تھے - اور ہر وقت منتظر رہا کرتے تھے - یہی وجہ تھی کہ ہر شخص کو آپ کربلائے واقعات کی اطلاع قبل از وقوع دیا کرتے تھے - اب سوال یہہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ آخر یزید کو کیا ضد تھی جو ایسے بے ضرر شخص سے بیعت لینے پر اسقدر اصرار کرتا تھا - اس کے جواب کے لئے اگر ان مختصر حالات کو جو لکھے گئے غور سے پڑھیں تو معلوم ہو جائیگا کہ ایام جاعلیت میں بھی قبائل عرب کے نزدیک جو وقار علم و روحانیت کا تھا وہ دولت و ثروت و سلطنت

سلطنت و سرداری کی فکر رہی وہ اُنکو امیر معاویہ کی وقت میں حاصل ہوگئی تھی - رسول خدا - حضرت علی - امام حسن اور امام حسین کے طرز عمل سے صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ سلطنت دنیوی سے ان حضرات کو نفرت تھی - جب دوسروں کو ترک دنیا کی تعلیم و تلقین کیا کرتے تھے تو کیونکر ممکن تھا کہ اپنے لئے جائز رکھتے - ان حضرات نے دنیا کو ترک کر کے دین کو اسکی آلودگی سے علیحدہ رکھا - وراثت دین جو اُن کے قبضہ میں تھی اُسکو کڑی لے نہیں سکتا تھا - سلطنت دنیوی کے وہ خواہشمند نہ تھے ایسی حالتیں جبکہ بنی اُمیہ کو اس چیز کی خواہش تھی جس سے بنی ہاشم کو نفرت تھی کوئی وجہ نزاع باقی نہیں رہتی اور نہ کوئی خاندانی جھگڑا رہ جاتا ہے - اب رہا انتقام - اسکی آگ اُسی شخص کے دلیں بہت سکتی ہے جو کسی معاملہ میں شکست کھاچکا ہو اور اُس ذلت و خواری کے دُفع کرنے کیلئے وہ رہ کے بدلہ لینے کا خیال کر تا ہو خاندان رسالت نے بنی اُمیہ سے کوئی شکست نہیں کھائی جسکے بدلہ لینے کا خیال پیدا ہوتا - اور اگر یہ فرض بھی کر لیا جائے کہ کوئی ایسا واقعہ ہوا تھا جسکے انتقام کیلئے امام حسین جنگ کرنا چاہتے تھے تو سمجھہ میں نہیں آتا کہ یزید سے باسطوت و باعظمت بادشاہ سے بدلہ لینے کی غرض سے جنگ کا ارادہ ہو اور سامان جنگ میں کل بہتر آدمی ساٹھ ہوں - ذلت خواری کے دفعیہ کیلئے لڑائی کرنے جائیں اور عترت رسول کو محفوظ مقام سے نکالکر میدان کارزار میں لیجائیں - انتقام کے لئے جوش غیظ و غضب میں روانہ ہوں اور میدان جنگ میں پہونچکر بہ عاجزانہ گفتگو کریں کہ مجھکو مکہ واپس جانے دو - یا بلان اسلامی سے باہر سکونت اختیار کرنے دو - یا مجھے یزید کے پاس لے چلو تاکہ باہم گفتگو ہو جائے - اس گفتگو سے تو انتہائی مظلومیت معلوم ہوتی ہے نہ کہ جنگ کی خواہش -

اگر یہ کہا جائے کہ اہل کوفہ کی مدد کے بھروسہ پر جنگ کے قصد سے روانہ ہوئے تھے اور اُن لوگوں کے خلاف ہو جانے سے ان آفتونیں پھنس گئے تو یہ بالکل بے اصل ہے

امام حسین امیر معاویہ کی اطاعت میں اپنے بچے بھائی امام حسن کے شریک نہ تھے تاہم انہوں نے کوئی شورش یا بغاوت بھی نہیں کی اور نہ کسی حصہ ملک پر قبضہ کرنے کی کوشش کی تھی۔ امام حسن کے انتقال سے واقعہ کربلا تک بارہ برس کا زمانہ ہوتا ہے۔ اس عرصہ میں امام حسین کے کسی قول و فعل سے یہہ ثابت نہیں ہوتا کہ انہوں نے نفع ذاتی یا سلطنت دنیاوی کے حصول کا خیال بھی کیا ہو۔ جو شخص بچپن سے دیکھتا آیا ہو کہ رسول خدا نے باوجود قوت و اقتدار کے کس سادہ روی سے بسر کی اور اپنے طرز عمل سے دین و دنیا کا فرق دکھادیا۔ حضرت علی نے اپنے عہد خلافت میں ریاست روحانی اور سلطنت دنیاوی کو ایک دوسرے سے جدا رکھا اور تارک الدنیا ہو کر زندگی بسر کی۔ امام حسن نے یہہ دیکھ کر کہ لوگوں کی دنیا پرستی سے خلافت سلطنت میں جذب ہو گئی ہے دونوں کے درمیان فرق قائم کرنے کیلئے خلافت ظاہری سے دست برداری دیدی کیونکر ممکن ہے کہ ایسا شخص ہوا و ہوس دینوی سے اپنے خاندان کے دامن استغنا کو آلودہ کریگا۔ علاوہ ازیں جو شخص کہ حصول سلطنت کیلئے لڑتا ہے وہ اپنے دشمن کی قوت کے اندازہ سے سامان جنگ بہم پہنچاتا ہے۔ فوج اکٹھا کرتا ہے نہ یہ کہ جو لوگ ساتھ ہوں انکو بھی یہ کہہ کر کہ میں قتل ہونے کے لئے تیار ہوں اپنے پاس سے علیحدہ کر دے اور بہتر آدمیوں سے جنیں، کثرت تعداد لڑنے کی قابلیت نہ رکھتی ہو یزید کے ثقیل دل فوج سے مقابلہ کرنیکو آمادہ ہو جائے۔

اگر کہا جائے کہ یہ لڑائی کسی خانگی جھگڑے یا انتقام کی نیت سے تھی تو اسکا ہتہ تاریخ سے بالکل نہیں چلتا کہ ایام جاہلیت سے اسوقت تک بنی امیہ اور بنی ہاشم میں کوئی خانگی نزاع رہی ہو۔ ایام جاہلیت میں جو جھگڑا امیہ اور ہاشم کے درمیان ہوا وہ حصول سرداری و قوت کیلئے تھا اور اسی زمانہ میں ختم ہو گیا تھا۔ رسول اللہ کے زمانہ میں اخوت و یگانگیت کے سوا کوئی دوسرا ذکر ہی نہ تھا۔ رسول خدا کی رحلت کے بعد البتہ بنی امیہ کو حصول

شتران بے کھاوہ پر سوار کیا اور شہداء کے سروں کو نیزوں پر
 اشدیا کے مظالم عترت ^{اشقیا کے مظالم عترت} بلند کر کے اُنکے سامنے رکھا - سید سجاد کے
 پاؤں میں بیڑیاں اور گلے میں آہنی طوق ڈال کر ^{رسول کے ساتھ}
 اونٹوں کی مہار تھمادی اور اسطرح عترت رسول کو کوچہ و بازار
 میں ذلیل و خوار کرتے ہوئے شام کو روانہ ہوئے شدت مرض
 کمزوری اور طوق و بیڑی کے باریا درد سے اگر سید سجاد راستہ
 میں گر پڑتے یا پاؤں سے کانٹا نکال دے لگتے تو اشقیا تازیانے اور چوب
 نیزہ سے اسطرح بے ادبی کرتے تھے کہ وہ شمع درمان رسالت بلبل
 اُٹھتا تھا - بیبیاں اگر سروں کو دیکھ کر فالہ و زاری کرتی تھیں
 تو نوک نیزہ سے خاموش کرائی جاتی تھیں - لن شدائد اور مظالم
 نے عترت رسول کی حالت ایسی بدل دی کہ جب یزید کے دربار میں
 پیش ہوئے تو اُس نے شمر سے کہا کہ تو لونڈیاں اسیر کر کے لایا ہے
 یا شاہ ولایت کی بیٹیاں - یزید نے بھی کوئی دقیقہ ذلت و خواری
 یزید کا برتاؤ عترت ^{یزید کا برتاؤ عترت} کا اُٹھا نہ رکھا - امام حسین کا سر جب سامنے
 رکھا گیا تو لب مبارک پر جو بوسہ گاہ رسول مقبول ^{رسول کے ساتھ}
 تھے بید سے بے ادبی کرنے لگا اور عترت رسول سے ایسی گفتگو کی
 جسکو پڑھ کر کلیجہ شق ہوتا ہے آخر ایک تیرہ و تار کوٹھری
 میں سبھوں کو بند کرا دیا - قبیلہ اسد نے جو کربلا کے قریب
 رہتا تھا کئی دن کے بعد امام حسین اور اُنکے رفقاء کی لاشوں کو
 سپرد خاک کیا - اعترت رسول ایک سال تک قید رکھے گئے -
 امام حسین کی چھوٹی لڑکی نے قید خانہ ہی میں انتقال
 کیا - یزید کی بیوی ہندہ کو جو خاندان رسالت سے محبت
 رکھتی تھی جب یہ حالات معلوم ہوئے تو اس نے سفارش کر کے
 عترت رسول کو قید سے چھڑایا اور مدینہ روانہ کرا دیا -

ان مختصر حالات اور تاریخی واقعات کے دیکھنے سے جنکے لئے
 واقعات کربہ پر ^{واقعات کربہ پر} ہر محفل اور ہر موقع پر مغربی اور مشرقی مورخین
 اور علماء کے اقوال اور شواہد پیش کئے گئے ہیں
 صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ امام حسین کا یزید سے لڑنا کسی نفع
 ذاتی یا حصول سلطنت دنیوی کیلئے نہ تھا - اسلئے کہ اگرچہ
 ۳۰

کیا لڑے اور کہاں تک استقلال سے کام لے - تین سو پچھپن زخم تیر و تلوار و نیزہ کے کھا کر گھوڑے سے نیچے تشریف لائے -

مصرع - اگر غلط نہ کنم عرش بر زمیں اُفتاد - نماز عصر کا وقت تھا - آخری عبادت میں مصروف ہوئے ظالموں نے چاروں طرف سے نرغہ کیا - زخم پر زخم اور تیر پر تیر لگائے شروع کئے - شدت درد اور کثرت زخم سے امام علیہ السلام کچھ دیر جھومتے رہے - پھر سجدہ حق میں گئے - شمر نے خنجر سے سر انور جدا کر دیا اور شہیدوں کی لاشوں کو گھوڑوں سے پامال کرنے کا حکم دیا - شہادت امام حسین سے جو حالت عترت رسول کی ہوئی وہ بیان سے باہر ہے - بیبیوں نے سینہ کو دی اور آہ و زاری اس طرح سے کی کہ میدان جنگ عزاخانہ بن گیا - پردگیان سر ادقات عصمت جی کھول کے رونے بھی نہ پائی تھیں کہ اشقیا نے لوٹنا شروع کیا - مسافرت اور غریبی میں جو مال و اسباب ساتھ تھا وہ لوٹا - اسکے بعد عورتوں کے سر سے مقنعة و چادر چھینی - بیبیاں ایک خیمہ سے بھاگ کر دوسرے میں چھپنے لگیں - خیموں میں آگ لگادی - اُس گھر کی مصیبت کیا بیان کیجائے جس سے دو پہر میں بہتر جنازے نکلے ہوں اور سارے کنبے میں سوا ایک لڑکے کے وہ بھی بیمار و نکیف و زار کوئی باقی نہ رہا ہو - کیا انقلاب روزگار ہے جو اس دنیا میں پیغام آزادی و رستگاری اور احکام پردہ داری لیکر آیا ہو آج اُسکی دواسیاں بے مقنعة و چادر بالوں سے منہ چھپائے - رسن بستہ نامکرموں کے مجمع میں ریگ گرم پر تصویر حزن و ملال بنی ہوئی اپنی حالت پر آٹھ آٹھ آنسو روتی ہیں - اور ہمدردی تو درکنار کوئی بات بھی نہیں پوچھتا -

اسکے بعد اشقیا نے اپنے مردوں کو دفن کیا اور امام حسین اور انکے رفقا کی لاشوں کو بے گور و کفن چھوڑ دیا - بیبیوں کو

(۱) کتب روایات میں ایک ہزار نو سو پچاس زخم درج ہیں وہ اسوجہ سے کہ گھوڑے سے گرنے کے بعد بھی انہیں یدرہی سے دھنسنے نے حضرت کے جسم مبارک پر جڑے لگائے تھے -

اُن کے دل سے کوئی پوچھے کہ امام کی رخصت پر کیا گذری ہوگی -

امام حسین کے بیٹے زین العابدین جو شدت تب کی وجہ سے بیہوش تھے آہ و زاری کی دل خراش صداؤں سے چونک پڑے - باپ کی تنہائی اور اپنی بے بسی پر زار و قطار رونے لگے - فوج مخالف سے مبارز طلبی ہوئی امام علیہ السلام آہ و زاری - فریاد و نغان اور نالہ و بکا کی جان گداز و روح فرسا آوازوں کے ساتھ خیمہ عصمت سے اسطرح نکلے جیسے کسی بھرے گھر سے جنازہ نکلتا ہے -

باہر آ کر پھر وہی تنہائی و بیکسی دیکھی - دل فرط غم سے اُمنڈ آیا - مگر اللہ رے استقلال اور ثابت قدمی - با وجود ان تمام مصائب کے ارادے میں تزلزل نہ پیدا ہوا - گھوڑے پر جلوہ افروز ہو کر میدان جنگ میں آئے - لڑائی شروع ہو گئی امام حسین کی جنگ

حضرت علی سے شجاع کے بیٹے تھے - فہر آرمائی ان حضرت کا کھیل تھا - ایسی جنگ کی کہ فوج میں تلاطم پیدا ہو گیا - صدمہ بلکہ ہزارہا آدمی مقتول ہوئے - ناگاہ خیمہ سے رونے کی آوازیں بلند ہوئیں امام علیہ السلام گھبرا کے واپس آئے - دیکھا کہ سب سے چھوٹا لڑکا امام حسین کا جو چہ مہینہ کا تھا شدت تشنگی سے دم توڑ رہا ہے - گود میں لیکر فوج کے سامنے آئے اور فرمایا کہ اے قوم اشقیا اگر تمہارے زعم باطل میں میں گنہگار ہوں تو اس بچے نے کیا خطا کی ہے - یہہ بھی تمہارا مہمان ہے شدت تشنگی سے جان بلب ہے ایک قطرہ پانی اسکو دیدو - اگر تمہارا یہہ گمان ہو کہ اس بہانہ سے میں پانی پی لوں گا تو تم خون اسکو پلا جاؤ - ابھی یہہ سوال ختم نہ ہوا تھا کہ حر ملا نے ایسا تیر مارا کہ بچہ امام کی گون میں شہید ہو گیا اسکو سپرد خاک کر کے امام علیہ السلام پھر میدان میں آئے اور اس غضب کی لڑائی کی اور اس کثرت سے قتل کئے کہ فوج سے الامان کی فریادیں بلند ہوئیں - امام نے تلوار روکی - تلوار کا رکنا تھا کہ چاروں طرف سے فوج نے گھیر لیا جس پر انہی مصیبتیں ہوں اور جس کا دل اسطرح سے چور کیا گیا ہو وہ

میں نہ جانے دینگے عرب کے دستور کے موافق ایک ایک آدمی بڑھنے اور دان شجاعت و مردانگی دینے لگا - تین دن کا بھوکا پیاسا آدمی کثیرالتعداد فوج سے جتنی دیر تک لڑ سکتا ہے ظاہر ہے - چند گھنٹوں میں سارے انصار شہید راہ خدا ہوئے - امام حسین کے لشکر میں اب سوا عزیزوں کے جن میں دو نو عمر بھانجے ایک بھتیجا چودہ برس کا - ایک بیٹا اٹھارہ برس کا - ایک بھائی بتیس برس کا اور چند اور عزیز قریب تھے کوئی باقی نہ رہا امام علیہ السلام نے پھر ارادہ کیا کہ خود میدان کارزار میں جائیں - مگر سارے عزیزوں نے آکر گھیر لیا اور عرض کی کہ ہم اپنی زندگی میں تلوار کی آنچ حضور تک نہ آنے دینگے - امام حسین اس جوش محبت پر رو ڈٹے - ایک ایک عزیز بڑھنے اور فنون جنگ کے جوہر دکھانے لگے - ہاشم کے خاندان کے لڑکے بھی شیر کے بلکے تھے - فوج مخالف کے چھکے چھڑا ڈٹے - سیکڑوں کو قتل کیا - تعداد ہی کیا تھی جو لڑائی کو کچھہ طول ہوتا ایک ایک کر کے سبھوں نے نصرت امام اور احیائے اسلام میں جان شیریں کو قربان کیا - اب امام حسین تنہا رہ گئے وہ جیتی جاگتی تصویریں جو کچھہ دیر پہلے شمع امامت کے گرد پروانہ وار نثار ہو رہی تھیں اب خاک و خون میں غلطاں بے امام حسین کی رخصت

حس و حرکت ریگ گرم پر پڑی ہوئی ہیں - تین دن کی بھوک پیاس آفتاب کی تمازت - گرمی کی شدت نے امام حسین کی ساری قوت توڑ دی تھی - اُسپر انصار کے غم - عزیزوں کے داغ - تنہائی کے صدمے - عورتوں کی آہ و زاری - عترت رسول کی اسیری و بیکسی کے خیال نے امام کے دل کو چور کر دیا تھا - دن بھر لاش خیمے میں لاتے لاتے بدن میں سکت باقی نہ تھی - فوج مخالف سے مبارز طلبی کی آوازیں اُٹھیں امام علیہ السلام عترت رسول سے رخصت ہونے خیمہ میں تشریف لائے - بچوں اور عورتوں کا ہجوم ہوا کوئی پاؤں سے لپٹی ہے کوئی دامن پکڑے رو رہی ہے - جن عورتوں نے اپنے بچے - بھائی - بھتیجے - بھانجے اور شوہر محض اس امید میں نثار کئے ہوں کہ امام پر آنچ نہ آئے

بہتر آدمیوں کے مقابلہ میں جنہیں کثرت تعداد لڑنے کے قابل نہ تھی بیس ہزار آدمی کا قذی دل بلائے ناگہانی اور آفت ارضی سے کم نہ تھا - پھر اُسپر تین دن کی بھوک پیاس گرمی کی شدت - تمازت آفتاب عرب کا چٹیل میدان - اسلحہ کا گرم ہو کر سارے بدن پر جلنا - بچوں کا دھکنا - عورتوں کی آہ و زاری غرض کس کس مصیبت کا ذکر کیا جائے مگر اللہ رے صبر و استقلال امام حسین کے چہرے پر میل بھی نہ تھا - یزید کی بیعت کر کے اپنے کانشنس کو آلودہ اور اسلام کو ذلیل و خوار و تباہ کرنے سے راہ خدا میں قربان ہونے کو افضل خیال کر کے اپنی چھوٹی سی امام حسین کی فوج لیکر دشمنوں کے مقابلہ میں آئے اور ایک آخری حبیبہ خطبہ فصیح و بلیغ فرمایا جس میں حمد خدا اور نعت رسول بیان کی - اسکے بعد چند صحابی رسول کو جو لڑائی میں موجود تھے مخاطب کر کے اپنی نسبی کیفیت اور اسلام کی حالت بیان کی اور نام بنام اُن لوگوں کو پکار کر جنہوں نے خطوط بھیج کر بلایا تھا اور اب لڑنے کے لئے صف بستہ تھے فرمایا کہ میری کیا خطا ہے جو تم نے ہدائت کے لئے بلایا اور اب قتل پر آمادہ ہو - کیا مہمان کی یہی خاطر ہوتی ہے اور ہادی راہ نجات کے ساتھ یہی برتاؤ کیا جاتا ہے؟ لوگوں نے شرم سے گردنیں جھکائیں اور حاکم جابر کے خوف سے صاف جواب نہ دیا - البتہ حر اپنے رسالے سے علیحدہ ہو کر معہ چند ساتھیوں کے حضرت کے لشکر میں آ ملا - حضرت خاموش ہوئے تھے کہ عمر سعد نے لشکر کو گواہ کر کے سب سے پہلے تیر امام کی طرف مارا - اسکے تیر کا چلنا تھا کہ میٹھ کی طرح تیر برسے جنگ لگے بہت سے انصار امام حسین کے شہید ہوئے امام حسین نے یہ دیکھ کر خود میدان کا ارادہ فرمایا مگر بقیہ انصار نے کہا کہ جب تک ہم زندہ ہیں حضور کو میدان کا رزار

(۱) تاریخ طبری - مقتل ابی مصنف نور لعین فی مقتل المسین - ناسخ التواریخ مقتل

عراق - بشار جلد ہائے - مائیتین فی مقتل المسین - شہداء اعظم - ذبیح عظیم - شہداء اسلام -

بلان اسلامی کے کسی دور دراز سرحدی مقام پر مثل اور مسلمانوں کے سکونت اختیار کروں - یا مجھکو یزید کے پاس لیچلو تا کہ میں اُس سے زبانی گفتگو کرلوں - عمر سعد نے یہ شرائط لکھکر ابن زبیاں کے پاس روانہ کئے اور حکم کا طالب ہوا - اُسے اسمیں سے ایک شرط بھی قبول نہ کی اور شمر کو معہ فوج کثیر کے روانہ کیا کہ عمر سعد کی معیت میں امام حسین سے یا تو یزید کی بیعت حاصل کرے یا اُنکا سر لائے - نویں محرم کی شام کو امام حسین کا آخری اسکی اطلاع امام حسین کو کی گئی - امام نے ایک شب کی مہلت چاہی - مہلت جب مل گئی تو نماز مغرب کے بعد حضرت نے اپنے اہوان و انصار سے فرمایا کہ میں نے ارادہ کر لیا ہے کہ یزید کی بیعت کر کے اسلام کو تباہ نہ ہونے دوں بلکہ اپنا سر راہ خدا میں کٹاؤں - تم لوگوں سے میں نے اپنی بیعت اُٹھالی - تمکو اختیار ہے کہ پردہ شب میں جدھر چاہو چلے جاؤ - دشمن تم سے معترض نہ ہونگے - کیونکہ اُنکو میرے سر سے غرض ہے - بعض چلے گئے بعضوں نے عرض کی کہ جب تک جان میں جان ہے ہم نواسہ رسول و جگر گوشہ بقول کے قدموں سے جدا نہ ہونگے -

امام حسین کے ہمراہیوں میں کل ۱۰ بیسیس سوار اور چالیس امام حسین اور یزید کے افواج کی تعداد ہاتھ پاؤں میں رعشہ تھا - بعض ایسے کبیر السن تھے کہ پلکیں جھک گئی تھیں اور رومال سے ابروؤں کو باندھتے تھے تو اُنکھہ کام کرتی تھی - کچھ کم سن لڑکے تھے - دو چار نس آدمی ایسے بھی تھے جو لڑنے کے قابل تھے - لشکر یزید کی تعداد میں اختلاف ہے بعض بیس ہزار بعض بائیس ہزار بعض پچاس ہزار بعض دو لاکھ سے نو لاکھ تک بہان کرتے ہیں مگر جمہور مورخین اسلام کا قول ہے کہ بیس ۱ ہزار سے کم اور پچاس ہزار سے زیادہ نہ تھا -

بھیجا تھا اب کس منہ سے اُنکے مخالف بن کر جائیں انکار کر دیا بالآخر ایک شخص سے پیغام بری کے لئے مل گیا - اُس کی معرفت عمر سعد نے امام علیہ السلام سے آنیکی وجہ دریافت کرائی امام علیہ السلام نے فرمایا کہ اہالیان کوفہ نے کثرت سے خطوط اور قاصد بھیجے اور ہدایت و تلقین ایمان کے مجھ سے خواستگار ہوئے - میں نے اُن کی دعوت قبول کی - اب معلوم ہوا کہ وہ اپنے ارادے اور قول سے پھر گئے اِس لئے واپس جانا چاہتا ہوں - عمر سعد نے اس کی اطلاع ابن زیاد سے کی - اُس نے حکم بھیجا کہ امام حسین سے یزید کی بیعت حاصل کرو اور اتنا تنگ و پریشان کرو کہ سوا بیعت کرنے کے کوئی چارہ کار اُن کو نہ رہے - امام حسین پر ^۱ اور اسی وقت سے اُن پر پانی بند کر دو - چنانچہ قسط اب محکم کی ساتویں کو عمر سعد نے اس حکم کی تعمیل میں فرات پر آٹھ ہزار آدمیوں کا پہرہ دیتھا دیا کہ رسول کے فواسے کو ایک قطرہ پانی نہ ملے - اُٹھو میں محرم کو امام حسین سے عمر سعد نے پھر دریافت کیا کہ آپ نے اہل کوفہ کی عہد شکنی اور بیوفائی ملاحظہ فرمائی - اب کیا ارادہ ہے ؟

امام عالی مقام نے فرمایا خان عنا فی المہ انخذ عنالہ - یعنی جس نے خدا کے کاموں میں ہمارے ساتھ مکر کیا تو ہم اُسکے مکر ہی پر اعتبار کریں گے کیونکہ وہ بظاہر خدا کا طالب ہے - عمر سعد نے عرض کی کہ اب جو معاملات ہونے والے ہیں وہ ظاہر ہیں - آپ کیا تجویز فرماتے ہیں ؟ امام علیہ السلام نے بیعت کرنے سے انکار کیا اور فرمایا کہ تین شرطوں میں سے کوئی شرط قبول کرو - یا تو مجھ کو چھوڑ دو تا کہ میں واپس جاؤں اور مکہ خواہ مدینہ میں قیام کروں - یا اسکی اجازت دو کہ

(۱) مقتل ابی مخنف، روضة الشهداء - تاریخ کامل وغیرہ -

(۲) ابن زیاد کے حکم کے الفاظ یہ ہیں کہ میں نے پانی یہود و نصاریٰ پر حلال کیا اور حسین اور اُن کے اہل بیت اور اُن کے اصحاب پر حرام کیا - لشکریوں نے پانی بند کر دیا اور پکار پکار کہا کہ یہ لہریں مارتا ہوا خنک پانی گئے - سو - بھیڑے تمام جانوران صحرائی کے لئے حلال ہے لیکن حسین اور اُن کے ہمراہیوں کے لئے حرام ہے - ملاحظہ ہو تاریخ طبری - تذکرہ خواص الامۃ مصنف علامہ ابن جرزی -

مقرر کر کے شام روانہ کیا - اُسے حضرت مسلم اور اُنکے دو بچوں کو نہایت بے رحمی اور سنگدلی سے قتل کرادیا اور ہانی کو جسکے یہاں حضرت مسلم ٹھہرے ہوئے تھے سولی دلوادی - شہر کی فاکہ بندی کر کے امام حسین علیہ السلام کی تلاش میں فوجیں روانہ کیں - امام حسین کو راستہ میں حضرت مسلم کی شہادت کا حال معلوم ہوا - اور حر سے جس کو ایک ہزار سواروں کا سردار بنا کر ابن زبیا نے روانہ کیا تھا ملاقات ہوئی ۔ اُس نے امام حسین کو آگے بڑھنے سے روکنا چاہا - امام کو غصہ آگیا تھوڑی سی دُور قدم کے بعد معاملہ فرو ہوا - عرب کی گرمی - تمازت آفتاب - شدت تشنگی اور تکان سفر سے حر کا رسالہ جاں بلب ہو رہا تھا - کوسوں پانی کی جھلک بھی نہیں دکھائی دیتی تھی - امام حسین نے اپنی کریم النفسی سے سارے رسالہ کو معہ اسوار و خدام و مرکب اپنے ساتھ لے پانی سے سیراب کیا - کچھ دیر کے بعد حر امام علیہ السلام کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوا اور ابن زبیا اور یزید کے ارادے سے مطلع کر کے عرض کی کہ کسی غیر معروف راستہ سے حضور روانہ ہو جائیں تو بہتر ہے - امام حسین اُسی وقت روانہ ہو گئے - حر بھی ہمراہ ہوا - شب کو راستہ میں قیام فرمایا دوسرے دن ایک مقام پر پہونچے - دریافت سے معلوم ہوا کہ اس مقام کا نام قادسیہ ہے - ابھی کچھ دیر نہ گزری تھی کہ شامیوں کے لشکر نے جو امام علیہ السلام کے تلاش میں گھوم رہا تھا امام حسین علیہ السلام کو چاروں طرف سے گھیر لیا اور راستہ بند کر دیا - حر بھی اُسی لشکر کے ساتھ ہو گیا - دو نوں لشکر ایک دوسرے سے فاصلہ پر اُترے - سردار لشکر عمر سعد نے امام کی خدمت میں پیغام لیجانے کے لئے صدمہ اکوفیوں سے یکے بادیگرے کہا مگر سبہوں نے یہہ کہہ کر کہ ہم نے امام علیہ السلام کو کوفہ تشریف لانے کے لئے خط

(۱) ناسخ النواہین - صفحہ ۲۱۹ - تاریخ طبری

(۲) مقتل ابی مہنف روضۃ الشہداء - تاریخ کامل وغیرہ -

جگر گوشہ رسول سے بیعت طلب کرے - امام حسین نے بیعت کرنے سے انکار کیا - عامل مدینہ نے سختی سے کام لینا امرار بیعت سے چاہا - امام حسین کے رفقاء سینہ سپر ہونے کو طیار ہوئے - معاملہ ملتوی کیا گیا - امام حسین مکان واپس آئے اور دوسرے دن مدینہ سے مکہ تشریف لے گئے - یہاں بھی کوفیوں کے خطوط اور قاصدوں کا سلسلہ جاری رہا جب کثرت سے قاصد اور خطوط آئے تو امام حسین نے ہدایت انام کر اپنا فرض سمجھ کر کوفہ جانیکا ارادہ کیا - مگر کوفیوں نے حضرت علی اور امام حسن کے ساتھ کچھ ایسا سلوک کیا تھا کہ امام حسین کو اُنکے اقوال و افعال پر اعتماد نہ تھا - اس لئے روانگی سے پہلے اپنے چچازاد بھائی حضرت مسلم بن عقیل کو روانہ کیا تاکہ کوفہ کی صحیح حالت سے مطلع کریں - ابن زبیا نے یہہ دیکھ کر کہ امام حسین بیعت سے بچنا چاہتے ہیں اور مکہ کی سکونت اختیار کی ہے ۳۰ تیس آدمیوں کو حاجیوں کے بھیس میں بھیجا کہ موقع پا کر امام حسین کو قتل کر دیں - امام حسین کو اسکی اطلاع ہو گئی - ۳۱ خانہ کعبہ کی حرمت و عزت قائم رکھنے کے لئے امام حسین حج کو عمرہ سے بدل کر معہ اعزا و اقربا و احبا اور اہل و عیال کوفہ کے قصد سے روانہ ہوئے - راستہ میں جو شخص ہو چھتا تھا کہ حج کے زمانے میں حضور کہاں تشریف لئے جا رہے ہیں آپ فرماتے تھے کہ راہ خدا میں شہید ہونے جا رہا ہوں - اُدھر یزید کو مسلم کے آنے اور کوفیوں کے ارادت اور خلوص ظاہر کرنے اور امام حسین کے قصد تشریف آوری کا حال معلوم ہوا - فوراً عبداللہ ابن زبیا کو حاکم

(۱) تاریخ اعمش کوفی - مطبوعہ دہلی - صفحہ ۳۳۸ - تاریخ طبری -

تفصیلی حالات اور یزید کے کیروئڈر کے لئے ملاحظہ ہو - تاریخ اعمش سنہ ۲۹۳-۲۹۴
جذب القلوب محدث دہلی - مردج الذهب - ابوالاداء جوسیں واقعہ حرہ و نیز دیگر حالات
تفصیل کے ساتھ درج ہیں -

(۲) تہج البلاغہ - مرد و چمن - روضۃ الشہدا -

(۳) و (۴) نایاب المودت - مصنفہ شیخ الاسلام - قسطنطنیہ - امام قندوزی - تاریخ
اعمش کوفی - مقتل الی مصنف -

امیر معاویہ کے انتقال کے بعد زمام حکومت یزید کے ہاتھ میں آئے۔ تو معلوم ہوا کہ باپ نے یہ وصیت کی ہے کہ یزید کی سلطنت کو تین آدمیوں سے خوف ہے یزید کا کیریئر ایک امام حسین دوسرے عبداللہ ابن عمر تیسرے عبداللہ ابن زبیر۔ باپ کی زندگی ہی میں عشق بازی۔ لہو و لعب اور سیر و شکار کی محکویت ایسی بڑے گٹی تھی کہ باپ بستر مرگ پر تھے اور صاحبزادے تلاش شکار میں جنگلوں کی خاک چھانتے پھرتے تھے۔ انتقال کی خبر سنکر آئے اور تخت خلافت پر جلوہ افروز ہوئے۔ چند ہی دنوں میں اگر ”پدر نتواند پسر تمام کند“ کی مثل کو صادق کرد کھایا۔ لہو و لعب۔ رقص و سرود۔ بادۂ خواری۔ شاہد پرستی اور فسق و فجور غرض جملہ ’مکرمات و منہیات شرعیہ کو علانیہ طور پر اپنے لئے جائز کر لیا۔ اسلام و شریعت خواب فراموش ہوئے۔

کوفہ کے باشندوں نے امیر معاویہ کی زندگی ہی میں بے دینی و کفر و الحاد کا دورہ دیکھ کر شمع دودمان رسول و جگر گوشہ بتول کو خطوط بھیجے تھے کہ احمیائے اسلام اہالیان کوفہ کی دعوت اور ہدایت انام کے لئے تشریف لائے۔ امام حسین نے کچھ جواب نہ دیا تھا۔ اب یزید کے عہد سلطنت میں خطوط کی تعداد اور اہالیان کوفہ کا اصرار دن بدن بڑھتا گیا۔ یزید کو بھی اسکی خبر تھی کہ لوگ امام حسین کی طرف رجوع کر رہے ہیں۔ جلوس کے سال اول ہی میں عامل مدینہ کے نام پر روانہ بھیجا کہ امام حسین سے ہر امکانی ذرائع سے کوشش کر کے بیعت حاصل کرے۔ عامل مدینہ نے امام حسین کو بلوا بھیجا اور یزید کا حکم نامہ سنایا۔ زمانہ کے انقلاب اور اسلام کی بد نصیبی کے سوا اور کیا کہا جائے کہ جسکے یہہ افعال ہوں وہ خلیفۃ المسلمین اور امیر المومنین ہونے کا دعویٰ کرے اور

(۱) صواعق معرکہ - مطبوعہ مصر - صفحہ ۱۳۲ - تاریخ الخلفاء مجتہائی دہلی -

صفحہ ۱۳۲ - تذکرۃ خواص الامم - صفحہ ۳۲۵ - قامی وغیرہ -

کی مار چری بلا ہے - بعض نے ذکر کر بیعت کی بعض نے لالچ سے
سرنیاز ہم کیا بعض ایسے بھی تھے جو قال گئے مگر کثرت تعداد ایسی
تھی جس نے بیعت کی -

امام حسین اور بیعت امام حسن کے چھوٹے بھائی حسین جو رسول
خدا کی رحلت سے اسوقت تک یہ دیکھتے آئے تھے

کہ آل محمد نے قرآن و حدیث سے - پند و نصائح سے - خطبہ و
مواعظ سے - سکوت و خاموشی سے - جنگ و جدل سے - صلح و آشتی سے
غرض ہر امکانی ذریعہ سے اسلام کے بقا کی کوشش کی مگر
دشمنان خدا و رسول نے اسلام کی تخریب اور حامیان اسلام کے
تباہی کا کوئی دقیقہ اٹھانہیں رکھا بڑے بھائی کی زندگی ہی
میں بنی اُمیہ کی صلح میں شریک نہ تھے اور امیر معاویہ کے عملی
کوششوں کو جنکا صریح نتیجہ عترت رسول کی قوتوں کا ضعیف
کرنا اور اسلام کو ہمیشہ کے لئے نیست و نابود کرنا تھا دیکھ کر
اکثر فرمایا کرتے تھے کہ میں خدا کی راہ میں عنقریب قتل کیا جاؤنگا
اور میں ناحق بات کی پیروی نہ کروں گا - امام حسن کی شہادت
کے بعد جب امام حسین خلیفہ اور امام وقت ہوئے تو امیر معاویہ کو
زیادہ اندیشہ انکی طرف سے ہوا - اور انتہائی کوشش کی کہ یزید
کی بیعت کریں مگر ناکامیاب رہے - امام حسین نے ایک جانب تو یہ
دیکھا کہ بنی اُمیہ جنکو دنیوی سلطنت اور قوت حاصل ہو چکی تھی
اور بظاہر ریاست روحانی پر بھی مسلط ہو چکے تھے اسلام کو تباہ
و برباد کرنے کی فکر میں ہیں - دوسری جانب اُنکو بنی اُمیہ کے طرز
عمل سے اسباب کا یقین ہو چکا تھا کہ خواہ وہ یزید کی بیعت
کریں یا نہ کریں بنی اُمیہ اپنی دیرینہ عداوت سے اور اُنکو حامی
اسلام سمجھ کر آل محمد کے نیست نابود کرنے میں انتہائی کوشش کریں گے -
اور اگر یہی حالت کچھ دن رہی تو بنی ہاشم تو تباہ ہو ہی
جاؤینگے مگر اسلام بھی باقی نہ رہے گا - ان امور کو پیش نگاہ
رکھ کر اس حامی دین نبی اور حامل علوم لدنی نے مصمم ارادہ کر
لیا کہ حمات اسلام میں جان شیریں کا گنوانا ذلت و بے بسی کی
زندگی سے افضل ہے -

امیہ کے پر ہوتے امیر معاویہ نے جو اسوقت برسر حکومت تھے طرح طرح کے الزام رکھ کر حضرت علی کے مقابلے میں نبرد آزمائی کی - بہتر لڑائیاں جناب امیر علیہ السلام کو لڑنی پڑیں - یکہ ناز میدان شجاعت کے مقابلے میں فتح پانا ذرا مشکل تھا ہر لڑائی میں بعنایت ایزدی رايات اسلام مظفر و منصور رہے - جب دیکھا کہ اسے جنگ و جدل میں مقابلہ کرنا مشکل ہے تو قتل و غارت گری اور مکاری و حیلہ سازی سے کام لیا - جب اسمیں بھی حضرت علی کے اعوان و انصار کی وجہ سے پوری کامیابی نہ ہوئی تو کچھ ایسی صورت بہم پہونچائی کہ مسجد کوفہ میں صبح کے وقت جبکہ حضرت فریضہ خدا! ادا کر رہے تھے شہید کر دئے گئے - حضرت علی کی شہادت سے اگر چہ بنی امیہ کے حصول اغراض کے راستہ کسب قدر صاف ہو گئے اور موجودہ خوف میں کمی ہو گئی مگر پورا اطمینان پھر بھی نہ حاصل ہوا - اسلئے کہ حضرت علی کے بعد اُنکے بڑے بیٹے حضرت حسن خلیفہ وقت امام حسن اور ہوئے - آل محمد کے مقابلہ میں امیر معاویہ کو خلیفہ وقت تسلیم کرنے کے لئے عام دنیاے اسلام تیار نہ تھی اور نہ روحانیت و تقدس - جلالت و جاہت جو عترت رسول کے لئے مخصوص تھی اور جسکا اثر ہر قلب انسانی پر ہوتا تھا امیر معاویہ کو حاصل تھی - اُدھر یہ کہ زوریاں اُدھر حرص و ہوا کا تقاضہ کہ بادشاہت پر خلافت کا ملمع چڑھا کر اسلامی دنیا کے سردار بنئے - تجربہ سے یہہ معلوم ہو چکا تھا کہ روحانیت استغناء - ترک دنیا - شجاعت اور جنگ و جدل سے عترت رسول کا مقابلہ کرنا محال ہے اب جو ذریعہ باقی تھا وہ صلح و آشتی کا تھا - امیر معاویہ کے سے مدبر آدمی کو اس سے کب انکار ہو سکتا تھا - فوراً امام حسن سے صلح پر آمادہ ہو گئے - امام حسن رسول مقبول کی رحلت سے اسوقت تک صبر و سکوت کے ساتھ دیکھتے آئے تھے کہ اسلام کی روحانیت دینوی شان و شوکت میں جذب

(۱) تاریخ ملبری - روضۃ الصفا - تاریخ خمیس - ابو الفدا وغیرہ -

(۲) تاریخ تمدن الاسلامی - معاویہ ص ۵۰ -

کی قوت سے توڑتے تھے اور پانی میں بھگو دیتے تھے جب پھول جاتی تھی تو نوش فرماتے تھے - مسلمانوں کے جان و مال کے تحفظ کا یہہ خیال تھا کہ ایک دفعہ بیت المال کا حساب جانچ رہے تھے شب کا وقت تھا ابن عباس ملنے کے لئے آئے - آپ نے چراغ گل کر دیا اور باتیں کرنے لگے - ابن عباس نے چراغ گل کرنے کا سبب پوچھا - آپ نے فرمایا کہ تم مجھ سے ملنے آئے ہو اور یہہ چراغ بیت المال کے صرف سے جلتا ہے - مسلمانوں کے مال کو اپنے ذات پر صرف نہیں کر سکتا - جو ایسا تارک دنیا - مستغنی المزاج اور محکط ہو اُسکے عہد میں زرافشاہیاں اور بیجا رعائتیں کہاں - وہاں تو شریعت و طریقت کے خزانے اور انعامات اخروی کے نوت لٹا کرتے تھے - آمدنی کے ابواب بند ہوئے - اسلام اپنی اصلی حالت کی طرف عود کرنے لگا - عدل و انصاف کا دور ہوا - لوگوں کی نگاہوں میں رسول مقبول کا زمانہ پھرنے لگا - بدر و احد کے بھولے ہوئے قصے یاد آئے - اسلام و کفر کی لڑائیوں کے چرچے پھیلے - وہ لوگ جو بیس برس تک رسول اللہ کو ایذا تیں پہنچانے رہے ظلم و جور اور جنگ و جدل سے آرام سے بیٹھنے نہ دیا چاہتے تھے کہ پھر وہی ہنگامہ پیدا ہو جائے - خلافت اولیٰ میں عرب کے بعض قبائل کو برانگیختہ کر چکے تھے - مگر اپنی کم مائیگی سے مجبور ہو کر خاموش ہو گئے تھے - خلافت ثانیہ میں اپنی حالت درست کرتے اور قوت بڑھاتے رہے خلافت ثالثہ میں اپنے اقتدار اور قوت کا اندازہ کر کے کچھ ایسے حرکات کئے کہ اسلامی دنیا میں ہیجان پیدا ہو گیا - اب خلافت رابعہ میں کھلم کھلا مخالفت پر آمادہ ہو گئے اور عہد بھانے دھوندھ کے پیدا کئے جفا کے لئے - دنیاوی اقتدار - سرمایہ - قوت - دولت اور حکومت سب کچھ قبضہ میں تھا - کمی تھی تو صرف اتنی کہ روحانی ریاست حاصل نہ تھی حضرت عثمان کے زمانہ میں اسکا بھی مزہ چکھ چکے تھے - اسی کا اشتیاق بے چین کئے ہوئے تھا -

(۱) ارجع المطالب عبید اللہ امرتسری - سراج المبین جلد دوم -

(۲) ارجع المطالب تاریخ انبیاء جلد ثالث مصنفہ مولوی ذبیح احمد دیوبند -

میں اپنے آپ سے باہر ہو گئے - اسلام کی روحانیت سیاسی بھول بھلیاں میں غائب ہو گئی - زہد و خدا پرستی دنیوی عیش و عشرت میں جذب ہوئی - قوت و غلبہ کے زور پر وہ افعال کرنیلکے جس سے دنیائے اسلام میں بیچینی پیدا ہو - قیامت تو یہہ ہے کہ افعال اُنکے ہوتے تھے اور الزام حضرت عثمان پر لگتا تھا -

جب اُنکے ظلم و جور حد سے گذرے اور لوگوں میں قوت برداشت باقی نہ رہی تو ایک فرقہ نے ^۱ حضرت عثمان کو قتل کر دیا اور اس طرح پر بنی اُمیہ کے مظالم کا کفارہ خلیفہ وقت نے اپنی جان شیریں سے ادا کیا -

حضرت عثمان کے بعد حضرت علی کو خلافت ظاہری حاصل ہوئی - یہہ حقیقی کریم النفس اور مستغنی المزاج بنی اُمیہ بزرگ جو بقائے اسلام کو مد نظر رکھ کر اپنے کمال استغناء اور عالی ہمتی سے اسلام کی ان تغیر پذیر حالتوں کو اس وقت تک دیکھا کئے اور کچھ نہ بولے کیونکہ ممکن تھا کہ اپنے عہد خلافت میں بھی خاموش رہتے - اسلام میں جر کمزوری پیدا ہو گئی تھی اُس کے دفع کرنیکی کوشش کی - اپنے طرز عمل سے یہہ ثابت کر دیا کہ ^۲ ریاست روحانی اور سلطنت دنیوی میں میں زمین و آسمان کا فرق ہے -

باوجود اسکے کہ خلیفہ وقت تھے اور محاصل و خراج سب کچھ ہاتھ میں تھا مگر ایک حبیہ لینا گوارہ نہیں کیا - دن بھر کی گڑھی مشقت سے جو حاصل ہوتا اگر راستہ میں کسی نے دست سوال بلند کیا تو اُسکو دیدیا اور خود فاقہ سے پڑ رہے - اگر کوئی سائل نہ ملا تو اُسی سے بسر اوقات کی - خود فرماتے تھے کہ دنیا کو تین بار طلاق دے چکا ہوں - جو کی سوکھی روٹی جسکو باوجود اس قوت کے کہ در خیبر جسکو چالیس آدمی ملکر بند کرتے اور کھولتے تھے تنہا ^۳ اکھیڑا تھا زانو سے دبا کر ہاتھ

(۱) روضة الصفا جلد دوم - طبری جلد ۲ ابوالفدا -

(۲) و (۳) تاریخ الخلفاء مطبوعہ مصر - صفحہ ۳۳۰ - سیرت ابن مسلم - صفحہ ۱۸۷ -

معارج النبوة ۱۲۳ - ابوالفدا ۳۳۳ - تاریخ طبری ۲۳۰ - فواتم مبینی -

سب کچھ ہاتھ آئی - ابھی ترقی کے منزل مقصود تک نہ پہنچے تھے کہ حضرت عمر نے انتقال فرمایا -

حضرت عمر کے بعد حضرت عثمان خلیفہ ہوئے - یہہ نہایت خلافتِ ثالثہ اور خوش مزاج - صاف روش اور سختی بزرگ تھے - بنی امیہ پیری و اضعف کی وجہ سے خلافت کا کام پورے طور

پر انجام نہیں دے سکتے تھے - زیادہ وقت عبادت الہی میں صرف کرتے تھے - اُن کے وقت میں بنی امیہ کی ترقی کی حد نہ رہی - خلافت اسلامی کے تمام اختیارات^۱ مثل بیت المال - لشکر - سفارت - دیوان - صدقات - قضاء - زکوٰۃ وغیرہ وغیرہ کے بنی امیہ کے سپرد ہوئے - حضرت عثمان کی عزیز نوازی اور قبیلہ پروری نے بنی امیہ کو آسمان عروج و اقتدار پر پہنچایا - والیان ملک تھے تو بنی امیہ -^۲ خطیب تھے تو بنی امیہ - واعظ تھے تو بنی امیہ خازن بیت المال تھے تو بنی امیہ - سپہ سالار لشکر تھے تو بنی امیہ وزیر معتمد علیہ سلطنت تھے تو بنی امیہ - غرض ملک میں جس طرف نظر اُٹھتی تھی بنی امیہ ہی بنی امیہ دکھائی دیتے تھے - جب عہدے باقی نہ رہے تو جاگیریں - گرانمایہ خلعت - معافیاں^۳ اور ملکوں کے خراج عطا کئے گئے - بنی امیہ کو جنپر حضرت عثمان کے اتنے احسانات تھے اور جن سے امید کی جاتی تھی کہ اسلام کو ترقی دینگے اور اُنکی خلافت کو کامیاب بنائینگے اب جو قوت حاصل ہوئی تو طرح طرح کی بے عنوانیاں^۴ کر نیلگے - اُن کے دلوں میں وہ ولولے جو فتح مکہ کے وقت دب گئے تھے ابھر آئے - اسلام سے اُنکو^۵ کوئی واسطہ نہ تھا - دیہوی سلطنت چاہتے تھے وہ اب حاصل ہو گئی تھی - دولت کے نشہ اور قوت کے غرور

(۱) اسپرٹ آف اسلام - صفحہ ۴۳۷ -

(۲) تاریخ طبری جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۴۳۵ - مدارج النبوة - صفحہ ۴۶۳ -

(۳) ابوالفدا - صفحہ ۳۳۵ - انسان العیون فی سیرۃ الامین والامور - مصنفہ ملا علی برہان الدین شافعی -

(۴) ابوالفدا ۴۰۷- الفاروق صفحہ ۱۳۹ جلد ۲ - المعاضرات راغب اصفہانی -

کتاب ملک الدغل مطبوعہ لندن مصنفہ علامہ شہر سٹانی صفحہ ۲۲ -

(۵) د (۶) انسان العیون - ابوالفدا - تاریخ طبری - مدارج النبوة -

بنی ہاشم کی قناعت پسند - شجاع اور مستغنی طبیعتوں سے اسکا اطمینان تھا کہ کوئی پوشیدہ مخالفت یا خداعت نکرینگے - اور نہ اُنکی مقدس ذاتوں سے کوئی اخلاقی کمزوری حصول حق کیلئے ظاہر ہوگی جس سے اُنکی خلافت یا اسلام کو نقصان پہنچے - مگر بنی اُمیہ سے کسی قسم کا اطمینان نہ تھا - ابوسفیان نے انتظام شوریٰ کے خلاف رائے بھی دی تھی اور حضرت عمر خود بھی اسلام قبول کرنے سے پہلے عرصہ تک اُنکی صحبت میں رہ چکے تھے - اسلئے بخوبی جانتے تھے کہ عہد شکنی - بُت پرستی اور حب جاہ و سلطنت اُنکی سرشت میں ہے اگرچہ اسلام کی مخالفت اور مسلسل جنگ و قتال نے بنی اُمیہ کی حیثیت بگاڑ دی ہے مگر اُنکی تعداد و شمار میں کوئی خاص فرق نہیں آیا - خلافت اولیٰ میں بہت سے قبیلوں کو مخالف کرچکے ہیں - مکہ - یمن - حضرموت وغیرہ میں شورش پھیلی ہوئی ہے - یہ لوگ مدینہ کے رہنے والے ہیں - اگر ایسی حالت میں ان لوگوں نے مخالفت کی تو تختگاہ خلافت کے انتظامی امور میں بدنظمی واقع ہوگی - اور تمام بلاد اسلامی میں خرابی پیدا ہو جائیگی -

اسلام - بنیہ اسلام - عترت رسول اور بنی ہاشم سے جو محبت حضرت عمر کو تھی وہ محتاج بیان نہیں - دور اندیشی اور سیاسی مصالح نے اس پر مجبور کیا کہ بنی اُمیہ کی دلجوئی اور خاطر داری کریں - چنانچہ مہم شام کے وقت ابو سفیان کے بڑے بیٹے یزید کو جو نہ کچھ شجاع تھا اور نہ مدبر - اور جس پر آنحضرت ﷺ علیہ السلام لعنت کرچکے تھے فوج کثیر کے ساتھ دمشق روانہ کیا اور بعد فتح شام کا صوبہ دار مقرر کیا - بنی اُمیہ کے عروج و اقتدار کا یہہ پہلا زینہ تھا - یزید کے مرزیکے بعد اُن کے بھائی معاویہ کو حضرت عمر نے حکومت شام پر مامور فرمایا - یہہ نہایت مدبر و ہوشیار آدمی تھے - ان کی کوشش سے بنی اُمیہ کی بگڑتی حالت پھر سنور گئی - قوت - حکومت - ثروت

(۱) تلویخ ابوالفداء - تاریخ کامل -

(۲) ملاحظہ ہو حدیث لعن اللہ الراكب والسائق والقاتل -

کہ مرتے مرتے اپنی اولاد سے اُنکی حمایت کی وصیت کر گئے - بظاہر ایمان لانے کی مصلحت یہ تھی کہ دوست بنکر اسلام کو تباہ کریں۔ ابوسفیان کی حالت رسول اللہ کی حیات میں سر اُٹھانے کی ہمت نہ رکھتا۔ رسول کے بعد تھی - رحلت رسول کے بعد جب موقع ملا تکڑپ اسلام کا کوئی دقیقہ اُٹھا نہ رکھا۔ رسول اللہ کی زندگی میں مسلمان یہ سمجھتے تھے - کہ حضرت علی جنکو رسول اللہ اپنی زندگی میں غدیر خم کے موقع ' پر اپنا جانشین مقرر کر چکے ہیں خلیفہ منصوص من اللہ ہونگے - مگر بعد رحلت رسول امت نے اصول شوری اختیار کیا - (ابوسفیان اس اصول کے خلاف تھے) اور حضرت ابوبکرؓ کو خلیفہ منتخب کر لیا - ابوسفیان نے اس موقع کو اپنے ذاتی اغراض کے حصول کا عمدہ ذریعہ خیال کر کے حضرت علیؓ کو اپنے حق کیلئے جنگ کرنیکا مشورہ دیا اور ہر طرح کی مدد دینے کا وعدہ کیا - حضرت علیؓ اگرچہ مظلوم اور زخم رسیدہ تھے - مگر اُنکی پوشیدہ نیت - طمع اور نفسانیت سے بھی واقف تھے - اور سمجھتے تھے کہ یہہ خلافت انہی میں بنی امیہ کی حالت اس آرز میں اسلام کو شکار بنانا اور خون سلطنت دنیوی حاصل کرنا چاہتے ہیں - مناسب وقت جواب دیکر ٹال دیا - جب ادھر سے نا امید ہوئی - تو قبائل عرب میں شورش پیدا کرنیکی کوشش کی - اور مکہ و یمن میں بکدے کامیاب بھی ہوئے - مخالفت کچھ زیادہ بڑھ چلی تھی کہ حضرت ابوبکرؓ نے انتقال فرمایا -

خلافت ثانیہ اور بنی امیہ جب حضرت عمر خلیفہ ہوئے تو اُنہوں نے اپنی غیر معمولی فطانت اور دانشمندی سے اس کا اندازہ کر لیا کہ اُنکی خلافت کو جسقدر بنی ہاشم کی حق داری سے خوف ہے اُس سے زیادہ بنی امیہ کی عیاری اور مکاری سے اندیشہ ہے -

(۱) ملاحظہ ہو نسائی - ترمذی - صواعق مہرقہ - فصول المہمۃ ابن حبان مالکی - سیف مسلول ثناء اللہ نزل الابرار مرزا محمد معتمد خاں - اسنی المطالب شمس الدین محمد حبزری - ار حج المطالب عبداللہ امرتسری - تذکرۃ الحفاظ علامہ ذہبی - مرقات شوح مشکوٰۃ ملا علی مارے لمعات شیخ عبدالحق محدث دہلوی - نراقض الروافض مرزا معذوم وغیرہم -

(۲) ابوالفدا - صفحہ ۳۷۵ -

کرتی تھی اور کفار عرب کا لشکر 'اعلیٰ الہبل' ۱ 'اعلیٰ الہبل' کا شور مچانا تھا باوجود اسکے کہ اُن لڑائیوں میں ابوسفیان کو برابر شکستیں ہوتیں لیکن پھر بھی ایذا رسانی سے باز نہ آئے - اور اشاعت اسلام میں برابر رخنے اندازیاں کرتے رہے مگر -

فانوس بن کے خود ہی حفاظت ہوا کرے
وہ شمع گل ہو کیوں جسے روشن خدا کرے

رسول مقبول تمام شدائد و مصائب اور جو رومظالم مسرت کے ساتھ جھیلنے اور سرگرمی کے ساتھ تبلیغ میں مصروف رہے - اسلام کی خوبیاں اور قرآن مجید کی معجز نمائیاں ایسی نہ تھیں کہ لوگوں کے قلوب کو متاثر نہ کرتیں - لوگ جوق جوق اسلام کی طرف آنے لگے اور چند ہی دنوں میں مسلمانوں کی اچھی خاصی جماعت ہو گئی - دس ہزار مسلمانوں کی جماعت

تیم مکہ لیکر حضور سرور کائنات فتح مکہ کے لئے روانہ ہوئے - ابوسفیان نے جب یہ دیکھا کہ مسلمانوں سے مقابلہ کرنا ناممکن ہے تو کلمہ ۲ پڑھ کر مسلمان بن گئے - کفار عرب نے بھی اپنے سردار کی پیروی کی اور اس طرح پر مشرکین کی مخالفت اسلام کے مقابلہ میں ظاہری طور پر دب گئی - مگر باطناً ابوسفیان کو ہمیشہ اسکی فکر رہی کہ اسلام کو تباہ و تاراج کر کے سلطنت دیہوی حاصل کریں - متواتر شکستوں نے ابوسفیان کے گروہ کو منتشر کر دیا تھا - بہت سے ساتھی ایمان لائے تھے - سرمایہ بھی تباہ ہو چکا تھا اسلئے مصلحتاً خاموش ہو کر مال غنیمت کی ایندہ امیدوں پر مسلمانوں کے گروہ میں شامل ہو گئے تھے - بت پرستی ۳ اور سلطنت دیہوی کی ہوس ان کے سرشت میں تھی - لات و ہبل کا یہ خیال تھا

(۱) ابر الفدا جلد ۱ صفحہ ۸۱۲ -

(۲) تاریخ التمدن الاسلامی جز اول صفحہ ۳۱ مغازی الصارفة مطبوعة لکھنؤ صفحہ

۳۳ - استیعاب مصنفہ الامام عبدالبر امد الغایة فی معرفۃ الصحابة مصنفہ ابن

ایثر - اصابہ فی تمیز الصحابة مصنفہ ابن حجر - تاریخ الشافا مصنفہ جلال الدین

سیوطی - تاریخ طبری - جلد ۲ صفحہ ۴۲۲ - ابر الفدا - صفحہ ۳۳۲ - معارج النبوة جلد

۲ - صفحہ ۵۵۹ - روضۃ الصفا جلد ۲ -

(۳) تاریخ خمیس - صفحہ ۹۷ - جلد درئم - مطبوعہ مصر -

بیٹے حرب عبدالمطلب^۱ اور ابو طالب کی اِہانت و نقصان رسانی کی کوشش میں برابر رہے مگر بنی ہاشم نے اپنی علو مرتبت اور مذہبی سرداری کیوجہ سے کبھی اسکا خیال نہیں کیا۔ بنی ہاشم کی قوت اور اقتدار کے سانہ بنی امیہ کی جہیت اور دشمنی بھی ترقی کرتی گئی۔

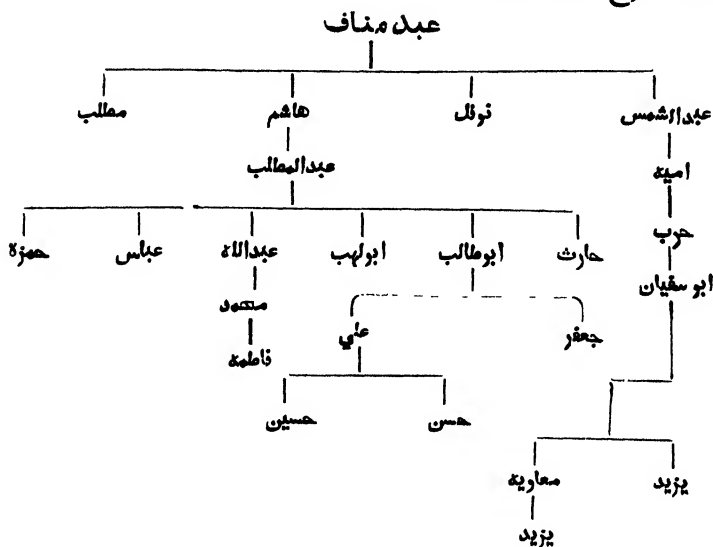
اُسی زمانہ میں عرب کے تیرہ و تار وادیوں میں آفتاب رسالت طلوع ہوا۔ دعوت اسلام کی نوبت بجی۔ بت پرستی کی ممانعت اور خداے واحد کی پرستش کی تعلیم ہونے لگی۔ قبائل عرب جو تین سو ساٹھ بتونکو بوجتے تھے ایک خدائے واحد پر کیونکر قناعت کرتے۔ امیہ کے پرتے ابوسفیان کو بنی ہاشم کی عداوت ورثہ میں ملی تھی اور اُسکے دل میں اُنکی مذہبی سرداری پہلے ہی سے کھٹک رہی تھی۔ اب یہہ دیکھکر کہ محمد نے ایک نیا مذہب ایجاد کیا ہے اور اپنے کو رسول اللہ کہتے ہیں آتش کفر و نفاق سے جل بھنا۔ حمایت بت پرستی کا بیڑا اُٹھایا۔ عرب کے قبائل اُسکے ساتھی ہو گئے۔ رسول خدا کے عزیز قریب بھی آکر شریک ہوئے۔ اسلام اور بت پرستی کی لڑائی چھڑ گئی۔ رسول اللہ کو رسول خدا کے مصائب پریشان کرنا شروع کیا۔ کبھی سنگ باری کی دغزوات اور کبھی سخت کلامی۔ کبھی نا ملائم الفاظ سے دل خراشی کی اور کبھی شمع ہدایت کے بجھانے کا ارادہ کیا۔ غرض کچھ ایسا تنگ و پریشان کیا کہ رسول اللہ^۲ کو مکہ چھوڑ کر مدینہ میں سکونت اختیار کرنی پڑی۔ یہاں بھی اُنکو چین سے رہنا نصیب نہ ہوا۔ قبائل عرب ابوسفیان کی ماتحتی میں در سر پر خاش رہے۔ بدر اور احد میں کئی لڑائیاں ابوسفیان سے ہوئیں جنمیں ایک طرف خدا پرستوں کی جماعت تھی اور دوسری جانب مشرکوں کی۔ اسلامی فوج 'اللہ اکبر' کے نعرے بلند

۱ تاریخ طبری - صفحہ ۳۷۲ - جلد ۴ -

۲ ابوالفدا صفحہ ۲۹۷ - تاریخ طبری جلد ۴ صفحہ ۳۹۰ - تاریخ کامل ابن اثیر

جزری جلد ۲ دول العبدالاسلام -

ذیل کا مختصر شجرہ ناظر مضمون کی آسانی اور سہولیت کے واسطے درج کیا جاتا ہے -



یوں تو خانہ کعبہ کی مجاوری ایک خاص امتیازی درجہ رکھتی ہی تھی - مگر حضرت ہاشم نے اس خدمت کو کچھ اس طرح انجام دیا اور ایسی سخاوت - مساوات اور کریم النفسی سے کام لیا کہ تمام قبائل عرب نے انکو سردار تسلیم کیا اور سب انکے حضرت ہاشم اور امیہ کی مخالفت انکا بھتیجہ تھا انکے اقتدار اور قوت کو بغض و حسد کی وجہ سے نہ دیکھ سکا اور ہاشم سے مخالفت پر آمادہ ہو گیا - درمیانی لوگوں نے بات برہادی ایک شخص باہمی رضامندی سے 'ثالث' مقرر کیا گیا جس نے اس نزاع کا فیصلہ کیا - فیصلہ سے اگرچہ ہاشم کو کوئی نقصان نہ پہونچا اور مخالفت بھی ظاہری طور پر دب گئی مگر امیہ اور اُسکے ساتھیوں کے دل میں کھٹک باقی رہی - ہاشم کے بعد عبد المطلب اور عبد المطلب کے بعد ابوطالب مجاوری کی خدمت پر مامور ہوئے اور ہر شخص نے اپنے اپنے زمانہ میں نہایت خوبی اور ناموری کے ساتھ اپنی خدمات کو انجام دیا - امیہ اور اُسکے

دے اور بار و جون ہزارہا قسم کی مصیبتوں کے وہ ذرا بھی تو بیقرار نہ ہوا اور تمام شب بار و جون اس بارے اٹھالینے اور اس امتحان میں پورا اُترنے کے دعاؤں میں بھی مشغول رہا واقعی جناب امام حسین علیہ السلام بیقرار کیوں ہوئے - وہ ایسے نہ تھے کہ اپنے دانا کی امانت کو ادا نہ کرتے اور اپنے دانا کی امت کی کشتی نجات کو گرداب ضلالت میں دُرب جانے دیتے بلکہ انہوں نے خود اس جوش کو پورا کر دیا جو حضرت ابراہیم کے دل میں پیدا ہوا تھا اور اس طوفان کو ٹال دیا جس میں امت محمدیہ غرق ہوا چاہتی تھی -“

مذہبی نقطہ نگاہ سے علیحدہ ہو کر اگر اس واقعہ کو محض دنیاوی اور تاریخی حیثیت سے بھی دیکھا جائے تو مسلمانوں کے اعتقاد اور احادیث کی پوری طور پر تصدیق ہوتی ہے - عرب کی تاریخ دیکھنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ایام جاہلیت کی ایام جاہلیت میں بھی جبکہ عربوں کے نزدیک مشترک تاریخ کشت و خون بچوں کا کھیل اور میدان جنگ باز بچہ طفلان کا حکم رکھتا تھا نہ کوئی قانون تھا نہ کوئی اخلاقی پابندی - غلبہ پرستی ساری قوم کا شعار تھا - خانہ کعبہ جسکی بنیاد حضرت ابراہیم اور حضرت اسمعیل علیہما السلام نے ڈالی تھی اور جسکو رسول خدا نے مرجع دنیاۓ اسلام قرار دیا متبرک سمجھا جاتا تھا - اسمیں بت، کھے ہوئے تھے اور قبائل عرب سال میں ایک دفعہ مجتمع ہو کر رسوم عبادت بجا لاتے اور اپنے مقاصدان بتوں سے رجوع کرتے تھے - خانہ کعبہ کا مجاور مذہبی سردار تصور کیا جاتا تھا اور تمام قبائل عرب اُسکی عزت و توقیر کرتے تھے - شروع سے اسکی مجاوری حضرت اسمعیل اور اُنکی اولاد میں رہی اور درجہ بدرجہ ہوتی ہوئی حضرت ہاشم کو پہنچی -

البلاد المبین صفحہ ۶۳ مطبوعہ کانپور

(۱) ملاحظہ ہو تاریخ دول العرب والاسلام مولفہ طلوع حرب اور التاریخ تمدن الاسلامی

مطبوعہ مصر جز اول صفحہ ۱۵

تکمیل کر کے اپنے دادا اسمعیل ابن ابراہیم علیہما السلام کو سبکدوش کر دیا - بمضمون احادیث متواترہ جناب رسول خدا صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم کو شہادت جناب امام حسین علیہ السلام کی خبروں کا مکرر پہنچنا ثابت کرتا ہے کہ خداوند عالم کا انحضرت کو اس واقعہ سے مطلع کرنا بے معنی نہ تھا بلکہ یہ وہی وعدہ تھا جو حضرت ابراہیم اور حضرت اسمعیل سے لیا گیا تھا اور گویا یہ ظاہر کیا گیا تھا کہ جس قربانی کی بنا حضرت اسمعیل سے شروع ہوئی تھی وہ خاندان مصطفوی اور دودمان مرتضوی کے چشم و چراغ جناب امام حسین علیہ السلام کی ذات پر ختم اور کامل ہو گئی - دیکھو اگر امام حسین چاہتے تو فقط یزید کی بیعت سے انکی اور انکے اہلبیت کی گلو خلاصی ہو جاتی - امام حسین کی انکھوں کے سامنے وہ منکوس سماں اور نامبارک منظر تھا جسمیں وہ بے خانماں ہو کر جام شہادت پئینگے - وہ بخوبی جانتے تھے کہ انکے بعد انکی اہلبیت اور ذریت کے ساتھ دشمنان دین کوی کمی نہیں کریں گے - بچونکی آہ و زاری - عورتونکی فریاد و بیقراری - ایسا مقام جہاں بھجڑات باری نہ کوئی مونس نہ معین ہو نہ ہمدم و ناصر - اپنی جماعت قلیل اور اشیاء کی جماعت کثیر - افتاب کی تمازت - پانی کا مطلق بند ہونا - یہ سب باتیں کیا اس امر کیلئے کافی نہیں تھیں کہ ایک انسان کا دل ہلا کر اُسکو امور مخالف طبع کے قبول کرنے پر آمادہ کر دیں - کیا کوئی آدمی اپنی بشری ہستی میں ایسی سختیوں اور بلاؤں کا متحمل ہو کر اپنی وجدانی صداقت اور ایمانی قوت پر قائم رہ سکتا ہے مگر، ہاں فاطمہ زہرا کے فرزند حسین علیہ السلام نے یہ ساری مصیبت و صعوبت اپنے سر لے لی اور انکھوں کے سامنے اُن کے ننھے ننھے بچے اور عزیز قتل کردئے گئے - دعوپ کی تکلیف اٹھائی بھوک پیاس کے صدمے سہے - خیمے جلا دیئے گئے - خون جسم لطیف پر بے شمار زخم کھائے لیکن اُس ودیعت اسمعیلی کے ضامن اور امانت ابراہیمی کے امین نے بمصداق سرتسلیم خم ہے جو مزاج یار میں اٹے دم مارنا تو کیا یہ بھی تو زبان مبارک سے نہ فرمایا کہ خدایا اس بلا سے مجھے نجات دے - یا یہ آزمائش مجھ سے قال

مبتلاے مصیبت و آلام رہا - لیکن در حقیقت ایک تخصیصی آزمائش اور کامل ابتلا کا مرتبہ خامس آل عبا کی ذات فاضل البرکات پر ختم ہو گیا۔ علامہ اجل شاہ عبدالعزیز دہلوی نے اپنی کتاب سرائل الشہادتین میں واقعہ شہادت شاہ عبدالعزیزؒ کی کہی جو تمہید زیب رقم فرمائی ہے اوس کا خلاصہ راہی درباب شہادت مضمون یہ ہے کہ جتنے کمالات جدا جدا

کل انبیا میں تھے وہ سب ذات سرور کائنات میں مجتمع ہو گئے - فقط ایک کمال شہادت باقی رہ گیا تھا جسکے حاصل نہ ہونے کا سبب یہ ہے کہ انحضرت صلی اللہ وسلم نہ نفس نفیس شہید ہو جاتے تو شوکت اسلام ثبوت جاتی اور عوام کے نزدیک دین میں خلل پڑ جاتا۔ پس حکمت الہی نے چاہا کہ یہ عظیم الشان کمال بھی انحضرت کو انکے اہلبیت میں سے ایسے عزیز و قریب ترکے ذریعہ سے پہنچے جو بمنزلہ فرزند حقیقی کے ہو - تاکہ اوس کا یہ کمال شہادت جناب رسول خدا کی ذات میں شامل ہو جائے - چنانچہ عنایت ایزدی نے حسنین علیہما السلام کو انکے نانا کا قائم مقام اور نائب بنایا اور دونوں کو دو آئینہ پر تو کمال محمدي اور دو رخسارہ جمال مصطفوی کے ٹھہرا کر اون دونوں صاحب زادوں کے توسط سے یہ کمال بھی ذات انحضرت میں داخل کر دیا۔ “

صاحب رسالہ البلاء المبین نکھتے ہیں ”کہ میدان کربلا کا معرکہ شہادت معنوی طور پر وہ عظیم المرتبہ امانت تھی جسکو قدرت نے حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام کے ہاتھوں سے حضرت اسمعیل کے مقدس خاندان میں سپرد کیا تھا اور سنہ ۶۱ ہجری میں عاشورہ کے دن جناب امام حسین نے نہایت ہی استقلال اور ثابت قدمی کے ساتھ ادا کر دیا - یہ وہ ودیعت تھی جو خاندان اسمعیل میں چلی آتی تھی اور جسکے ادا کرنے اور بار اٹھانے کا کوئی متحمل نہیں ہو سکتا تھا لیکن بالآخر اوسکے سچے امین نے نہایت خوشی سے تسلیم و رضا کے ساتھ ذبح عظیم کی پشین گوی پوری کر دی اور بی بی ہاجرہ کی مبارک نسل کا وعدہ بی بی فاطمہ کے مقدس نسل نے کامل طور پر وفا کر دیا یعنی دھم محکوم کو حسین ابن علی نے اوس وعدہ کی

ابتلا طالع ہوا - گویا مذہب و آزمائش دونوں ایک ہی روز جلوہ افروز عالم ہوئے - ضروری تھا کہ بانیان دین خداوندی اور رہبران حق معرض امتحان و آزمائش میں لائے جاتیں کیونکہ سونا اگرچہ آگ میں جلنے سے پہلے بھی سونا ہے مگر آگ میں پڑنے سے وہ ثابت کر دیتا ہے کہ میں آزمائش میں کھرا اور کامل ہوں -

خوش بود گر محک تجربہ آمد بمیان

تا سیہ روئے شود ہرچہ دروغش باشد

گو ہمارے ناقص اور کمزور خیالات اس آزمائش اور ابتلا کو کسی غیر مدوح معنی سے تعبیر کریں لیکن روحانی مذاق کی بنا پر اس قسم کی آزمائش محض افضال خداوندی اور برکات نامتناہی ثابت ہوئی ہے - حضرت آدم کے بعد حضرت نوح - حضرت ہود - حضرت صالح - حضرت ابراہیم - حضرت اسمعیل - حضرت اسحاق - حضرت یعقوب - حضرت ایوب - حضرت موسیٰ - حضرت یوسف - حضرت نوح - حضرت یحییٰ - حضرت عیسیٰ - حضرت جرجیس وغیرہم صلوٰۃ اللہ علیہم کو مخالف کے ہاتھوں سے جو نا قابل برداشت انذیعیں اٹھانی پڑیں ہیں وہ قطعی طور پر ثابت کرتی ہیں کہ مردان خدا کو خدا کی راہ میں کس کس قسم کے دشمنوں سے مجاہدہ اور مقابلہ کرنا پڑا ہے - خود ہمارے رسول مقبول صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم کل انبیاء کے سردار اور جمیع شرائع کے متمم تھے لہذا ضروری تھا کہ انکا امتحان اور بلا بھی انکے رتبہ اعلیٰ کے موافق ہو چنانچہ وہ انکے پیارے فرزند کے ساتھ مخصوص ہوا - جسکے ماتم کے لئے قصر عالم عزرائیہ مخلصین وفادار بنا دیا گیا اگرچہ درجہ شہادت فی الاصل ابتلائے رسول آخر الزماں صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم کا ایک انتہائی شعبہ تھا لیکن اُسکی قرعہ اندازی حسین ابن علی علیہما السلام کے نام گرامی پر ہوئی - یوں تو جستارح حضرت نبی محترم صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم کو مخالفین کی بدولت تکلیفیں جھیلنی پڑیں اُسی طرح انکے خاندان عظیم الشان کا ہر ایک رکن رکین شیاطین امت کے ہاتھوں

آنکھوں سے آنسو جاری ہیں - میں نے پوچھا کہ یا حضرت میرے ماں باپ آپ پر فدا ہوں آپ کو کیا ہوا - فرمایا میرے پس جبیل تشریف لائے اور خبر دی کہ میری اُمت اس فرزند کو قتل کر ڈالیگی - میں نے کہا اِسے - فرمایا ہاں اور مجھے سرخ مٹی بھی دی، " حضرت عائشہ سے مروی ہے " کہ جناب رسالت صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم نے فرمایا کہ جبیل نے مجھے اس سرزمین کی خاک دکھلائی جس پر حسین قتل کئے جائیں گے اور جو شخص حسین کا خون بہائیگا اس پر خدا کا غضب شدید ہوگا۔"

۲ انس ابن حارث ابن منبہہ کہتے ہیں " کہ میں نے آنحضرت کو یہ فرماتے ہوئے سنا ہے کہ میرا فرزند حسین سرزمین عراق میں مقام کرب و بلا پر قتل کیا جائیگا - پس تم سے جو شخص کہ وہ وقت پائے اُسے چاہئے کہ حسین کی نصرت کرے "

صاحب ناسخ التواریخ نے حضرت علی کی دو پیشین گوئیاں اِتوال حضرت علی در درج کی ہیں اور چند اشعار بھی حضرت کے باب شہادت امام حسین دیوان سے لیکر لکھے ہیں جس میں حضرت علی نے امام حسین کو واقعہ کربلا میں ثابت قدم رہنے اور صبر و استقلال سے کام لینے کی وصیت فرمائی ہے -

۳ " اِس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ خداوند عالم نے اپنی مکرم علمائے اسلام کی رائیں فرمایا اسی قدر اُسکو انتظامی تکلیف کا مورد

بنایا - چنانچہ انبیاء عالیشان اور بانیان ادیان نے اپنوں یا بیگانوں کے ہاتھوں جو جو مصیبتیں اُٹھائی ہیں، اُنکا احصا تاریخی دنیا کے سیر کر نیوالے مشکل سے کر سکتے ہیں - ابوالبشر حضرت آدم علی نبینا کی خلقت اور اور بعثت سے ہدایت اور دین الہی کا سلسلہ شروع ہوا - ایک طرف سے حضرت آدم علی نبینا وعلیہ السلام انسانی نسلوں کے موجب ہو کر ہمارے لئے قانون الہی لائے دوسری جانب سے ستارۂ امتحان و

(۱) طبقات علامہ ابن سعد -

(۲) صواعق مہرکہ - تذکرہ امام قرطبی - سرالشاہدین -

(۳) البلاء المبین - صفحہ ۶۲ - معلومہ کانپور -

جواب آیا کہ اسمعیل کے فرزند کے لخت جگر یعنی دختر محمد مصطفیٰ کا بیٹا حسین ہے۔ اے ابراہیم تو اپنی ذات کو زیادہ دوست رکھتا ہے یا محمد کے لخت جگر حسین کو۔ ابراہیم نے عرض کی کہ خداوند! میں محمد مصطفیٰ (صلی اللہ و علیہ والہ وسلم) کو اپنی ذات سے اور (امام) حسین (علیہ السلام) کو (حضرت) اسمعیل سے زیادہ دوست رکھتا ہوں۔ ارشاد ہوا اے ابراہیم اسمعیل کا فدیہ عظیم یہی ہے۔ اشقیای امت اسکو معہ اوسکے اطفال خورد سال کے تین دن کا بھوکا پیاسا غربت و بیکسی کی حالت میں نہایت ظلم و ستم کے سانحہ شہید کرینگے جسکو دیکھکر شجر۔ حجر۔ آسمان و زمین اور وحوش و طیور روئینگے۔ جب جناب خلیل اللہ نے یہ واقعہ سنا شدت قلق سے آپ پر گردہ طاری ہوا اور سرشک غم دیدہ ہای مبارک سے جاری ہوئے۔ خطاب آیا کہ اے ابراہیم حسین کی مصیبت پر رونا اوسی ثواب کے برابر ہے جو اسمعیل کی قربانی سے حاصل ہوتا، اسی طرح حق سبحانہ تعالیٰ نے 'حضرت آدم۔ حضرت نوح۔ حضرت ابراہیم۔ حضرت سلیمان۔ حضرت موسیٰ۔ اور حضرت عیسیٰ علی نبینا و علیہم السلام میں سے ہر ایک سے واقعہ کربلا کی پیشین گوئی کی ہے اور وہ مقام کرب و بلا جہاں امام حسین کی شہادت ہونیوالی تھی ہر ایک کو دکھایا ہے اور ہر ایک نے اس واقعہ کی خبر سنکر اظہار حزن و ملال کیا ہے اور قاتلان امام حسین پر نفریں کی ہے۔ جناب رسالت صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم نے امام حسین کی پیدائش ہی سے اس واقعہ کی خبر بار لوگوں کو دی ہے چنانچہ چند روایتیں اس اقوال رسول در باب شہادت امام حسین ہیں " کہ حضرت فاطمہ کے یہاں امام حسین پیدا ہوئے اور میری گود میں رہے اور میں نے اُنکو دودھ پلایا۔ ایک روز میں آنحضرت کے پاس گئی اور حسین کو اُنکی گود میں دیدیا پھر دیکھا کہ آنحضرت کے دونوں

(۱) ناسخ التواریخ جلد ششم مطبوعہ بمبئی - دہج عظیم صفحہ ۸۵ -

(۲) مشکوٰۃ صفحہ ۷۰۹ - مطبوعہ نولکشور پریس - لکھنؤ -

اسلام کو قائم اور دین حق کو برقرار و مستحکم کر دیا - اس بارہ میں مسلمانوں کی مذہبی کتابیں آیات قرانی - احادیث اور روایات سے مملو ہیں جن میں شہادت امام حسین کی پیشین گوئیاں ہیں اور یہ امر منقول ہے کہ اگر امام حسین کی شہادت نہ ہوتی تو اسلام و رطہ ضلالت سے نہ نکلتا اور امت رسول کے نجات کی کوئی صورت نہ ہوتی - علمائے فریقین کا اتفاق اس پر ہے کہ حق تعالیٰ نے واقعہ کربلا کی پیشین گوئی حضرت ابراہیم سے ذبح اسمعیل کے وقت کی تھی جس کا ذکر قرآن مجید میں ہے اور مفسرین فریقین اس پر متفق ہیں کہ ذبح عظیم سے مراد شہادت امام حسین واقعہ کربلا کی ہے - ناسخ التواریخ جلد ششم مطبوعہ بمبئی میں پیشین گوئیاں جو عبارت تفصیل کے ساتھ درج ہے اس کا مختصر ترجمہ یہاں پیش کیا جاتا ہے - ”جب حضرت ابراہیم نے حسب حکم باری عزاسمہ حضرت اسمعیل کو قربانی کرنا چاہا اور بعدہ بموجب ارشاد رحمانی اس عمل سے باز رکھے گئے تو آپکو حزن کے ساتھ یہ خیال پیدا ہوا کہ جس قربانی کے لئے کئی بار اس شد و مد کے ساتھ مامور کئے گئے تھے اس سے باز کیوں رکھے گئے - پس حق سبحانہ تعالیٰ نے ارشاد فرمایا ”ان هذا هو البلاء المبين و فدينه بذبح العظیم“ - یعنی واقعی یہ بہت ہی سخت امتحان ہے اور ہم نے اسمعیل کو ایک بڑی قربانی کے بدلے بچالیا - حضرت ابراہیم نے اس بڑی قربانی کو دریافت کیا تو ارشاد ہوا کہ تیرا فرزند حامل نور ختم المرسلین ہے - اس وجہ سے ہم نے تیرا امتحان لیکر اسمعیل کو بچالیا - پھر حق سبحانہ تعالیٰ نے خلیل اللہ کی نظروں سے رفع حجاب فرمایا کہ آپ جناب محمد مصطفیٰ صلی اللہ علیہ والہ وسلم اور اونکی آل با صفا کا رتبہ جلیلہ مشاہدہ فرما لیں - جب آپ نے یہ منظر عالی منزلت ملاحظہ فرمایا تو بہت ہی محظوظ ہوئے اور حسین ابن علی ابن ابی طالب علیہ السلام کو دیکھ کر فرمایا کہ یہ کون ہے -

واقعات کربلا اور اس کا اثر

(از عالی جناب سید محمد ضامن علی صاحب ایم-اے

لکھنؤ، الہ آباد یونیورسٹی)

تاریخین شاہد ہیں اور جن حضرات کو کتب تواریخ و سیر
 کے مطالعہ کا ذوق ہے وہ اس سے واقف ہیں کہ امام حسین اور
 ان کے رفقا کی شہادت کے واقعات ایسے ہیں جن کی نظیر کسی ملک
 یا قوم کی تاریخ میں نہیں ملتی - یوں تو خانہ جنگیاں بھی
 ہوئی ہیں اور باقاعدہ لڑائیاں بھی - لیکن کوئی خانہ جنگی
 یا لڑائی صفحہ عالم پر اس عنوان سے نہیں ہوئی جیسی کہ
 کربلا میں ہوئی اور نہ کسی لڑائی میں مفتوح و مقتول کے پس
 ماندگان کے ساتھ اُس عبرت ناک اور درد انگیز برتاؤ کا عشرِ عشیر
 بھی کیا گیا جو بعد شہادت امام حسین رسول اللہ کی عترت اور
 حرمِ محترم کے ساتھ ہوا - حق یہ ہے کہ کربلا کا روح فرسا
 واقعہ بنی نوع انسان کے دامنِ ہستی پر بد نما اور گہرا داغ ہے
 جو قیامت تک فاتلانِ حسین کو ذلیل اور ان کے منتسبان کو
 محجوب رکھنے کے لئے کافی ہے -

مسلمان محرم میں دس روز تک برابر ان واقعات کا ذکر کر
 کے امام حسین کی بیکسی پر گریہ و بکا کرتے ہیں مسلمانوں کے
 اعتقاد کی رو سے واقعات کربلا کا حزن و
 مسلمانوں کا اعتقاد ملال کے ساتھ ذکر کرنا محض باعثِ تزکیہ
 نفس اور صفائیِ قلب ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ ثوابِ آخری اور
 نجاتِ داریں کا ذریعہ بھی ہے - اس لئے کہ شہادتِ امام حسین نے

(۱) ملاحظہ ہو - نیا بیع المودۃ شیخ الاسلام قسطنطنیہ اور اسرار الشہادت ملا آقا
 دربنی - عمدۃ القاری مسند امام احمد ابن حنبل (جن میں یہ مذکور ہے کہ اگر ایک قمار
 اتسو بھی امام حسین کی مصیبت پر نکلے تو خدا اُس کے گناہ اگر چہ وہ سمندر کے پھین
 کے برابر ہوں بخش دیتا ہے) انیس الذاکرین صفحہ ۵ مصنفہ مولوی مہدی علی "جو حسین
 پر رونے رو لائیے والا ہوگا اسپر بہشت واجب ہوگی" -

(٦٥)	سيرت ابن مساه	(٥٦)	مستندى امام حاكم
(٦٦)	سراج المبين	(٥٧)	فصول المهمة
(٦٧)	نهج البلاغة	(٥٨)	سيف مسلول
(٦٨)	سرر چمن	(٥٩)	اسنى المطالب
(٦٩)	شهيد اعظم	(٦٠)	تذكرة التقاظ
(٧٠)	گولتن ديد	(٦١)	مرقاة شرح مشکوة
(٧١)	تاريخ احمدي	(٦٢)	لمعات
(٧٢)	کتاب المعاضرات	(٦٣)	نواقض الروافض
(٧٣)	طبقات سعد	(٦٤)	مدارج النبوة

(فہرست کتب جن سے اس مضمون میں استدلال کیا گیا ہے)

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| <p>(۲۹) الفاروق</p> <p>(۳۰) المتحاضرات رغب اصفہانی</p> <p>(۳۱) ملل والطل علامہ شہرستانی - مطبوعہ لندن</p> <p>(۳۲) سیرت ابن ہشام</p> <p>(۳۳) فوائض مبینی</p> <p>(۳۴) تاریخ ابن اثیر</p> <p>(۳۵) تاریخ اعثم کوفی</p> <p>(۳۶) روضۃ الاحباب</p> <p>(۳۷) کتاب الاحداث علامہ یوسف</p> <p>(۳۸) صحیح ترمذی</p> <p>(۳۹) رسالہ ایراد جاحظ عثمانی</p> <p>(۴۰) مودۃ القربی</p> <p>(۴۱) نزل الابرار علامہ بدخشی</p> <p>(۴۲) زخا، والعقی</p> <p>(۴۳) صحیح مسلم</p> <p>(۴۴) ارجح المطالب مصنفہ عبید اللہ امرتسری</p> <p>(۴۵) شہادت حسین موافقہ شلاحسن میاں پہلوارچی - مطبوعہ لاہور</p> <p>(۴۶) تذکرہ خواص الامم</p> <p>(۴۷) مقتل ابی مخنف</p> <p>(۴۸) ہسٹری آف پرشین (by price)</p> <p>(۴۹) تاریخ الانبیاء</p> <p>(۵۰) مروج الذهب</p> <p>(۵۱) نور العین فی مقتل الحسین ملا ابواسحاق اصفہانی</p> <p>(۵۲) المقرئ</p> <p>(۵۳) تاریخ تمدن اسلام مطبوعہ مصر</p> <p>(۵۴) روضۃ الصفا جاد دوم</p> <p>(۵۵) نسائی</p> | <p>(۱) نیا بیع المودۃ شیخ الاسلام قسطنطنیہ</p> <p>(۲) اسرار الشہادت ملا آقا ئی دربندی</p> <p>(۳) عمدۃ القاری</p> <p>(۴) مسند امام احمد ابن حنبل</p> <p>(۵) انیس الذاکرین مصنفہ مولوی مہدی علی</p> <p>(۶) روضۃ الشہدا</p> <p>(۷) حبیب السیر</p> <p>(۸) معارج النبوة</p> <p>(۹) ناسخ التواریخ مطبوعہ بمبئی</p> <p>(۱۰) ذبیح عظیم</p> <p>(۱۱) مشکوۃ - مطبوعہ نولکشور پریس لکھنؤ</p> <p>(۱۲) طبقات علامہ ابن سعد</p> <p>(۱۳) صواعق محرقة</p> <p>(۱۴) تذکرہ امام قرطبی</p> <p>(۱۵) سر الشہادتین</p> <p>(۱۶) البلاء المبین مطبوعہ کانپور</p> <p>(۱۷) تاریخ دول العرب و الاملام مولفہ طلعت حرب مطبوعہ مصر</p> <p>(۱۸) تاریخ طبری</p> <p>(۱۹) ابوالفدا</p> <p>(۲۰) تارخ کامل ابن اثیر</p> <p>(۲۱) مغازی الصادقہ - مطبوعہ لکھنؤ</p> <p>(۲۲) استیعاب امام عبدالبر</p> <p>(۲۳) اسد الغابہ ابن اثیر</p> <p>(۲۴) اصابہ فی تمیز الصحابہ ابن حجر</p> <p>(۲۵) تاریخ الثقافہ سیوطی</p> <p>(۲۶) تاریخ خمیس - مطبوعہ مصر</p> <p>(۲۷) سیرت آف اسلام</p> <p>(۲۸) انساب العیون فی سیرۃ الامین والمأمون ملا علی برہان الدین شافعی</p> |
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- گزرے وہ سیاہ کاری کے دن * اتر اُس سے چڑھا ہوا جن
 حاصل ہوئی بارے رو سپیدی * دھویا گیا داغ ناامیدی
 بہتر ہے شباب سے بڑھاپا * ماریگا یہہ فوج غم پہ چھاپا
 پیری کا یہہ ضعف و ناتوانی * بہتر ہے زقوت جوانی
 آ - او میری باتمیز پیری! * اچھی پیری عزیز پیری
 مشتاق و منتظر تھا کب سے * میں مانگ رہا تھا تجھ کو رب سے
 صدقے تجھہ پر سے سو جوانی * قربان ہزار نو جوانی
 کب مثل شباب بیوفا ہے * عاجل ہے نہ تو گریز پا ہے
 دیگی تا عمر ساتھ میرا * چھوڑیگی کبھی نہ ہاتھ میرا
 سچی ہے پاکباز ہے تو * اب مونس و دل نواز ہے تو
 تیری عصمت ہے مجھ کو معلوم * بچونکی طرح ہے تو بھی معصوم
 کھو دیتی ہے عیب و نقص خامی * پختہ کاری میں تو ہے نامی
 کر دیتی ہے بوڑھونکو خرد مند * آویز گوش ہے تری پند
 ہو جاتے ہیں تجھہ سے پیر دانا * کر دیتی ہے ضعف میں توانا
 دم تیرا بھروں نہ کیونہیں ہر دم * تو ہی تو ہے اب رفیق و ہمدم
 سب عمر کے مرحلے ہوئے طے * اب منزل آخری تو ہی ہے
 کتھائیگی راہ حسب دلخواہ * انشاء اللہ انشاء اللہ
 یہہ پنجرہ جسم جو ہے در بند * ہے طائر روح جسیں پر بند
 تو قید حیات سے چھڑا کر * آزادی کے بخشگی اُسے پر
 دیکھیگا گلشن جناں پھر * پائیگا اپنا آشیان پھر
 وہ صحبت بزم کامرانی * وہ سیر بہار جاودانی
 حاصل ہوگی تری بدولت * مرنے پہ ملیگی خوب راحت
 اب میری یہہ آخری دعا ہے * تجھ سے پیری یہہ التجا ہے
 پہونچانے مجھ کو تابہ مدفن * اصلی تو وہی ہے میرا مسکن

چھوٹے تجھ سے نہ ساتھ میرا

کافور کفن ہو رنگ تیرا

جواني اور ضعيفي

(شهير—عالي جناب سيد محمد نوح صاحب مدظلہ العالی
تعلقہ دار مچھلي شہر ضلع جونپور)

- کالا ترا منہ ہو او جواني * داغي کي تونے زندگاني
جب تڪ ترا زور تھا سيہ کار * کرتی رهي رات دن گنہگار
آسيب بلا بني رهي تو * پريوں کے سایہ میں اُڑی تو
بدکاریوں کا سبق پڑھایا * چسکا مٹے ناب کا دلایا
دن بھر بھرواتِي تھی سيہ مست * رکھتی تھی شب کو جام دردست
رندوں کے جمگھٹے میں لائی * توڑا سب زور پارسائی
جلوۂ رخ خوب کا دکھا کر * دیوانہ پريوں کا بنا کر
گمراہي کا راستہ دکھایا * گلیوں میں رات بھر بھرایا
تھا صحبت بد میں کام تیرا * رسوائیوں میں تھا نام تیرا
شیشے کی پري تھی تیری محبوب * طالب تو دخت رز تھی مطلوب
مینا سے غرض تھی جام سے کام * بس تجھ کو تھا اپنے کام سے کام
گو ایک ہی شب کی میہماں تھی * بھر بھی مجھ کو عذاب جاں تھی
تھی دھڑن راہ دین و ایمان * تھا تیرا معین کار شیطاں
پتی اس طرح کی پڑھائی * اللہ کی یاد تڪ بھلائی
روزہ چھوٹا نماز چھوٹی * توبہ بھی بار بار ٹوٹی
کردن ز شراب ناب توبہ * وز کردن نا صواب توبہ
صد شکر کہ تونے ساتھ چھوڑا * بہتر ہوا مجھ سے منہ جو موزا
اب میں ہوں اور میری پیری * جو اُنی ہے بہر دستگیری
غفلت کے پردوں کو ہٹا کر * دکھلائی گی نیک و خوب منظر
دکھلائی گی راہ راستی کی * یہہ تیرے نکالینگی کچی کی

اسیں کچھ شک نہیں وہ ماں ہے بڑی خوش قسمت
 جو کرے حلقے میں پیاروں کے جہاں سے رحلت
 اُسکی اولاد سے پائے صفِ ماتم زینت
 لختِ دل فاتحہ خواں ہوں سر لوحِ تربت
 ذکرِ قرآن عرضِ فالہ و فریاد کریں
 ہر زبان سورۃ الحمد ہو جب یاد کریں

روز دونوں ہمیں ہر کام میں یاد آتے ہیں
 چند بار اک سکر و شام میں یاد آتے ہیں
 شب کے آغاز میں انجام میں یاد آتے ہیں
 دکھ میں یاد آتے ہیں آرام میں یاد آتے ہیں
 خم کسی دست نوازش کو جہاں دیکھ لیا
 آنکھ نے اپنے ہی بچپن کا سماں دیکھ لیا
 جنکو حاصل برکت اور یہ نعمت ہو صفی
 وہ عزیزان وطن قدر کریں قدر اسکی
 یہی پہچان ہے جتنے ہیں سعید ازلی
 ہونہ ماں باپ کی خدمت میں اطاعت میں کمی
 کہ اسی بات کی حاجت انہیں ہوگی اکدن
 کس سے؟ اولاد سے گھر بیٹھیں گے جب ہوئے مسن
 سلب نعمت سے جو ہوں مثل ہمارے مغموم
 وہ بھی تحصیل سعادت سے رہیں کیوں مکروم
 ہے اگر اُلفتِ مرحومہ و پاسِ مرحوم
 نہ کریں ترک کبھی فاتحہ خوانی کے رسوم
 اپنے ماں باپ کا حق جو نہ کبھی بھولینگے
 وہی اس گلشن ہستی میں پھلیں بھولینگے
 ہائے کیسا متلون ہے زمانہ کا مزاج
 جن کے خود دست نگر آپ تھے کل اور محتاج
 آج ہیں آپ کے محتاج وہی دو سر تاج
 دل کے ناسوروں کا ہوگا اسی مرہم سے علاج
 فاتحہ پڑھئے انہیں روحوں پہ قرآن کبھی
 کیسے کیسے کئے ہیں آپ پر احسان کبھی
 یاد ایام کہ مامن تھا کنارِ مادر
 مطمئن جنتِ آغوش میں قلب مضطر
 گریہ و خندۂ طفلانہ بہم شیر و شکر
 آنسو آنکھوں میں کبھی موج تبسم لب پر
 نہ کہیں بغض و حسد تھا نہ کہیں کینہ تھا
 سادگی سے دل بے تجربہ آئینہ تھا

پھرتی ہے آہ جب آنکھوں میں وہ دلکش تصویر
 آتی ہے گوشِ تصور میں صدائے تقریر
 وہ صدا جس میں محبت نے بھری تھی تاثیر
 گدگدا کر جو کیا کرتی تھی دل کو تسخیر
 کان ممنون ہیں جس جنبش لب کے اب تک
 بھولنے کے نہیں ہم زندہ رہینگے جب تک
 ناصحانہ ادب آموز وہ اندازِ نظر
 عنصرِ لطف و غضب جس میں بہم شیر و شکر
 ایک چلتا ہوا جادو جو موثر دل پر
 تھیں کبھی جس کے کرشموں کی یہہ آنکھیں خوگر
 نظر آتا ہے سب اس نقش خیالی میں صفی
 خواب دیکھا تھا مگر بزمِ مثالی میں صفی
 ہائے وہ ہاتھ کبھی پیٹھے جو سہلاتے تھے
 مقصدِ کبھی ہم جنسے کئے جاتے تھے
 وقت پڑتا تھا اگر ہم پہ تو کام آتے تھے
 اُٹھکے راتوں کو دعاؤں میں جو تھراتے تھے
 نظر آتے ہیں مگر کام نہیں دے سکتے
 دل بیتاب کو آرام نہیں دے سکتے
 یوں تو صورتِ کدۂ دل میں ہے صدھا تصویر
 دل نہیں صفحۂ تاریخ ہے اک با تصویر
 اسکا ہر داغ جداگانہ ہے گویا تصویر
 پردۂ دل کو جو دیکھیں تو سراپا تصویر
 اس مرقع میں مگر نقش ہیں دو ہی خوشتر
 صورتِ مادرِ محبوبۂ و محبوبِ پدر
 ہائے ان دونو بزرگوں کو کہاں سے لائیں
 اب جو عالم ہے وہ کسطرح اُنہیں دکھلائیں
 لیگئے ساتھ گراں قدر سب اپنی رائیں
 کاش پھر آئے بزرگانہ ہمیں سمجھائیں
 کان میں آئیں خوش آئند صدائیں اُنکی
 دیں تسلی دلِ مضطر کو دعائیں اُنکی

وہ تریِ ناصحِ مشفق وہ تریِ خیرِ اندیش
 ناخدا گھر کی ترے سب کی معلّم کم و بیش
 اسکے الطافِ نہاں مرہمِ زخمِ دلِ ریش
 چاہے سلطانِ زمانِ ہو کوئی چاہے درویش
 دونوں کے واسطے یکساں ہے یہہ نعمتِ یکساں
 دونوں کے سر پہ ہے یہہ سایۂ لطفِ یزدان
 نام لیکر وہ محبت سے بلانا تجھکو
 پھیرنا پیٹھ پہ ہاتھ اور ہٹھانا تجھکو
 سینت رکھنا کوئی چیز اور کھلانا تجھکو
 کبھی خوش ہو کہہ کلیجے سے لگانا تجھکو
 خواہ رتبہ ترا کیسا ہی نہ ہو کیوں اعلا
 تو مگر اُسکی نگاہوں میں وہی ہے کہ جوتھا
 جو کہ ہو روزِ ولادت ہی سے دم ساز ترا
 جسپہ مخفی نہ ہو پوشیدہ کوئی راز ترا
 جن نگاہوں میں ہو طفلانہ وہ انداز ترا
 کیا جنکے اُن میں بزرگانِ اب اعزاز ترا
 مختلف حلقوں میں دیکھی ہے اسیری تیری
 بچپنا تیرا جوانی تری پیری تیری
 تاجِ شاہی سرِ فرزند کو دستِ شفقت
 سایۂ لطفِ خدا ظلِ ہمائے دولت
 آسمانی برکتِ رحمتِ ربّ العزت
 بخدا جس کی تلافی نہیں ایسی نعمت
 پوچھتے دل سے اُسی کے جسے آگاہی ہے
 ماں کا زانو ہی صفی تختِ شہنشاہی ہے
 چھین لے دستِ اجل جس سے کہ یہہ تاجِ یہہ تخت
 کیا کرے وہ جو شب و روز نہ روئے یکلخت
 آسمان دور ہے دور آہ زمیں سخت ہے سخت
 ماننا ہے مگر اس غم میں کہیں دل کہ بکشت
 کیا کریگا کوئی اس سینہ گزا غم کا علاج
 نہ مسیحا سے ہوا فرقتِ مریم کا علاج

سر گھوارہ کبھی رمز شناس آواز
 کبھی افسون اشارات سے افسانہ طراز
 ہر زبان گاہ تکلم کے انوکھے انداز
 گاہ دل باختہ شعبدہ ناز و نیاز
 الغرض روز یہی آتھے پھر کام اُسے
 دکھ سے دکھ اور ترے آرام سے آرام اُسے
 تیری ہستی میں تمام اُسکی امیدیں محدود
 تیری تعلیم کو سمجھے ہوئے اصلی مقصود
 بس یہی فکر کہ حاصل ہو تجھے نام و نمود
 خادمانہ تیری خدمت کیلئے خود موجود
 اپنی راحت پہ مقدم تیری راحت اُسکو
 وحشت انگیز تیری سیر و سیاحت اُسکو
 اک ذرا آنکھ سے اوجھل ہوئی صورت تیری
 دلکو تڑپانے لگی اُسکے محبت تیری
 اور پھر نے لگی آنکھوں میں شبانہ تیری
 جسکو اتنی بھی گوارا نہو فرقت تیری
 ساتھ چھٹ جائے جو اس مانکا تو غم ہو کہ نہو
 خون دل ہو کہ نہو آنکھ یہ نم ہو کہ نہو
 سو دہس کی بھی تیری عمر اگر ہو جائے
 ماں جو زندہ ہے تو سمجھے گی وہ بچہ ہی تجھے
 دونو یکساں ہیں اُسے تو ہو کہ تیرے بچے
 نگراں وہ ہے تجھے کام نہیں کچھ گھر سے
 اُسکے انعام کی محتاج تیری فرزندگی
 اُسکے احکام کی تعمیل سعادت مندی
 تجھ سے بڑھ کر تری اولاد کی ہر دم نگراں
 نو نہالان چمن زان کی ہر دم نگراں
 ساز و سامان خدا دان کی ہر دم نگراں
 کُل ترے خانہ آباد کی ہر دم نگراں
 خانہ داری کا ترے بوجھ بٹانے والی
 خون اپنا انہیں فکروں میں گھٹانے والی

تیری انگلی جو ڈکھی ہو گئی بیتاب وہ ماں
 مامتا اگ تو دل جوہر سیماں وہ ماں
 شیرلب پر ترے تلخ اُسکو شکر خواب وہ ماں
 ہمہ تن تیرے لئے عالم اسباب وہ ماں
 دیکھ کر گود میں صورت تری پیاری پیاری
 دودھ کی جنت آغوش میں نہریں جاری
 علم ہو عقل ہو یا حسن ہو دولت ہو کہ سن
 رشک ان باتوں میں اولاد پہ ہو کیا ممکن
 سر پہ ماں باپ کا سایہ ہے وہ نعمت لیکن
 اپنی اولاد پہ رشک آتا ہے خود ہوئے مسن
 کہ وہ دو مہر و محبت کے فرشتے نہ رہے
 حرز بازو تھے جو ابتک وہ نوشتے نہ رہے
 جس طرف دیکھتے دنیا ہے اور اپنا مطلب
 دل کی حالت کا نہیں پونچھنے والا کوئی اب
 تیرے بندے کہ وہ دو رب مجاری یارب
 کیا ہوئے نشو و نما کا جو بظاہر تھے سبب
 تھی مسرت سے مسرت جنہیں غم سے غم تھا
 روح پرور انہیں عیسیٰ نفسوں کا دم تھا
 خاص کر ماں وہ محبت کی مجسم تصویر
 آیۂ رحمت خالق کی مکمل تفسیر
 پرورش کے لئے اولاد کی سر چشمہ شیر
 چارہ ساز دل رنجور بہ حسن تدبیر
 پردہ شیر میں جس نے کہ دکھائے نیرنگ
 خون دوزا کے بھرا پیکر بیرنگ میں رنگ
 وہ ادا فہم و زبان دان صغیر نادان
 مہر انگیر نگا ہونے سے رخ نگراں
 دودھ پیتے ہوئے بچے نے جہاں کی غوغاں
 ہوئی بیساختہ لے لے کے بلائیں قرباں
 نطق طفلانہ کا مفہوم سمجھنے والی
 خواہشات دل معصوم سمجھنے والی

(3)

آغوش مادر

صفي—عالي جناب لسان القوم مولانا سيد علي نقی صاحب
قبلہ مدظلہ العالی لکھنوی

دل وہ پتھر ہے جسے ماں کی محبت نہ ہوئی
خاک دنیا پہ جو دنیا میں یہہ نعمت نہ ہوئی
جب تک اس پردہ میں تحریک مشیت نہ ہوئی
پیکر خاکی انسان تری خلقت نہ ہوئی
کس نے اے خاک کے پتلے یہہ سب احسان کئے
دکھ سہے تیرے لئے درد سہے تیرے لئے

جب خبر لی کہ تجھے اپنی خبر بھی تو نہ تھی
قائم اک مرکز بینش پہ نظر بھی تو نہ تھی
دوش کو تاب گراں باری سر بھی تو نہ تھی
مثل گردن ترے قابو میں کمر بھی تو نہ تھی
ہاؤں کہنے میں کوئی تھانہ ترا ہاتھ اُسوقت
یہہ تو بتلا کہ دیا کس نے ترا ساتھ اُسوقت

دو برس خون چُسا کر تجھے ہالا کس نے
مدتوں پیار سے عاتھون پہ اچھالا کس نے
مہد سے گرنے لگا جب تو سنبھالا کس نے
پرورش کی تری جھیلا یہہ کسالا کس نے
جبکہ چھوٹے بھی نہ تھے اپنے پرانے تجھکو
کون بھرتا تھا کلیجہ سے لگائے تجھکو

SECTION VI
ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE

(1)

SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN THE AGENCY DIVISION

R. SUBBA RAO, Esq.

THE CHENCHŪS

In my paper read before the Third All-India Oriental Conference held at Madras in December, 1924, I described the life and habits of the Koyas, a primitive jungle tribe that live in the upper valley of the Godavari. In this paper I propose to give what I consider to be an interesting study of the life and habits of the *Chenchūs* who live in the Rampa Agency as well as in the plains of Godavari District and who are, comparatively speaking, more enterprising and forward than the other primitive peoples living in the Agency.

The Koyas.

The Chenchūs.

Professor Huxley in his *Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals* divides the races of mankind into two broad divisions, *viz.* :—

- (a) The Ulotrichi or wooly-haired peoples, and
- (b) The Leiotrichi or smooth-haired peoples.

To class (b) belong the Austroloid group in which the Dravidians and pre-Dravidians of South India are included.

Their features.

Their features are described as follows :—dark skin, black hair, long prognathous skull, well-developed brow ridges and dark eyes. Now, the Khonds, the Yenādis, the Koyas and the Chenchūs all belong to the black strata and possess the above features. It is now a matter of common historical knowledge that the aboriginal period is one prior to the Dravidian one. These primitive

jungle tribes who are found living in the Agency Division, clearly belong to a pre-Dravidian era and they are the original peoples of the land.

Of all the primitive tribes living in the Agency, the Chenchūs are by far the most enterprising and well-known. They are of short stature and high nasal index. The Putta Chenchūs afford an example to this. The nose is thick and broad. They resemble the Yenādis and Koyas and belong to the same stock. They are black in colour and possess long hair. They are idle, drunken, thievish and bloodthirsty. Unlike the Khonds of Ganjam and the Koyas of Upper Godavari Agency, these have few virtues to compensate for their vices. Excepting the Chenchūs of the plains, those of Rampa Agency and Nallamalai hills are naturally indolent, stupid, drunken and quarrelsome. They are addicted to crime, to thieving and even murdering innocent ryots and passengers. Being semi-wild and ignorant and wanting in brains, they are easily irritable and suspicious and hence give the greatest trouble to the ruling powers.

Their abode.—They live in huts made of rough bamboo wattle work. The Chenchūs of the same clan live together in a hamlet or *gudem* where the houses are built like a bee-hive.

Their abode,

The stronghold of the wild Chenchūs is the Nallamalai hills and the forests on the same. Close to Sri-sailam, in the woods and wilds, in the caves and under trees, they make their habitation. The “plain” Chenchūs who have migrated to the plains are found mostly in Nellore and Godavari districts and these lead a nomadic life. During the rainy season, the Chenchūs bring from the Godavari Agency forests, bamboo and timber and after selling the same to the people of the plains disappear again into the forests in the summer season.

Their dress and habits.—The wild Chenchūs who are a forest tribe and who live in *gudems* or hamlets, scattered

here and there in the wild forests on the slopes of the mountains wear little or no dress. They are Dress and habits.

semi-naked. They often wear the bark of a tree or clothe themselves with leaves or rags to cover up shame. Their legs, and the body above the waist are naked. The men in the plains, the tame Chenchūs, are also found in their loin-cloth only but the women in the plains use two rags, an under and an upper one while those of the forests are semi-naked. They are all, as a class, ugly and detestable. The wild Chenchūs carry in their loin-cloth a small sword and some arrows while one or two bows arm their shoulders. They are quick in getting up and down the hills. It is far easier to catch a spotted deer than a wild Chenchū. Naturally indolent, they do not cultivate land like the other primitive tribes—the Koyas, the Savaras, the Khonds and other aboriginal tribes of the Agency division, but take to plundering the ryot and the passenger when they fail to get game or forest produce like roots, honey and wild fruits for their food. They often levy blackmail on the villages close by and in cases of opposition, they do not hesitate to loot the villages or even kill the ryots that oppose them. When they are prevented from plundering the harvest in the fields, they cut, burn or carry off the crops in the nights. These wild Chenchūs are notorious for their dacoities and murders. When the Forest and Agricultural departments check their activities, they burn forests, poison the mountain streams and commit assault and murder. They are revengeful and consider that no one has power to interfere with their natural rights. Hence in recent years, the Government have extended to them the following rights, *viz.*, rights as to forest produce for home consumption only. Thus, timber, bamboo, fibre, grass, roots, fruits, honey, wax, deer and tiger skins, etc., all can be obtained freely for their own use. Further, they enjoy the rights of fishing, hunting, grazing the cattle and even bartering of minor forest produce. But these rights are often

abused, for, the wild Chenchūs are greedy, ambitious, fickle-minded and suspicious and like no meddling of their natural liberty. They would cut valuable timber or secretly steal and sell away valuable forest products to merchants who lend money for their drink or provide them with certain luxuries. A single night's theft gives to them more than what they get by six months' honest work. So now attempts are made to civilise these wild Chenchūs. Schools are established amidst the Chenchū *gudems* and presents are offered to the school-going pupils. Chenchūs are employed as road police or Talayaries so as to prevent dacoity. They are employed as forest servants to collect produce and to guard the same. They are encouraged to cultivate plots of ground and to rear flocks of sheep and cattle and to barter forest produce like honey, wax, soapnuts, deer horns, skins, tiger hides and claws, tamarind and turmeric, wood apples, *mohwa* fruit and other products. The results cannot be said to be satisfactory but the wild Chenchūs are on the road to improvement, thanks to the efforts of the Government.

Food and village life.—The staple food of the wild Chenchūs consists of cereals, nuts, fruits, flesh of wild animals and drink distilled out of *Ippa* or *mohwa* flower and leaf.

The Chenchūs are divided into clans and clans of the same sect live in a *gudem*. These *gudems* are built within short distances, ranging from one to four miles in distance. The *gudems* are built close to a grove or a stream and sometimes in a big village families of different clans live in different parts of it. In the day-time, whole Chenchū families get into the forest for game or produce so that the Chenchū *gudems* look deserted. Life in a *gudem* is not one of unbroken peace, for, very often, the Chenchūs, in the summer season especially, get dead drunk and engage themselves suddenly in fights which result in blood-

shed and even loss of life. The cause of quarrel is often trivial. Sometimes causes which have operated once lead to renewal of strife. The idleness and drunken habits are the primary sources. Clan rivalry and jealousy also lead to quarrels. But an important cause is supplied by the woman. Cases of immoral and loose life are general in both sexes and these lead to brawls which end in murders. The least provocation is enough to cause suspicion which at once leads to assault and murder. The inevitable bow and arrow play their part.

The plain Chenchūs who are better dressed are also better behaved. They are tame and take to honest work. They are under police vigilance. Subject to civilising influences, they are learning the habits of the people amidst whom they live.

Birth, marriage and death customs.—The Chenchū birth customs are closely akin to those of Hindus. The pregnant woman goes about her work till the actual moment of childbirth. She is then given decoctions of certain herbs and roots and bathed in hot or cold water. The newly-born babe is washed immediately and also on every alternate day. On the 11th day, the child is named after an ancestor or forest god and a feast is celebrated for the members of the clan. A few names of Chenchūs are: Vanamulgadu, Nagalutigadu, Polugadu, Atchigadu, etc.

The Chenchūs have exogamous septs or surnames and some of these are:—Gurram (horse), Gaede (she-buffalo), Arati (plantain), Mānula (trunks), Thôtā (garden), Mēkala (goats), Indla (houses), Gundam (whirlpool), Chigurla (tender leaf), Akula (leaf), Pasupula (turmeric), etc. They have also got Gôthrams like Surya, (sun) Pālu, (milk), Koniti (tank), etc. People of the same Gôthram should not and would not intermarry though they may interline. Hence, people of different Gôthrams

intermarry. There are two kinds of marriages, (1) marriage by

Forms of marriage. consent and (2) marriage by force :

Now, *marriages by consent* take place *either* when the bridegroom and bride consent to it, in which case they both retire from the *gudem* for one night and return the next day when the parents invite the relatives and give a feast after the marriage ceremonies are over, *or* when the parents agree, in which case the marriage takes place in the bridegroom's house. A circular space of ground is cleansed with cowdung. The bow and arrow are placed in it and the couple march round it three times and the assembled relatives throw rice on the couple and the marriage is complete. The tying of a Tāli round the neck and the Kankaṇam round the wrist are necessary preliminaries to the completion of a marriage, while a feast and a dance generally follow. The bridegroom gives new cloths to the bride and arrack to the assembled relatives. A marriage ceremony generally costs about Rs. 10. In some cases, as where the parties are rich, a priest is engaged. He fixes an auspicious day when a raised ground or platform is formed and the parties seated there. The tying of Tāli and Kankaṇam, the sprinkling of rice on the couple, the feast and dance follow in order that the marriage might be complete.

(2) The second form of marriage is *by force*. Sometimes a girl who may or may not be betrothed to another is carried off and then the offender will have to pay a fine fixed by the *panchayatdars* which will not generally exceed Rs. 10. When the complainant, often the parent of the girl, likes to receive the money and when the accused finally pays the sum, no trouble would arise; and as a proof of final settlement a blaze of fire is caused on a tree to denote extinction of previous connection. But where the complainant does not agree or where the accused would not give the fine, the matter becomes a blood feud between the two families and such feuds often end in the murder of the weaker party.

There is divorce among the Chenchūs. If the woman refuses to live with her husband, but if the husband desires to take her, he will use force which ends in bloodshed. In such cases, the woman's parents ask for a divorce and a *panchayet* would meet and persuade the husband to abide by its decision. They grant the divorce but decree a fine of Rs. 10 or more against the parents of the girl. Thus a sum representing the cost of the marriage is taken away and given to the offended bridegroom who no more thinks of the affair.

Divorce.

Widow remarriage is allowed and generally the younger brother of the deceased has a prior claim to marry the widow.

Widow marriage.

The Chenchū death ceremonies closely resemble those of the Hindus. They believe that disease is due to the evil influence of spirits whom they propitiate in several ways as by the offering of rice, cakes, etc.

Death Ceremonies.

The dead are not burnt but buried. Pollution is observed for 11 days and on the 11th day they pour milk and rice over the burial mound. They celebrate the *pidḍa dinam* by giving a feast to all assembled relatives.

Chenchū religion.—The Chenchūs worship a god called *Chenchū Devatā* to whom honey and fruits are given on all festive occasions and whenever any disease or famine visits the village, the Chenchūs also worship God *Narasimha* of Ahobilam whom they call Obilesu. They believe till this day that this god is the incarnation of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* who married a Chenchū girl called Chenchēeta and gave as dowry or girl price *Vedurupidiyam* or bamboo bushes in the forest to be owned by them and used as the means of living. Till this day, the Chenchūs live by *Veduru jīvanam*, i.e., they sell the bamboo. In fact, it is the main occupation of the Chenchūs of Rampa and Polavaram Agencies. In addition to treating Kṛṣṇa as their close

Religion.

relative, they treat *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* as their gods. Thus they follow the *Viṣṇu* cult. Hence they put their caste mark in a vertical line like the Vishnavites. In addition to these gods, they worship several forest gods and goddesses like *Poturaza*, *Gurappa* and *Sunkālamma*.

The Chenchūs believe that Kṛṣṇa himself divided the whole Chenchū Kulam or race into seven classes. Some of

these are the following:—
Caste among Chenchūs.

1. *The Gaeta Chenchūs* or casteless Chenchūs who follow cultivation and who are civilised. As these people are giving up their time-honoured vices they are called casteless.
2. *The Dasari Chenchūs* who live by selling hair-wigs made of the hair of tigers, peacocks and other forest animals.
3. *The Putta Chenchūs* who are short in stature and who live by selling honey, wax, etc.
4. *The Āta Chenchūs* who live by exhibiting street dramas.
5. *The Vela Chenchūs* who live by hunting.
6. *The Multarasus* who live by selling seeds, beads, etc.

These seven classes of Chenchūs follow seven different callings and hence there is neither intermarriage nor inter-dining. Among these classes so divided by profession, a kind of caste has thus arisen.

Chenchū administration of justice.—Each Chenchu *gudem* has its elders who form a *panchayat* to settle all cases of disputes. They impose fines in cash or kind. They excommunicate all offenders and remove the ban only when they submit to their orders. There is *trial by strength* for, when a Chenchu feels a grievance he takes the law into his own hands and punishes the offender in his own way, *trial by panchayat* being optional but not compulsory.

Chenchū
Justice.

Also, there is *trial by oath*. The milk oath or *Pālubasa* consists in having milk poured into the hollow of the hand and swearing that the milk would burn out the throat, rot the bowels and kill the person if he were to fail to keep up to the truth and then drinking the same.

Finally, there is *trial by ordeal*.

Chenchu language.—The Chenchūs of the Jeypore and Godavari Agencies speak both Oriya and Telugu. But the

Chenchūs of Kurnool speak Telugu of a corrupt
Language.

kind. In recent years, the Government have opened Elementary Schools for the spread of education among them and this has increased literacy among them. The Forest and Agricultural departments are teaching them how to cultivate land.

The Chenchūs enjoy popularity denied to other aboriginal tribes owing to their connection with Kṛṣṇa. In memory of this event, till this day Chenchū Natakams or street dramas are enacted and Kṛṣṇa, the hero, and Chenchū-Lakshmi, the heroine, are popular figures.

Conclusion.

(2)

SOME STRAY THOUGHTS ABOUT JURISPRUDENCE OF ANCIENT TAMILS.

C. K. SUBRAMANIA MUDALIAR, B.A.

(Coimbatore).

It is commonly believed that jurisprudence is a recent introduction into the Tamil country after the advent of the western nations, chiefly the English. There is another impression current in many quarters that the Tamils as such had no culture or civilization of their own apart from what the Aryans introduced into them and that administration of justice and moral and judicial Codes are foreign to Tamil. This paper is intended to show that these are mistaken notions. The Tamils of South India had a high civilization and culture of their own which is known to be distinct and superior to what the Aryans brought down amidst them from North India. Their civilization had a source independent from that of the Aryans. Judicial tribunals existed more than 2,000 years ago in the ancient Tamil land. This is proved beyond doubt by pure Tamil works of the first century A.D. now extant. This, by no means, pretends to be a complete study or full representation of the subject but only aims at inducing research and further study into the same.

It must be admitted that we cannot now point to any particular treatises or detailed Code of jurisprudence which guided the administration of justice among ancient Tamils. Yet we have got ancient Tamil works which would give us a clear indication of how they administered justice and what were the ideals they kept in view.

Thirukkural, by the famous Saint Thiruvalluvar of Mylapore, is a purely Tamil Moral Code of world-wide fame. This contains several chapters enjoining rules as to how a King should administer justice. A Tamil King had his Cabinet of Ministers to help and advise him in dealing justice between his subjects, his Dharma Śāstras to refer to and to follow, his army to enforce his decrees and his fortress to protect his dominions.

Padai Kudi Kúz amaichu natpu arañ árum
oodayán arasarul yeru

Thirukkural—Iraimatchi (1)

"He is the chief among Kings, who possesses all these six parts, viz., the Army, the Subjects, the Cultivation, the Ministry, the Friend and Fortress." History would inform us that the Tamil country once extended to the Himalayas on the north and included a vast extent of land, viz., the submerged Continent of Lemoria on the south. But Tamil country as it is commonly understood now is confined only to South India. This has been so, for the past more than 2,000 years. For the purposes of this paper, we would, therefore, take the Tamil country to mean Southern India.

The King was always available to his subjects who were allowed to represent their grievances to him in person. He

Judicial Tribu-
nals. had an auditorium and a Darbar, where all people had free access. He held an

inquiry and dispensed justice to aggrieved subjects. But primarily the Ministers were responsible for the peace and well-being of the subjects and only when they failed in their duties, people approached the King with their complaints. This was the case more or less in the metropolis or in places where the King was personally available. In those days the village was the unit of administration and every village was self-contained in social and civil life and each village had its own Court which was a

sort of democratic Assembly constituted by the common consent of the villagers. These Courts or Village Assemblies had their own Court-House and assembled there and decided all civil as well as criminal matters between the villagers. We see, thus, there were three kinds of Judicial Tribunals (1) the Village Assembly, (2) the Ministers and Judicial Officers, and (3) the King.

We come across with personal complaints only and written complaints are not much heard of. Whenever any wrong is done

to any person he has free access to the
village Court or to the Minister or in
extreme cases to the King in Council seated
in his auditorium. Without any formality

Complaint and
Appearance of Parties.
he is at once heard in person. To prevent abuse of power by the Court-keepers, who may render access to the King impossible by not allowing a person into the King's presence or deny entry into his auditorium, there was a novel and public arrangement which we rarely hear in other countries. A large bell is hung up at the outermost entrance of the King's auditorium and any aggrieved person who desires to complain to the King in person is at liberty to ring it if he could not get entrance or a hearing, otherwise. The ringing thereof was supposed to tell the highest of the wrongs inflicted on a subject and unremedied by officers of the state and the King would come out and hear for himself. Kings in those days used to pride themselves that the bell never rang in their reigns as indicating of the fact that their subjects were all justly governed and none had any grievance to represent. This bell was called the (Áráichi maṇi), i.e., the bell to induce re-search (probably into uninquired grievances of the subjects). The Judiciary had their own clerical and other staff to help them in their trials. Whenever a complaint was brought forward, the adversary would be sent for and the Court messenger would under orders, go and bring the accused or defendant before the Court. There were cases when the complainant

or the plaintiff himself brought with him the opposite party whom he invoked in the name of the King, to go to the Court for answering the charge he was to make before it. Such was the awe and obedience the King's name was able to instil into the minds of subjects and the reverence of the sovereignty was able to command. Whenever any person felt himself aggrieved, he used to raise a hue and cry and people would naturally assemble and the injured party would throw out a challenge to his opponent to accompany him to the Court and the other party could do nothing but obey. When this was not the case the defendant would be got at by means of a messenger sent with orders to bring him up to answer the charge. Cases were not wanting even in those good old days when Court messengers did not carry out the orders of the court out of illegal considerations. (Periapuranam—Thirunavukkarasu—90.) There were cases when the complainant himself accompanied the court's messenger to take hold of the accused and bring him before the court. (Thiruvilayadal Puran: Māmanāka vandu Valakuraitha Padalam—17.)

When the other party has appeared the complaint or charge is directly put to him and he is required to plead.

Pleadings.

If he admits or pleads guilty, decision is given according to custom or Śāstras. But if he denies an inquiry will be held and parties and witnesses examined and documents received and all the principles of a trial that underlie our present-day Judicial trials were observed.

If it is the case of the King inquiring in person he almost invariably availed himself of the consultation of the minis-

The Inquiry.

ters and the benefit of their counsel, i.e., the King heard cases in Council. As has already been said the Ministers in their turn relied for their opinion on Moral and Judicial Codes of the realm. If it was a case of the village assembly, they gave their decision in consultation with all the members. In any case,

everything was done openly in the presence of the parties and in accordance with the same definite rules and procedure. The plaintiff or complainant was questioned first and the defendant was heard in answer. After the parties had thus set forth their case, the witnesses on either side were heard and the documentary evidence was also called for, scrutinized and weighed and considered. Circumstantial evidence was also let in and considered, and in cases of doubt the help of God was sought for. Several instances are given to show the various ways in which that help *from above* manifested itself for the guidance of the perplexed judiciary. In support of a case, three kinds of proof were recognised, *viz.* :—(1) ancient and binding custom, (2) documents, and (3) witnesses, this being the order of merit.

Átchiyil ávañathil anrimattayalár thangal

Kátchiyil múnril onru káttuvái. . .

—Periapuranam—Thaduthátkonda Puran—(56)

“Adduce one of the 3 kinds of proofs, *viz.*, (1) ancient and binding custom; (2) documents, and (3) witnesses who have seen the thing.”

This is the version of a judicial requisition as we get from Peria Puranam (lives of sixty-three Saivite Saints), a pure Tamil work written in the eleventh century A.D.

There can be no question or difference of opinion about the proof of a particular custom which may be pleaded in support of a particular case. Such a custom if ancient and binding will be known to the people at large and much more to the King, his Ministers or the Assembly and parties will find no difficulty to prove or disprove a case if they rely on custom for their support. In other words valid and binding customs were taken judicial notice of. The difficulty comes in only when we come to witnesses and to documentary evidence.

Custom as Evidence.

As for witnesses only direct evidence seems to be generally in vogue. "Ayalār thangal katchi." This would only show that the evidence of persons who have actually seen the thing was what was considered desirable.

Direct Evidence.

The surrounding circumstances and the demeanour of the parties were not overlooked and they had their own place in Tamil Jurisprudence. "Witnesses may lie, but not circumstances" is our maxim and our present-day Courts are giving more importance to surrounding circumstances or what is called in legal language, circumstantial evidence, than to direct evidence, i.e., the testimony of persons who speak from personal knowledge. But this was not the case with ancient Tamil Judiciary.

Circumstantial evidence and demeanour.

They weighed circumstances with caution and did not attach so much importance to it as we do now. And I give hereunder a small anecdote in illustration of this. On the outskirts of the famous town of Madura of South India, there were forests which separated it from towns outside. One Brahmin

A Case of Circumstantial Evidence.

with his wife and baby wended his way through this forest from Thiruppathur, a town in the interior of the Madura District towards Madura City. On the way his wife felt thirsty. The Brahmin asked her to stay by the shade of a particular huge tree and went away to fetch water. When the lady was lying down of fatigue, the shaft of an arrow which was once aimed at some birds on the tree and which did not hit its mark, but was caught amidst the twigs and leaves of the tree was now shaken and thrown down by the winds, and it fell right on the chest of the lady, pierced it through and caused her death instantaneously. Just at that time a hunter with bow and arrows in hand, who was out hunting in the forest came to the tree for resting under its shade and was standing in another side under its outspread branches. The Brahmin returned with water but found to his amazement that his wife was lying

dead with an arrow pierced through her chest. He was bewildered and stunned and naturally suspected some foul deed. He started searching for the culprit and found the hunter with bow and arrows resting on the other side of the tree. He naturally concluded that the hunter had murdered his wife and demanded of him the reasons why he did it. The hunter was startled and stoutly denied all knowledge of it. Then the Brahmin took him to the King as also laid before him the corpus delicti, *i.e.*, the corpse of his wife, and lodged his complaint. Even there the hunter denied all complicity with it. The King was in a fix. He saw that all the circumstances pointed to only one conclusion, that is, the guilt of the accused. He asked his policemen to try and find out the truth. They tried by all their usual means. But the hunter persistently and consistently denied his having anything to do with it, and his face and demeanour told no guilty knowledge. There were no other witnesses. The King consulted his ministers. They too were unable to come to any conclusion. Then the King placed the hunter under custody and sent away the Brahmin to come next day after finishing the funerals of his deceased wife. Not knowing what to do, the King went and prayed to his God Sree Somasundara to show him the way out of this dilemma and he heard a voice from the sky ring in his ears that he should go and wait with the Brahmin at a wedding house in the Vysia Street next day to get an explanation of this. He did so accordingly. There he heard, by the divine grace, conversation between two persons who were none other than the messengers of the God of death. One of them asked the other, "How on earth can we take the life out of this bridegroom without any excuse such as any kind of illness or things of the kind?" To this the other replied "Oh! my friend, this is not at all a difficult job. We did a similar thing yesterday by shaking and throwing down the arrow from the tree, we took away the life of that Brahmin

lady. Just so, let us unyoke the cow from the cowshed in the backyard and drive it into the crowd and make it attack the bridegroom and when he falls down, take his life away. It is very easy for us to find an excuse for taking the lives of mortals." The King and the Brahmin heard this distinctly, and their doubts were cleared. But still they waited for confirmation of what they heard. Just the next moment the thing they heard did actually come to pass and the bridegroom was found dead by the attack of the cow. The King was confirmed in his belief, begged pardon of the hunter, and let him off with a reward as also the Brahmin was sent off with a fitting present to enable him to marry a second wife.

This is detailed in Thiruvilayadalpuranam, a work of about the 12th century A. D.

In this anecdote we see how circumstances lied and how dangerous it was to come to any conclusion merely and solely on their strength and with what caution, contrary to what we do now, the ancient Tamils received them. That the system of keeping persons accused of grave offence in custody, when under trial, was in vogue even then, is also evident from this story. Police methods of extorting a confession or detecting a crime were not unknown even in those days. We also see the anxiety felt by Kings in finding out the truth.

Let us see how documents were received, treated, and tested and considered in proof of facts alleged in support of a case.

In those days agreements and writing in token of them were known. Agreements were called *Isaiivu*. The writings

Documents and how they were proved. were of course on palmyra leaves and they were preserved in curls within a protection sheet or cover made of the same leaf.

Copies were taken and used for reference, and originals produced when required. Copies were called *Padi olai* and originals

Mūla śalai. Original documents were preserved for the village commonwealth by some such arrangement as our present-day registration department but with this difference, *viz.*, our registration department preserves only copies and ensures the genuineness of the original, while the ancient arrangement of the Tamils was to preserve originals of handwriting and signatures, so that they might be compared with any subsequent and disputed writings, signatures, attestations, etc. This had also the advantage of ensuring the proper custody of the undisputed handwritings and signatures without fear of manipulation or forgery. Agreements and documents were attested and after a long lapse of years when the executants and attestors would not in the nature of things, be available, or would be dead, the Judiciary decided the genuineness or otherwise of a particular document by comparison of the signature of executants and attestors, with those in undisputed documents produced from proper and safe custody of the commonwealth. There were workman's or servant's agreements, *Aḷ śalai*, where the executant bound himself and his heirs to do personal service to another and such agreements were enforced against the heir, if the original agreement was proved. Even agreements in contravention of accredited and valid custom were enforced by Courts, if proved. In a pure Tamil poem of the eleventh century A.D. composed by Saint Sekkilar, the Prime

A case of documentary evidence; how proved.

Minister of the Chola King Kulothunga I, we find the following records of an incident about a famous Śaiva Saint Sree Sundaramurthi Swami who flourished in or about the 9th century. The Saint, who was an Ādi Śaiva Brahmin (a particular and separate sect of Brahmins doing *pūjā* in Śiva temples of South India) was engaged in his wedding. There appeared Lord Śiva in the form of an old Brahmin amidst the wedding congregation and threw out a challenge that he had a dispute with the bridegroom and unless that was settled he would not allow him to perform his marriage. The bridegroom

and the persons assembled felt curious and inquired what it was. The old Brahmin replied that the bridegroom was his slave or servant. They replied they had not yet heard of a Brahmin being the slave of another and probably the old man was insane. But he promptly retorted that there was a document to support his claim and took out an old document. The bridegroom got angry and tore it off. Then the old man created an uproar and all agreed that they should go before the village assembly at Thiruvannainallur (a town in the interior of the Cudalore District) to which place the old man said he belonged. Accordingly they all went thither and the old man lodged his complaint straight. The Assembly demanded proof of his unseemly and unwordly allegation. He said, what was torn by the bridegroom, was a *copy* and he had the *original* safe with him and produced it before the Court. The Court-clerk, unfurled it, found it to be an ancient document and read it out. That purported to be *an agreement to do personal service* or a permanent and *hereditary slave agreement* by the *grandfather of the bridegroom in favour of the complainant*. The Assembly ascertained about the *attestors*. None being available, they got their *attestations proved* to be satisfactory by other means and also sent for *undisputed signatures of the executant*, from *safe custody* and *compared the handwriting and signatures with those in the present agreement*, found that they agreed and declared the agreement proved and gave a judgment in favour of the plaintiff, the old man.

Iruṇmarai midattón kaiyil ólaikandavaióréva

Arulperu karaṇathānum ávanam tholuthuvángich

Churulperu madiyai níkki viriththathan thonmai nókki

Therulperu sabaiyór kétpa váchakam seppukinrán.—(58)

“On seeing the palmyra leaf in the hand of the one who had hidden his *nīlakaṇṭha* and under orders of the house, the bench clerk, took it from him humbly, unfolded it and having

satisfied himself about its being an ancient document read it out to the hearing of the assembly.”

Arumarai nával áthi saivan Árúran *saiikai*
 Perumuni Vennainallur pithanukki *yánumenpál*
Varumurai marapulórum vazithondu seithatku ólai
 Irumayál ezuthi nérnthén Iythatkivai ennazuthu.—(59)

“By these presents Áruran, Áthi Saivan by caste, belonging to Návalur, declares his solemn act, *viz.*, that he and his heirs for all generations are bound to render perpetual service to Pithan of Vennainallur and has attested his signature to this *ólai* agreement in acknowledgment thereof.”

Váchakam kéttapinnar mattumél *ezuthittárgal*
Ásilú ezuthai nókki avaiyokku menrapinnar
 Másilla maraiyóriya mattungal péránártham
 Thésudai yezuthéi yágitteriyappártharithi enrar.—(60)

“On hearing this and *after attestation of attestors being proved to be genuine*, the assembly asked him (Sundarar) to inspect and tell them if the signature was that of his grandfather.”

Anthaṇar kúravinnum álóai yivaneí kaṇban
 Thanthaitan thanthai than vérezuthu *kaicháthunóláki*
 Yintha vávaṇathinodum ezuthunír oppunókki
 Vaṇḍadhu mozhimin enran valia vat kollum vaḷḷal.—(61)

“When the assembly said this, he that had come to exact service, told them: ‘Who is he to judge of the signatures in this (Álólai) agreement? Please send for any other genuine documents with the signature of or written by his grandfather, compare the writing thereon with that in this document and give your decision.’”

Thiraṇḍama maraiyór thámum Thirunávalúrar kómun
 Marundathu thelya *matta maraiyavan ezuthál ólai*
Araṇḍaru káppil vérónt tazaihudan oppu nókki
Yirandumothiruntha thennéi! yinicheyalillai yenran.—(62)

"The members of the assembly, in order to clear the doubt, caused to be brought in the presence of Sundarar Thirunāvalúrar, another leaf, from *proper* and *safe custody*, with the accredited signature of the grandfather, compared it with the disputed and decided that they both agreed and declared the result accordingly."

—Periapuranam—Thaduthātkondapurānam.

These are taken from the Tamil work referred to above and the italicised portions indicate the point in question.

There are no indications to show that any fee was levied for complaints or plaints or for documents or for copies or for any act done in the course of any judicial trial, unlike our present-day administration of justice which has to be paid for in the shape of stamp or fees at every stage of it from the beginning to the end. In those days we hear only of oral complaints in all cases, Civil or Criminal. It may be said that our Criminal Procedure Code also allows oral complaints to be made to Magistrates. But that remains only on paper and Magistrates who take cognisance of offences or oral statements are very few and almost nil. The cost of administration of justice was met from the general revenues of the King and Justice in the village assemblies was thoroughly free from top to bottom.

Let us now see some of the ideals that the Tamils kept in view regarding their administration of Justice. The first ideal was that every complainant had a free access to report to the King or the Tribunal about any injustice done to any soul in the land. Not only were the people free to represent their grievances but also bold enough to expose to his own face the wrongs done by the King to them. In Silappathikaram a pure Tamil work composed by the Chera Prince Illangovadigal, about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and which is

Justice Ideals of
the Tamils.

an epic recording an incident contemporaneous with the author, we find the following:—

Kannagi, the famous heroine of the epic, once in very flourishing circumstances, had come to Madura with her husband for seeking a livelihood. She gave

Kannagi's Incident.

one of her pair of Silambu (a gold ornament worn in the leg by ladies of high society) to her husband to be sold in the market to enable them to start their life in that city. He went into the town and showed it to a Goldsmith. He happened to be a workman in the King's palace who had recently stolen away one of the pair of Silambu of the Queen and whose theft had not yet been found out. The Smith thought that this was a very good opportunity; he could very well hush up all inquiry about his own guilt by shoving it on to the new-comer. He found that the jewel was a very valuable one and of high workmanship almost corresponding to the stolen article of the Queen. He stealthily told the new-comer to wait in his house and went straight to the King's private room (when he was not in his auditorium and had not the benefit of the advice of his Ministers and Council) told him that he had found out the thief who stole away the Queen's jewels red-handed with the stolen property and that he is in his house. The King hastily and not caring to fully inquire into the matter called his Police and ordered them to go out and see if the stolen jewel was with the man, execute him and bring the jewel to him. Accordingly the jewel was seized and the man executed. On knowing this Kannagi, the famous heroine, came to the palace in a rage and told the Court gate-keeper to inform the senseless and despotic King that a lady who has lost her husband is waiting at the gate with a jewel, one Silambu, in her hand. She had immediate admittance and on being accosted by the King that the execution of a thief is not an act of a despot, she boldly retorted that the jewel was her own; one of the pair which she had given to her husband for

sale in the market and proved her statement by breaking the other one of the pair she had in her hand when rubies rushed out from it while that of the Queen's contained only pearls inside. The King was completely nonplussed and exclaimed, "Am I a king who listened to the words of a Goldsmith? No! I am the thief! I am a despot! let there be an end of my life," and so saying fell down senseless.

From this not only the freedom with which people had to discuss and expose the wrongs of Kings to their own face, is evident, but also the ideal that kings set before themselves of their high duties as guardians of the life and liberties of their subjects is brought out.

"Mannavan voymudal 'therithathu manyéi
Thálntha kudayan thalarnta senkolan
Ponsei Kollan thunsotkétta
Yáno arasan? yánei kalvan!
Manpathai kákkun thenpulam kával
Yenmuthat pizaithathu! kedukaven Áyul! ena
Mannavan mayangi vílnthananeh."

—Silappathikáram—Vazakkurai káldai—72—78—

(The gist of this is given above.)

This is not the only ideal the ancient Tamil Kings set before themselves. They thought that they should always be under the fear that they might not do any injustice, even unawares or unknowingly, to any soul under their rule. They employed spies and spies over spies to learn the truth of cases that might come up before them for decision and they considered *the spy* and *the high moral code* as the two eyes of the King with which he saw all things. A spy is set over another spy without the one knowing the other and a truth thrice corroborated thus, was deemed to be guaranteed.

Ottottri thantha porulayum mattrumór

Ottinal ottikkolal—

(The information given by one spy must be tested by that given by a second spy.)

Ottott runarámai álga; oodan múvar

Sottokka thérap padum—

• (Spies must be handled and set up without the one knowing the other. A truth thrice corroborated is deemed guaranteed.)

—Thirukkural (Tamil work of the 1st century), Chapter Ottádal—Verses 8 and 9.

The spy is not rewarded in public lest his secrecy is lost. Our present day C. I. D would dwindle into insignificance before this ancient system of the Tamils.

Sirrapparya vottinkat cheyyatka; cheyyil

Purrappaduthánágum marrai—

(Let not the spy be rewarded or recognised in public; else the secrecy is lost.)

—Do.—Verse 10.

Even this truth, thrice verified, Kings would be afraid to believe and they used to go out incognito at night to learn the truth for themselves.

Ottitteriyá, sirappurath thóorthumenap

Pottól thunaiyáth thirithanthum—kuttam

Arivarithen tanjuvathái sengónmai; senru

Muraiyidinum kélámai yanru.

“True and responsible kingship consists in being afraid by saying unto oneself. ‘Oh! truth may not come out by the spy. Let me go out incognito and try to know in person, and even then the cause of guilt may not be fully revealed’ and not in refusing to hear even when a personal complaint is made.”

This stanza says even things thus learnt in person incognito some Kings were afraid to take for the full and whole truth.

King going out
incognito to learn
truth.

True sovereignty consisted in this and not in not listening even to complaints made in person. Thousands of years ago the Tamil

Kings treated the dumb animals in their land alike with their human subject in the matter of getting justice at their hands. An instance is referred to in Silappathikaram (of the beginning

of 2nd century) of a still more ancient
All beings treated alike. *Chola* King at Thiruvavur in Tanjore

District driving his chariot over his own only son and heir-apparent, as he (the son) had unawares drove his car over a young calf and caused its death and the parent cow came and complained to him by ringing the search-bell with its horns. This incident is narrated in detail in Peria Puranam (already referred to: work of the eleventh century). A story is told of the Tamil *Chera* King, who flourished in the 9th century, that he was not willing to take up the reins of government as he was afraid he could not do justice to all souls in his kingdom including insects, animals and men, all alike. For this purpose he prayed and begged God to give him the extraordinary power of knowing all that is said by any soul on earth, be it any animal, insect, bird or man. He got it accordingly from his creator and then only ascended the throne and by the help of the extraordinary power, of knowing the language of all animals, he was able to know the grievances of all souls and to give redress and make them all alive happily in his regime.

Alavil perumai yagila yónigalun kazarittarinthavattin

Oolamannia meiyuru thuyaram onru mozia vakayakatti...

—Periapuranam—Kazarittarṭṭar Nayanar
 Puranam.—(40)

“Having understood the language of all and each and every soul in God’s creation and by such knowledge removed every cause of complaint from their hearts by giving adequate redress.”

This is also recorded in the said historic narrative work of the eleventh century, *viz.*, Peria Puranam.

In Silappathigaram (of the 1st century A.D.) we learn that, in the ancient Tamil capital, Kaveripumpattinam, there

was a square (*Pūdu sathukkam*—the devil's square) where a devil loudly proclaimed its existence and devoured persons who bore false evidence before courts, moral delinquents and others of the kind; as also there was a hall or auditorium where there was an image that shed tears—whenever the King did a wrong or the judiciary were partial and gave wrong decisions. They were intended to safeguard the King's administration of justice—*Silappadikaram*: *Indravizavu Edutha Kādai*, 128—138.

Dismissal of complaints unheard under various provisions of our present Criminal Procedure Code and dismissal of complaints for default or decrees *ex parte* under our present-day Civil Procedure Code were unheard of in those days of ancient Tamil Kings; Courts and village assemblies and those who resorted to them did get real justice untrammelled by complex rules of procedure, conventionalities and technicalities which do not affect the merits of a case, and which are much in evidence in our judicial trials of the present day.

The personal law and the law of property such as succession, inheritance and the like of the ancient Tamils, were quite distinct from what has now been developed by the British Courts into Hindu Law as at present understood, based on the *Mitāksharā*, the *Dāyabhāga*, and other Codes. These Codes had nothing to do with the Tamils of Southern India who had, as already observed, quite a separate culture of their own. The introduction of these Aryan Codes and their enforcement on the Tamils, is done on a misunderstanding that the Tamils formed part of the Aryan race. This has completely eclipsed the Tamil culture and is thus an injustice done to them. But these are distinct and separate subjects to be dealt with at length separately and so I content myself with only referring to them.

No dismissal or decree *ex parte*.

Personal Law and Law of Property of the Tamils.

(3)

INHERITANCE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

(*Travancore*).

Dr. Tylor postulates that the study of the principles of survival has no small practical importance and that insignificant as multitudes of facts of survival are in themselves, their study is so effective for tracing the course of historical development through which alone it is possible to understand their meaning. Following the lead of Dr. Tylor, the British School of Anthropologists attach great importance to survivals of mother-right as a means of tracing the development of human institutions, and the accumulation of a large store-house of facts had led them to conceive that mother-right represents the original state of human society, and that, where existing societies are patrilineal, their father-right has been preceded by an earlier institution on a matrilineal basis. The land of Kerala affords a veritable mine of information, as polyandry both of the *Nayars* and fraternal type has been prevalent among the Pre-Dravidian and Dravidian peoples with its accompanying form of inheritance, the mother-right. It may be noted in this connection that father-right has been silently replacing mother-right with the impact of fresh culture among the *Nayars* and other Dravidian peoples.

The importance of survivals does not court much attention on the continent of Europe, while they are ignored by the American Anthropologists. When maternal descent was first trotted out by Bachofen, such a usage implied the

former sovereignty of the female sex. According to Lowie, this belief is now gracing the refuse heaps of anthropological science, and the belief in the universality of mother-right, which has been an article of faith with British scholars, has been seriously questioned with the exception of Morgan, who believed that mother-right had priority over father-right. Tylor relied on such survivals of custom as levirate and couvade for conceiving the idea of universality of mother-right. These data are not, according to Lowie, sufficient to warrant the above view. Lowie thinks that mother-sibs and father-sibs have grown out of sibless organisations.

Again, it is recognised that the existing institutions of mankind are not the result of a simple process of evolution, but that there has been a process of blending and interaction of cultures, often widely different from one another. Dr. Rivers illustrates this point with the aid of Melanesian society in which the earlier matrilineal society suffered great modification at the hands of the immigrant people imbued with patrilineal sentiments. He concludes that, so far as Melanesia is concerned, there is no reason to give up the view that, where patrilineal institutions exist, they have been superposed upon an older stratum of matrilineal society. American anthropologists dissent from the view, and opine that father-right evolved without the intermediate stage of mother-right. My researches in Travancore tend to the same view.

The most primitive type of order of inheritance is that the father's property devolved on sons in common, while

the chief dignity which was not divisible
 Father-right. fell to the eldest. Sir Henry Maine,

the main sponsor of this theory, starts from a primitive line of descent from father to son. The Hill Pandarans of Central Travancore form a typical instance. They are, like the Veddas of Ceylon, one of the Pre-Dravidian hill-tribes, who retired before the march of civilization into the recesses of hills and

who subsist by hunting and collecting hill produce. Among them, sons succeed to the patria potestas on their father's demise. The Todas of the Nilgris and the Kammalars of Travancore, who practise fraternal polyandry, consider that the children are common to all, and sons inherit only that which is heritable property, such as cattle from their father (Todas). Among them there is a highly developed sense of private ownership of livestock, but, in the matter of land, there is communism. In other words, they own pasture lands collectively.

The evolution of family subsequently transformed the rule of inheritance of property, but left that of dignity untouched. In every primitive community,

Inheritance by Brothers, age is a source of reverence and influence.

Considerations of fitness therefore made it desirable to entrust the management of common interests of the family to the eldest and most experienced member, and this has produced the collateral line of inheritance by brothers. Among the Muduvans, a hill-tribe of Travancore, a man's property goes to his elder or younger sister's son with the reservation that the property is first enjoyed by his younger brother before it passes on to his nephew. Debts are inherited as property is. The Mannans on the Cardamom Hills have the same type of inheritance. Outside India, it prevails in Sumatra, where property and rank are enjoyed by brothers, before they pass to sister's children.

The inheritance of widow of deceased is placed in the same category as property. The claims of the mother to subsistence out of her husband's property

Inheritance of Widows, makes her remain with her sons. These claims are according to Stareke, connected

with the customs including her in her brother-in-law's inheritance. It is remarkable that we find, among the Mannans of Travancore, the custom by which a man marries the widow of his deceased brother. Should she disfavour the match, she

is at liberty to marry any one else. Among the Pulayas, the brother of the deceased marries the widow.

The Arabs think that connection between a widow and her brother-in-law is desirable, as family property is kept intact; since in joint family groups brother succeeds to leadership of the community and its interests and general protection are committed to his care, so also are widow and her children, which takes the form of marriage in primitive conditions. The importance of property of deceased is a factor preventing the widow from returning to her family.

McLennan asserts that brother's inheritance both of widow and property occurs, where polyandry has been previously practised; but other anthropologists, notably—Starcke and Westermarck, dissent from this view. They consider it irrational to seek for causes of connection between widow and her brother-in-law in polyandry, and that the exercise of marital right in husband's lifetime would only become a necessary condition, if carnal considerations formed the cornerstone in the development of the family. The life and habits of primitive peoples like the Mannans of Travancore do not justify the conclusion, as customs were not formed under the influence of considerations with reference to means of enjoyment.

"Man," said Humboldt, "ever connects on from what lies on hand." The notion of the continuity of customs and civilization embodied in this statement is no barren maxim. To begin with, man lived in family, inheritance being patrilineal. As they grew in size with the growth of tribal feuds, they lived in aggregations, producing patrilineal and matrilineal institutions. American anthropologists believe that father-right evolved without an intermediate stage of mother-right and that matrilineal peoples imposed their rules on patrilineal peoples.

Mother-right still exists among backward peoples, but its days are numbered owing to the impact of fresh culture.

(4)

A MIKIR TALE OF THE SWAN-MAIDEN TYPE AND ITS PARALLELS.

KALIPADA MITRA. M.A., B.L.

(Principal, Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr).

I read with much interest the story of Harata Kunwar related in Messrs. E. Stack and C. J. Lyall's book entitled 'The Mikirs' (1908). The name itself suggests that the tale itself was in all probability derived from Hindu sources and it was given a local setting and colouring to harmonise it with Mikir life. This has created at times a subtle humour arising out of a constant endeavour to give the tale a truly Mikir air. For instance, the six daughters of the King of the Great Palace, the Children of the Sun-god, came to bathe in the river; after disporting in the water for a time they are suddenly reminded: "O my dears, it is cooking time! time to serve up the food: time to house for the night our fowls and our pigs. . . or, Let us go! It is time to pound the rice, time to clean it after pounding, time to cook, time to serve up, time to heat the beer, time to squeeze it from the rice grains. . .". And lo, they beautifully flew away into the heaven, and were lost to the bewildering gaze of Harata Kunwar. Though daughters of the Sun and the King of Heavens they cannot transcend the lowly duties of an humble Mikir home!

The author says, "It was most probably derived from some Indian source, though so far as known, no version of the tale in its entirety, as told by Hindus, has yet been published. The name of the hero, Harata Kunwar, may be

the Indian Sarata Kunwar, and is evidently not Mikir. But all the setting—the colloquies of the six brothers and their father, the attempt on Harata Kunwar's life, his methods in defeating his treacherous kinsmen, his device for winning his fairy wife and many other features of the story—seems genuinely local."

I believe that such tales of winning heavenly brides by carefully secreting their clothes or wings and depriving them of their flying virtue, and many other tales of like nature, are current amongst the people who are the repositories of many an unrecorded tale. The relation of such a tale told in the vernacular to an imaginative Mikir has excited his fancy and stimulated his story-telling faculty, and here we have a Mikir version of the tale with a Mikir *dénouement* that touches the strains of a Mikir heart. I believe also that the fountain head of the majority of our tales afloat in unrecorded vernacular folk-lore is to be sought for in ancient Sanskrit or Buddhistic springs of folk-lore, *e.g.*, the Kathāsaritsāgara, that inimitable "ocean of stories," the Divyāvadāna, the Jātaka stories, etc. It would be interesting to make an attempt to trace as many stories as possible to their main spring.

In this article I propose to give a summary of both the Mikir tale and the tale in the Divyāvadāna with a view to point out the essential similarity between them.

Harata Kunwar was one of six brothers, the youngest of them. He idled away his time in shooting deer and wild pigs and did no field work. The matter was talked over between the father and his sons. One said he would become headman of the village, the second that he would be a blacksmith, the third that he would labour in the fields, and so on. Thus all the five brothers unfolded their plans as to how they would support their father. Harata Kunwar said, "As for me I would marry a daughter of the Sun-god, and having become a great king I will seat you on a throne, or a

fine couch, I will cause slaves male and female, to bathe your arms and legs and I will give you beer, rice and spirits." They could not brook this tall talk of Harata's and planned to kill him. His sister-in-law overheard them and divulged to him the danger he was in. He took precautions to save himself and baffled the designs of his father and brothers. He left his home in disgust and came to his grandmother's house. He lived there and one day while bathing in the river he went up the stream, though forbidden by his granny, and saw shards of broken water vessels of gold and silver lying about. He asked her what all that meant. After some demur she told him that the *ghat* belonged to the King of the Great Palace. His six daughters, six sisters, came there to bathe. She forbade him to go there. But he heeded not. "At midday the six daughters of the Great Palace came to bathe there in the river. Descending beautifully each one laid aside her clothes and jumped into the water." After frolicking in the water, on the eldest sister's admonition to attend to domestic duties in their celestial home, they all departed. "One after another they shook out their clothes in the breeze, put them on and beautifully flew away, but the youngest of them flew away last of all, lovely like the brightness of the moon or the sun." They entered heaven and were lost to the sight of Harata. He was determined to get one of them to wife, and sought his granny's counsel about it. She said, "These are the children of the Sun-god. . . how should you who are a man's son succeed in getting one to wife?" But finding him resolute she gave him a plan to act upon. A beautiful garden abounding in flowers of many kinds sprang up where there was a wild jungle, thanks to Harata's industry. He built him a hut and occasionally played on his flute some bewitching strains. The celestial damsels attracted by these fascinations came to him and even asked for flowers which he most readily gave them. His granny now said to him, ". . . The elder sisters, all five, have got husbands already.

As for the youngest, the King of the Winds is asking for her to marry her to his son, already the *gourds and chungas of beer* (for the wedding feast) have arrived. Nevertheless having singled out her petticoat from among the others while they are all bathing, bring it here to me. I will weave a petticoat just like it in exchange for it; put it down in the same place where her real petticoat was, her own petticoat let us hide away. Then she will not be able to fly away. If she asks for her own petticoat back again, say, 'one or other of you must marry me.'" All happened according to the plan. Harata Kunwar after having exchanged the counterfeit petticoat for the real one went to his jungle hut and played the flute. Never was heard such playing.

After their bath they put on their clothes and flew, but the youngest could not. They knew it was Harata who hid away her real petticoat and begged him to return it. He insisted that one of them should agree to marry him before he would return it. As each one of the other five had her husband and children, and the youngest was only betrothed, the latter had to marry Harata Kunwar. Thus the hero was happy, and night and day he shot deer and wild pigs. Thus passed one year. And God gave Harata Kunwar a child, one son only. Now he prepared to go home with his wife, though his granny warned him that his wife had not yet made up her mind to stay with him. After encountering some adventures Harata reached home with his wife and son. His wife was blazingly beautiful, and all the people of the countryside kept coming and going to gaze upon her.

Harata put away carefully in a bamboo *chunga* his wife's own petticoat and striped cloth, with her gold ornaments, etc., and tied them up in the pitch of the roof. He then went away to pay visits to the people of the village. Meanwhile all the women wondered at the beauty of Harata's wife. She said, "Not so lovely yet as I might be. If I were to put on again my own petticoat, my striped cloth, my necklace and

bracelets, then, indeed, there would be something to see." Harata's father untied the bundle and gave it to her. She put them on and became inconceivably beautiful. Then she flapped her clothes and gracefully flew away back to her own place. Harata saw her as she was flying away. She said, "Wait! Hereafter we shall meet again."

Harata wept bitterly, came to his house, and without eating or drinking took the child on his back and went to his granny's house: She said "How will you get to see her now? How will you be able to reach her in heaven?" He wept more bitterly. Then she told him to go to the *ghat*, hide himself there and when the elephant of the Sun-god would come to bathe there and after the bath would return, to hold on to its tail¹ taking care to fasten the child to his waist with his turban. When he arrived in heaven he should remain concealed on the river bank. "Then male and female slaves will come to draw water there in order to bathe your wife (who was going to be married with the son of the King of the Winds). Call out to them, "Give me one draught of water for the child. Then if they give you the water, drop into the water-pot a gold ring. Then your wife will call for you. Go to her, and when you arrive, put down your child on the ground, then the child will go of itself to its mother."

Harata acted up to the plan. When the water was given to him, he deftly let slip a gold ring into the water-jar of an old woman. When it was poured on his wife, the gold ring fell out. So Harata was summoned to her presence. He came there with his child. It ran up to its mother's lap and began to suck her breast. Then the King of the Great Palace was scandalised and exclaimed, "They have got a child big between them already!" So the King of the Winds' folk

¹ Cf. how in Ch. LXV of Soma Deva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*—"Kailāśagāmi-mūrkha-kathā"—the fool with both hands held tightly the tail of the holy bull who lifted him up to its home in Kailāsa.

were ashamed and returned home, sad and sorry. So they celebrated the wedding of Harata Kunwar and the daughter of the King of the Great Palace.

I am now giving a brief summary of the story of Sudhanakumāra (Story No. XXX in the *Divyāvadāna* edited by Cowell and Neil) :

There was a hunter named Halaka who obtained from a Nāga king a snare named *Amogha pāśa* (lit. unfailing snare) by which the snakes protected themselves from their traditional enemy, Garuḍa. With this *pāśa* the hunter came to a great forest where lived a Ṛṣi, a great sage, and he asked the latter if there was any marvel or strange spectacle to be seen there. The Ṛṣi said, "Here is a tank all abloom with flowers, such as, lotus, *kumuda*, *puṇḍarīka*, etc. Its name is *Brahmasabhā*. On the full-moon day Manoharā, the daughter of Druma, the king of the Kinnaras, comes to bathe in the tank, attended by a retinue of five hundred Kinnara damsels. At the time of the bath they sing sweet songs and make charming music." The hunter listened to it attentively and waited there intent on experimenting the value of the magic snare. On the full-moon day Manoharā came with her friends and disported in the water of the lake. The hunter threw the *pāśa* on Manoharā and made her captive. Her followers flew away. She then surrendered to him a jewel named *cūḍāmaṇi*, saying : "*Eṣa cūḍāmaṇir yasya haste tasyāhaṃ vaśā bhavāmi, asya anubhāvenāhaṃ uparivihāyasā gacchāmi*" (trans. I am under the control of him who holds the *cūḍāmaṇi* in his hand. Through its magic power I can fly in the skies). The hunter brought her to Prince Sudhanakumāra, son of Raja Dhana, and made her over to him. He took her to Hastināpura, the capital of the kingdom, and made her an inmate of his harem.

Now two Brahmanas came to Sudhanakumāra from Jetavana. One became the *purohita* (family priest) of his father.

The other was assured *purohitaship* by the Prince when he would become the king. The *purohita* grew jealous and intrigued against the Prince, and prevailed on the King to send him to subdue an outlying village which rose in rebellion. The Prince lingered on for some time, but he had ultimately to go. Before his departure he asked his mother to keep the *cūḷāmaṇi* with her and never give it to Manoharā. The *purohita* now made a plan to kill Manoharā. The King had dreamt an evil dream. The priest who was also a sooth-sayer assured the King that the evil effects of the dream could be warded off if a proper sacrifice was made, to wit, by offering incense fed with the fat of a Kinnara (*Kinnaravasayā ca dhūpo deyo*). And he archly suggested that his daughter-in-law might be sacrificed, for she was a *Kinnarī* as other Kinnaras were evidently not available.

The other *antaḥpurikāḥ* (ladies of the harem) who were jealous of Manoharā were very glad on it. But the queen was sorely perplexed. She could not be a party to such a foul play. Now in order to save Manoharā, she made over to her the jewel *cūḷāmaṇi* and her clothes and requested her to return once more. (*Tatastayā sa cūḷāmaṇir vastrāṇi Manoharāyai dattāni uktā ca 'putrike, prāpte kāle āgantavyam evaṃ mama upālambho na bhavati.'*) Then Manoharā flew away in the heaven much to the astonishment of the King and the *purohita*. Before she went back to her place she gave directions to the Rṣi of the forest where she used to come to bathe as to how Sudhanakumāra could reach her father's kingdom. And handing over a ring to him she requested that it might be made over to the Prince when he would come in search of her (*tasyemām aṅgulimudrāṃ dātum arhasi evaṃ ca vaktavyam*) and gave elaborate directions (on pp. 450, 451, *Divyāvadāna*) as to the way which should be taken to reach her father's house.

When the Prince returned to the palace after subduing the country which rebelled, unbounded was his grief

to learn what had happened in his absence. He became disconsolate and went out in quest of his beloved till he reached the hermitage of the R̥ṣi. He got from him the token ring and following closely his directions he at last reached the palace of Druma the Kinnara King. There he found that a large number of Kinnarī maidens were drawing water from the large lake in the King's garden. He enquired why so much water was needed. They replied, "Druma, King of the Kinnaras, has a daughter named Manoharā. She associated with men. The human smell attaching to her was to be washed off with jars of water." When Sudhanakumāra learnt that the water of the jars would be poured in turns over her head, he dropped the token ring in one of the water-jars unnoticed by anybody. (*Sa samlakṣayati śobhano'yam upāya imām aṅgulimudrām ekasmin ghaṭe prakṣipāmi. Tena ekasyāḥ Kinnaryā ghaṭe anālakṣitam prakṣiptā, sā ca Kinnarī abhihitā, anenatayā ghaṭena Manoharā tatprathamataram snāpayitavyā.*) He, however, addressed the Kinnarī in whose jar he dropped the ring and requested her to bathe Manoharā first with the water of her jar. When Manoharā was thus being bathed the ring fell on her lap. She immediately found out that the Prince had come. The tale happily ends and Druma gave his daughter to be the Prince's wife. (*Kumāra eṣā te Manoharā Kinnarīparivṛtā bhāryārthāya dattā.*)

The essential features of the stories are:—

- (1) the maidens are of *heavenly origin*, i.e., they are the daughters of the sun, or she is the daughter of the Kinnara King;
- (2) their power of flying resides in their clothes, or in a magic jewel (and clothes; Sudhanakumāra's mother restored her clothes also to Manoharā although the reference to clothes is absent in the earlier part of the story where the jewel *cūḍāmaṇi* itself imparts on the wearer the flying virtue);

- (3) they may be made captive when their magic things are taken away ;
- (4) they are married to mortals, but they do not like to remain with men and long to go away through some opportunity created by their own cunning device, or as in the case of Manoharā by somebody else's kindness ;
- (5) the same contrivance of accomplishing the final reunion between the mortal and heavenly pair of lovers by means of a ring which falls out from a jar of water poured over the heroine in both cases is indeed very striking and one tale has doubtless borrowed it from the other.

All other matters are extraneous and must differ in two different societies. Manoharā feels love for the Prince and gives a token ring for him to trace her to her father's kingdom following the route she carefully communicated to the Rṣi. The gold ring of Harata Kunwar is his own. The finer sense of the poet of the *Divyāvadāna* gives her almost a maidenly air, whereas the Mikir version introduces a grosser element (suited the Mikir taste) by making Harata's babe sucking at its mother's breast.

The playing of the flute by Harata Kunwar after he stole away the petticoat of the youngest daughter of the Sun-god may have been unconsciously suggested by the reminiscence of Kṛṣṇa's playing on the flute and taking away the clothes of the Gopīs when they were bathing in the Yamunā, and I am glad to find myself in agreement with Dr. Crooke on this idea.

In a Kashmiri tale (No. XII in *Hatim's Tales* edited by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson : London, John Murray, 1923) entitled *The Tale of the Akhun*, the Akhun is advised by the Princess to go to the stream where she picked up a ruby. "Thou wilt come to a spring. Thou must dig a pit close to the source of the spring and hide thyself therein. At first six females will come to bathe in the spring. Do thou

nothing to them, but afterwards thou wilt see coming the eldest sister of these six. She will also go down to the spring to bathe. She will doff her clothes and leave them on the bank. Thou must then go secretly and carry off her garments." She was the fairy Lalmal, and was compelled to follow the Lapidary to his house where she gave him rubies for "either at every word she spoke, a ruby dropped, or else seven rubies fell each day from her mouth."

On this the late Dr. H. Crooke observes in the Introduction to *Hatim's Tales* (p. xlii): "Further on in the episode where the jeweller seizes the garments of one of the girls as she is bathing, we have a version of the Swan Maiden Cycle, of which an early form appears in the legend of Kṛṣṇa when he takes the garments of the Gopīs as they are bathing in the Jumna. In many cases of tales of this cycle the Swan Maiden is captured to be eventually married to the hero. Sometimes, as in the present case, she is held to ransom . . ."

Perhaps the earliest allusion to the Swan-Maiden 'motif' may be found in the story of Urvaśī and Pūruṣavā in the R̥g-Veda, where on almost a collusive pretext Urvaśī leaves her human lover and flies away to her celestial abode. Celestial or supernatural nymphs capable of transforming themselves into swans by a ring or chain or a robe of swan feathers figure in the Aryan myth. The Germans have *Schwanenjungfrau*. Baring Gould in his *Myths of the Middle Ages* (1868, Ser. II, ix, 298) regards them as "the houris of the Vedic heaven, receiving to their arms the souls of the heroes." We have the celebrated "Ivalde Myth" in the Teutonic mythology. "Ere the sons of Ivalde warred against the gods they loved three swan-maidens whose songs in summer were sweet to hear. One morning the snow-white birds flew towards a lake in Woldales. The brothers followed them and they beheld sitting on the shore three beauteous Valkyries. Beside them lay their swan-coverings

and these the brothers captured and then had they the swan maidens in their power For seven years they all lived happily together. But in the eighth year the swan maids were seized with longing and in the ninth they flew away in search of conflicts (D. A. Mackenzie, *Teutonic Myth and Legend*, p. 282). This Ivalde Myth, contends Rydberg, was the mainspring of the Volsunga Saga and the Nibelungenlied which in their turn were the sources of the Middle Age popular romance, and which affected the popular folklore. References may be made to H. Marryat's *Year in Sweden* (1862, lxiv, 389, note; 1865, *Early History of Man*, xii, 341, note) and Stallybrass's translation (1880) of Grimm's *Teutonic Myth*, I (xvi, 427-428—"Many tales of swan wives still live among the Norse people . . . When they bathe, in the cooling flood they lay down on the bank, the swan ring, the swan-shift").

On p. 72 of the "Mikirs" appears a note:—

"A very exact parallel to the story of Harata Kunwar will be found in Mr. S. J. Hickson's book entitled *A Naturalist in North Celebes* (London, 1889), pp. 264—266. It is a story current among the Minahassa people of that region, of heavenly nymphs in whose clothes resided their power to fly and one of whom was captured by a man who made her his wife; other details agree closely with those of the Mikir story."

The story of a mortal marrying a heavenly maiden, his separation and final re-union by means of a token ring is related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgar Ed., Taraṅga 4):—

Vidūṣaka married Bhadrā, a maiden of the Vidyādhara race, by the *gāndharva* ceremony. They lived happily for some time in the enjoyment of heavenly joys. Meanwhile Yogeśwari, friend of Bhadrā, came to her and told her in secret: "My friend, the Vidyādharas are angry with you, because you live with a man, and they seek to do you an injury; therefore leave this place. Go to the great mountain of Udaya in the land of the Siddhas unapproachable by the Vidyādharas after passing

the city of Karkoṭaka and crossing the stream of Śītoda and leave directions to your beloved mortal who may journey up and join you there." She informed Vidūṣaka of this and departed after giving him her ring. He became disconsolate and started out in quest of Bhadrā. After encountering many an adventure he finally reached the land of the Siddhas, mounted on the shoulder of a Rākṣasa whom he had subdued. He beheld a delightful lake where came many beautiful women to draw water in golden pitchers carried in their hands. On enquiry he learnt that the water was for Bhadrā to bathe in. One of the women desired him to lift her pitcher on to her shoulder. "He consented, and when he lifted the pitcher on to her shoulder, the discreet man put into it the jewelled ring he had before received from Bhadrā¹... And while they were pouring over Bhadrā the water of ablution, the ring fell into her lap." Bhadrā recognised the ring and was finally united to her husband.

Associated with this "declaring presence" motif do we find the "tasks" motif. "Thus it appears in well-known cycle of tales where the hero is given various tasks to perform before he can gain his bride, and must pick out the girl from a number exactly alike." The story of Śrīṅgabhuja and Rūpaśikhā, the daughter of Agniśikhā the Rākṣasa, may be cited (*Kathā*, pp. 178 ff). Śrīṅgabhuja is set the tasks of—(a) selecting Rūpaśikhā from amongst her hundred sisters looking equally alike; (b) ploughing with a yoke of oxen a hundred *khāris* of sesame seed; (c) regathering the seeds into a heap as before, in all of which he succeeds with the help of Rūpaśikhā. N. M. Penzer in his "Ocean of Story" (Vol. III, pp. 225 ff.) refers to similar tasks—Psyche: in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius Lib. Cap. X; Grimm's *Märchen*, Nos. 62,

¹ *Tatheti ca ghaṭe tasyāḥ skandhotkṣipte sa buddhimān
Nidadhe Bhadrāyā pūrvam dattam ratnāṅgulīyakam.*

186, and 193; *Svend's Exploits* in Thope's *Yule-tide Stories*; No. 83 of *Sicilianische Märchen*; and Stoke's *Indian Fairy Tales* (tale xxii).

Now such stories reappeared in different parts of India in varied textures of different strands woven according to the fancy of latter-day story-tellers. I am giving an illustration. Let us take the story of *Prince Amul Manik and the Princess Husni* in Kincaid's *Tales of Old Sindh* (1922). Princess Husni was the married wife of the Prince. A *Fakir* told the Prince that she was in love with Suphed Dev. Every Thursday she got into a Pipul tree and by her sorcery made it transport her and her companions (sixty slave girls) to the Bisti garden of the Dev. The Prince following the advice of the *Fakir* and using an invisible cap which he got from him, got into the Pipul tree unnoticed, came to Suphed Dev's garden and by the same conveyance came back. But as he had not torn her wings which he was advised to do she flew away. The *Fakir* now advised him to find out the Dev's garden. Mounting his father's Samundi horse he jumped across the seven seas, cured on the way a lioness who suffered from sore-foot, got from her two lion cubs who served him out of gratitude, and reached a palace standing on a beautiful lake. The mistress of the palace was a fairy princess, the sister of Husni. She advised him to capture her in the following way: "Well, to-night is Thursday night. Husni will come to-morrow morning with her slave girls: they will take their clothes off, and will plunge into the lake. When they are in the water, *take Husni's clothes away and she will be at your mercy.*"¹ One of the lion cubs sprang upon Husni's clothes while she had plunged into the water....." So, she said, I yield, Prince, you have beaten me fairly." Then taking a *nose-ring* from her nose she gave it to him and said: "Next Thursday night come to Suphed Dev's garden. There you will see a number

¹ Italics are mine.

of fairies dressed in scarlet clothes carrying gold and silver jars. Go up to them and ask for water for your horse. While your horse is drinking, slip this nose-ring into one of the jars. I shall see the nose-ring and take it out. Then I shall send a slave girl to fetch you. You must come out and...call at the top of your voice, 'Suphed Dev is going to marry my lawful wedded wife!' Suphed Dev will then say: 'you should be able to recognise her. Can you?' You must answer, 'yes.' Suphed will put a hundred fairies in a row, all exactly like me, and will tell you to pick me out. In the meantime I shall put the nose-ring in my nose and so you will be able to recognise me."

The following elements of the Swan-maiden character in the Sindh tale are noteworthy :—

- (a) She is a fairy princess with wings able to fly ;
- (b) She is married to a mortal Prince, Amul Manik (p. 77) ;
- (c) The condition, however, is that they live in separate palaces (unwillingness to stay with him) (p. 77) ;
- (d) (i) Her flying power resides in her *wings* which if clipped would make her subject to the Prince (p. 81) ;
- (ii) In her clothes (pp. 83, 84) which when possessed by the Prince make her subject to his power ;
- (e) The incident of the ring (here the nose-ring) and the water-vessels ;
- (f) Princess Husni is at last merciful to him ;
- (g) Suphed Dev's proposed marriage with her to be compared with the proposed marriage of the daughter of the Sun with the Wind-King's son in the Mikir tale.
- (h) For additional items of the identification parade and tasks see the stories of Rūpaśikhā, and the Divyāvadāna.

Another Swan-maiden incident of "the holding-to-ransom" type occurs in the story of *Kāmsen and Kāmrup* in the same *Tales of Old Sindh*, p. 128. King Kāmsen overheard the conversation between two birds one of which indicated how he could recover his wife Kāmrup who was now living with the fairies: "On the eighth day the fairies with their queen Shapuri and Kāmrup will come and bathe. He should then *seize queen Shapuri's robes* and refuse to give them back unless she restores Kāmrup to him."

This coincidence therefore raises the interesting question of migration of tales. As I have pointed out elsewhere (cf. the article *Bird and Serpent Myth*, *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XVI, p. 192), India profoundly influenced the Eastern Islands in the Indian Ocean and disseminated Indian culture far and wide. No wonder then if such a tale of the Swan-maiden type found its way into North Celebes. It may be asked how it could reach the Saragh Minahassa people. But the Mikir story of Harata Kunwar itself is a Hindu tale and in another article I am pointing out that most of the tales in Mr. Bompas' *Folk-lore of the Santal Pergunnahs* were derived from ancient Sanskrit and Buddhist sources, as well as from Bengali folk-lore not yet printed and published, and are not of Santhali origin. Savages have been known to enjoy and borrow tales of their civilized neighbours.

I am of opinion that tales which have in remote times migrated to other countries have also filtered down to our modern times and been preserved, either recorded or unrecorded, in modern folk-lore amongst the people in India. Hence if a parallel is found between tales occurring in different parts of the world influenced by Aryan myth-migration, or even in different parts of India, one of the reasons for such resemblance may be due to their descent from common parent-hood in the shape of some very ancient Buddhist or Sanskrit tale.

(5)

POLO UNDER THE CHĀLUKYAS.

G. K. SHRIGONDEKAR, M.A.

(Baroda).

While going through the विनोदविंशति of the मानसोल्लास otherwise known as the अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि I came across a chapter entitled वाजिबाह्यालोविनोद where a game is described which is played on horseback with sticks and a ball. The description of the game as given in this chapter at once brought to my mind the modern game of Polo, and anyone reading this chapter will have to acknowledge that Polo existed in India in A.D. 1131 when Mānasollāsa was composed.

The मानसोल्लास is an encyclopædic work divided into five Viṃśatis, each Viṃśati comprising of twenty chapters and thus there are hundred Adhyāyas or chapters in the whole work. The first Viṃśati is called the राज्यप्राप्तिकारणविंशति, the second the राज्यस्थैर्यकारणविंशति, the third the भोगविंशति, the fourth the विनोदविंशति and the fifth is called the क्रीडाविंशति. This work deals with a variety of subjects of special interest to kings and royal personages and as such the Mānasollāsa is our only authority on such matters. This work is supposed to have been written by the Western Chālukya King Someśvara, surnamed भूलोकमहल, who was an orthodox Hindu king, and the picture presented in his Mānasollāsa is of the glories, pomps and paraphernalia of a purely Indian Court and Royal Household, because the Western Chālukyas were never known to have been influenced by Muhammadan civilization. The first two Viṃśatis of this book have been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as No. 27.

Polo does not seem to have been existent in India in very ancient times. It is mentioned neither in the Rāmāyaṇa nor in the Mahābhārata. Had it really existed in those days, it would certainly have been mentioned as there are many appropriate places for mentioning the game in question in these two great epics.

Another book that gives us an idea of the manners and customs of Indians of its time is the **दशकुमारचरित** of Daṇḍin. We find **कन्दुकक्रीडा** mentioned in this work, but there is not a single reference to a game like Polo. The Harṣacarita too is silent on this point. The negative evidence of these four authorities combined leads us to infer that this game of Polo did not exist in Ancient India. Either it was introduced into it from somewhere outside, or the game originated here independently.

European authorities are of opinion that the game is Persian in origin and the information given by them in their books is collated here briefly as follows:—

I. “The earliest reliable records that have hitherto been discovered speak of the game of Chaugan as being played by the Persian kings of the Median period, 600 B. C. Firdousi who wrote the “Book of Kings” (Shāhanāmā), although living in the eleventh century, gives many traditions of the habits and customs of the Persians of the fifth century B. C., and for the present we must be satisfied with the date. I am of the opinion of Mr. Dehalvi, that the game spread from Persia to the East and that the Tartars learnt the game from the Persians.

The British Museum contains many interesting drawings which can leave no doubt that the ancient game of Chaugan is identical with the modern game of Polo. Among these is one illustrating a game of Chaugan being played by ladies about the time of Akbar. This depicts four ladies richly dressed, riding astride and seeming perfectly at home, and masters of the art. The details are so well drawn that the bandages or coverings to the horses’ legs are seen to be practically the same as those in use at the present day.

When Persia was conquered by the Muhammadans the latter took up the game with as much zest as their predecessors, and it is, in all probability, the Muhammadan conquest which spread through Afghanistan and throughout India that carried the game to the East. It also appears that the Byzantine Princes of the twelfth century played Polo. From Persia the game must be followed to India where a hardy race of Indians who inhabited the country spreading from the Punjab on the west to Manipur in the east, took up the game. To the Manipuries and their neighbours we owe a deep debt of gratitude for having preserved the game from extinction when it disappeared from Southern India with the decline of the Mughal power. It is a curious problem why a game that was once so popular throughout the whole of India should have so utterly disappeared and remained extinct until reintroduced by our native frontier forces during the present century.”—F. HERBERT: *The Encyclopædia of Sport*, Vol. II, 1898 A.D.

II. “Polo [etymology doubtful, probably from Tibet pulu—a ball]. It is a game resembling hockey but played on horseback. It was played by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus about the middle of the twelfth century. It was introduced into the United Kingdom in 1871 by the 10th Hussars, and the first match played in England took place probably at Aldershot in the spring of the year.”—*Encyclopædic Dictionary*.

III. “Polo (Tibetan pulu—a ball) the most ancient of games with stick and ball. Hockey, the Irish game of hurling (and possibly Golf and Cricket) are derived from Polo. The latter was called Hockey or hurling on horseback in England and Ireland respectively, but *historically hockey and hurling are polo on foot*.

The earliest records are Persian. From Persia the game spread westward to Constantinople, eastward through Turkestan to Tibet, China and Japan. From Tibet Polo travelled to Gilgit and Chitral, possibly also to Manipur. It also flourished

in India in the sixteenth century. Thus for two hundred years its records in India cease, till in 1854 Polo came into Bengal from Manipur by way of Cachar and in 1862 the game was played in the Punjab.”—*Encyclopædia Britannica*.

In the Bengali Viśvakośa the Polo is called चौवानबाजी. This game is played in Ladak and Tibet wherein it is called Polo. It is played in Astar and Gilgit and the people of Gilgit called it बुछा and the ground on which it is played is called सतारन.

Whatever the fact, the game was certainly known in South India as is quite clear from the passage quoted below from the Mānasollāsa. It is an open question as to how and when it entered the south. But it seems quite possible that it was known to the South before North India knew it, because the Mānasollāsa mentions it as an already established game. So it must have been known in the south at least a hundred years before, i.e., almost before the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni, who is never known to have gone beyond Kathiawad. No Persian or Muhammadan conqueror went to the south before that time. चौवान is nowhere mentioned in Shivaji's Rājavyavahārakośa, which shows that the game had totally disappeared from the south in Shivaji's time.

It did not enter the south with the Mughals, because the first Muhammadan Emperor of Delhi who entered the south was Alla-ud-din Khilji who invaded the south in 1294 A.D. These invaders went to the south after the Mānasollāsa was composed.

It is accepted by all that literature and sports can flourish only under favourable circumstances. Under the Chālukyas there was peace and happiness for a long time; hence works like Mānasollāsa could be composed under their rule. Polo is a game by which proficiency in the art of riding can be very easily tested. Moreover the game with balls in India is very ancient. This very game played on foot, of

course, might have improved under royal patronage to assume a form equivalent to the modern polo.

Now the objection may be raised that वाजिविनेद of the Mānasollāsa is an interpolation. In reply I have to give the dates of the available MSS. of the work. These dates vary from 1592 Śaka to 1930 Samvat. The date 1592 Śaka corresponds to 1672 A.D., i.e., Shivaji's coronation date, and we know from Shivaji's राजव्यवहारकोश that this game had disappeared from the south at that time. Moreover simply because the copy comes from the north this chapter cannot represent an interpolation in the original of which it is a copy. This chapter of वाजिविनेद is mentioned in the very introductory chapter of the book where the Viṃśatis and the contents of the whole book are enumerated. Like other Viṃśatis this विनेदविंशति is also divided into twenty chapters such as शस्त्रविद्याविनेद, शास्त्रविनेद, हस्तिवाद्यालीविनेद, वाजिवाद्यालीविनेद, etc.

Thus this chapter is a part and parcel of the book and not an interpolation, because otherwise the number of chapters could have increased. Furthermore, in this chapter had there been a mention of two games with horses we might be in favour of taking one among them as an interpolation. As mention has been made only of one game with horses we may safely take it as the original. The very opening lines of the chapter also preclude us from holding such an opinion :

साम्प्रतं वाजिवाद्यालीविनेदः प्रतिपद्यते ।

पूर्वं भूमिं परीक्षेत वाद्यालीहेतवे नृपः ॥

With these few preliminary remarks I will proceed to give the necessary extract from the chapter of वाजिवाद्यालीविनेद with its translation :

The chapter begins with the description and examination of the site suitable for the game. This ground with walls is called वाह्याली.

साम्प्रतं बाजिवाह्यालीविनोदः प्रतिपद्यते । पूर्वं भूमिं परीक्षेत वाह्यालीहेतवे नृपः ॥
अर्कर्मामपाषाणां गर्तशङ्कुविवर्जिताम् । न मृद्नीं नातिकठिनां प्रागुदीचीप्लवां शुभाम् ॥
विशालां सुसभां रत्नक्षणां वाह्यालीं कारयेन्नृपः । शतघ्नान्तरमितां चतुरक्षां समन्ततः ॥
वृत्तिसंवेष्टितां द्वारद्वितयेन समन्विताम् । उत्तरप्रान्तदेशे वा समीरस्यानुकूलतः ॥
दक्षिणप्रान्तदेशे वा कुर्याद्दर्शनमण्डपम् ।

“Now I shall explain the game played in the arena on horseback. First the king should select the site for this arena. It should be free from mud and gravels, should be neither soft nor hard, should be sloping towards the north, should be auspicious, extensive, even and charming. It should be 100 bows, *i.e.*, 400 hands square. It should have walls on four sides and should have two doors. He should according as the wind is favourable, erect some hall for the spectators (for watching the game) either to the north or to the east.”

After describing the ground, the author describes at great length the kinds of horses according as they come from different countries. Then he talks of the training of the horses, and removing their bad habits, thus making them fit for the riding of princes. Then he talks of the formation of the two parties, and the persons with whom he should go to the वाह्याली *i.e.*, the arena :

कृतानुरूपशृङ्गारान्विभजेच्च द्विधाकृतान् ।
स्वपक्षे स्थापयेद्दृष्टावष्टौ पञ्चान्तरे विपेत् ।
अन्तःपुरैः कुमारैश्च सचिवामाल्यमन्त्रिभिः ।
अन्यैर्बहुविधैः पात्रै राजयोग्यैः समन्वितः ।
सुखासनं समादृष्ट्वा वातिनं प्रिवया सह ।
ततः प्रविश्य वाह्यालीं सहस्रात्मप्रवेश्य च ।
मण्डपे पूर्वसङ्कुल्लप्ते यथास्थानं विवेशयेत् ।

“Then there should be two parties made, each consisting of eight players suitably dressed. Then should the king accompanied by the ladies of the harem, princes, various ministers and other persons befitting his dignity and riding a fine horse along with his wife, enter the arena, and make all those that accompanied him well accommodated in the spectators’ hall erected beforehand.”

Then follows the regular description of the game :—

ततः स्वयं समारोहेद्दिव्यं काम्बोजवाजिनम् ।
 धन्वान्तरत्रयादन्तर्द्वारयोस्तोरणद्वयम् ।
 तोरणस्तम्भयोर्मध्यं चतुर्थन्वन्तरायतम् ।
 कुर्यात्कन्दुकनिष्कासं ज्ञातुं जयपराजयौ ।
 यैश्च कन्दुकनिष्कासः कृतस्तेषां जयो भवेत् ।
 वक्रकुण्डलिताग्राः स्युर्वैज्रजा दृढबन्धनाः ।
 शोण्येन चर्मणा नद्धा मुखे कृष्णेन गुण्ठिताः ।
 पञ्चाङ्गुलपरीणाहा गेहिकारबाहुमात्रिका (?) ।
 शोभिता हेमपट्टेन कच्चिद्रत्नविभूषिताः (ता ?) ।
 प्रगृह्य गेहिकाः सर्वे पञ्चद्वितयसादिनः ।
 आरोहेद्युर्ध्वान् वाहान् स्वतोरणसमीपगाः ।
 सुवृत्तं कन्दुकं बल्लसं पारिभद्रकदारुणा ।
 चर्मणा वेष्टितं भयं लोहितं दण्डिरञ्जनम् ।
 दुर्वाद्या प्रेरयन्तस्त्वं गेहिकाप्रेष भूतले ।
 कन्दुकं चालयेदेकः परतोरणसम्मुखम् ।
 तत्पञ्चाशच्चानुगच्छेयुः प्रतिपञ्चारच सम्मुखम् ।
 आगच्छेत ततस्त्वेकः कन्दुकं ताडयन् बलात् ।
 अवयुक्तेन बाहेन प्रतीपं कन्दुकं नयेत् ।
 प्रतिपञ्चसार्थैवान्यः कन्दुकं परिवर्जं (तं) येत् ।
 एवञ्चोन्मत्तश्च वाचायातायातैश्च कन्दुकम् ।
 क्रीडन्तः प्रेरयेयुस्ते बहुधातैरनेकशः ।
 पुरोचातेन तेष्वेकः परचाद् चातेन चापरः ।

तिर्यग्घातस्तथा चान्यो बहिर्घातस्तथेतरः ।
 गेडिकाग्रेण सङ्कुहय नयेतान्यो विहायसा ।
 गगनस्थं परः सादी गेडिकाग्रेण धारयेत् ।
 अपरश्चाश्ववारोऽपि तमादायाम्बराजयेत् ।
 एवं सङ्कुलघातेन कन्दुकं भुवि चाम्बरे ।
 नयन्तस्तोरणस्यान्तर्बहिर्निष्कास्य कन्दुकम् ।
 जयं लभन्ते तत्पञ्चास्तूर्यनादविजृम्भितम् ।
 विनोद्य कन्दुकेनैवं जयमासाद्य भूपतिः ।
 तस्मादवतरेदश्वास्तूयमानश्च वन्दिभिः ।

वाजिवाह्यालीविनोदः, मानसोह्लास ।

"He should then mount on a horse of the Kamboja country. There should be two gateways—doors—the front door and the back door. The back door should be 3 Dhanus, i.e., 12 hands distant from the front door and the distance between the pillars of each door should be 4 Dhanus, i.e., 16 hands. To know the success or defeat (of a party) the ball should be made to pass both the doors. Those that pass the ball through both the doors are said to be victorious. The riders (players) of the two parties should take up strong sticks of cane (for passing the ball) with their fronts turned like hooks, with their breadth 5 angulas and their length up to their bodies (?) the main portion of which is covered over with red leather and the end by black, sometimes adorned by golden belts and sometimes by jewels, and mounting their excellent horses should stand near their goals. By stirring the horse with a trot one should move towards the goal of the other party, pass the ball which is round, made of *paribhadra* wood (*Pinus Devadaru*) covered over with leather, red in colour, decent and attractive, and the other players of the party should follow the ball (towards the opposite goal). One of the opposite party coming forward should, with a forcible stroke, take it

to the first side making his horse run with speed. One of the first party should again send it back, thus they should, while at play, drive with many strokes the ball from this to that side in a keen contest. One should take it forward with a stroke, another should take it behind by a stroke, it should be sent from wing to wing and another should take it beyond the goal. One should take the ball in the hook, and throw it above; another should catch it before it falls to the ground. Another player should take it from above and drive thus by various strokes taking the ball along and above the ground, should take it through the goal and take it completely out of the goal. Then that party will get victory, made known to the spectators by the sound of the ^{१५}तुरग (bugles). Thus playing with the ball and getting victory the king should get down from the horse, being at that time praised by the bards."

In one of our extracts quoted above, we see that there is a picture of four women playing this game. Another picture I saw in the Baroda Museum (which was brought there by some one for sale) had four men with sticks in hands and a ball playing on horseback. Thus both these pictures do not show both these parties, *i.e.*, 16 men in all as is described in the Mānasollāsa. Nowhere is the goal seen. From the fact that eight persons formed one party and from the peculiarity of goals (*i.e.*, double door goal) it seems that the game as described in the Mānasollāsa is thoroughly Indian. The play with four persons in a party, as they play now-a-days or as is seen in Mughal pictures, is an improvement.

Another thing in favour of my conclusion (that the game is Indian) is that there is no word in the description of the game connected in some way or other with Persia, China and Tibet, etc. Words like Geddika, Duvali, etc., have special connection with Tamil or Canarese.

As we do not know of any great conqueror going to the south and introducing this game there before the Mānasollāsa

was composed, we think that the game as described in the *Mānasollāsa* must have originated in India and gone from India to Tibet, etc., and was preserved there.

Measurements of the ground, etc., of Polo as given in the *Encyclopædia of Sports*:—

A full-sized ground is 300 yards long by 200 yards wide. The goal posts are 8 yards apart.

These measurements are almost the same as they are mentioned in the *Mānasollāsa*. These measurements also make us think that the game might have travelled from India to Tibet. The word Polo (from *pulu*—a ball) is Tibetan. The very word along with the play went to Manipur from where it went to the British Regiments and ultimately to England and America. The first match played in England was with eight players in a party. As the British borrowed the game indirectly from Tibet, they must have learnt that in Tibet each party required eight men. This also shows that Tibet preserved the Indian system of eight players in a party. The number afterwards reduced to five and now it is four in a party.

In the absence of any other authority to the contrary we are inclined to think that the game as described in the *Mānasollāsa* originated in India. It is, however, worth noting that in naming the game the Tibetans know it by the “ball” (polo from *pulu*—a ball—the game with a ball) while Indians know it both by the ground and the horse (*वाजिबाह्यालीविनोद*, the game with a horse in the arena).

(6)

FEMALE CHARACTER AS DEPICTED IN THE PĀLI TEXTS.

Dr. BIMALACHARAN LAW, M.A., Ph.D., B.L.
(Calcutta).

Good household wives are always devoted and dutiful to their husbands. They sacrifice their personal comforts and are always ready to undergo all sorts of misery in order to wait upon their beloved husbands. They are called supreme comrades (*bhāriyā paramā sakhā*).¹

Woman—her character as wife.
The Sambula Jātaka records an exemplary character of a devoted wife. The husband being attacked with leprosy left the city and came to a forest. The devoted wife, frustrating all attempts of her husband to stop her, followed him to the wilderness to wait upon him. Her devotion to her husband was so very great that being the chief consort of a prince and bred and brought up in luxury, she nursed her diseased husband like one habituated in doing all strenuous household duties. Daily she used to rise early in the morning, sweep out the hermitage, keep some water for her husband to drink, furnish him with a tooth-stick and water to rinse his mouth. She used to grind various medicinal herbs and anointed his sores. Daily she went into the forest with a basket, a spade and a hook to gather wild fruits and herbs. In this way she watched over her husband in the forest till the latter was cured of leprosy. On coming home the ungrateful husband took pleasure with other women and ignored the very existence of this devoted wife, who felt this dishonour strongly, and through jealousy of her rivals, she began to grow

¹ Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 37: "one to whom one may tell a secret that can be told to no one else."—Commy. (Kindred Sayings, I, p. 52. f-n. 3).

thin and pale, so much so that her veins stood out upon her body. The true devotion which this woman cherished for her husband was given vent to when she said in grief, "A woman may be in splendid attire, but if she be an unloved wife she should put an end to her life by fixing a rope." Such a devotion did not go unrewarded. The devoted wife, at the intervention of an ascetic, regained her former position of honour from her husband (Jātaka, No. 519).

The Kakkaṭṭā Jātaka furnishes us with another instance of real devotion to husband. Once some robbers attacked a Sāvathian landowner and his wife. The robber-in-chief was deeply moved to see the exquisitely charming and beautiful woman and intended to get her by killing the husband. The woman was a good, virtuous and devoted wife. She fell at the robber's feet crying, "My Lord, if you kill my husband for love of me, I will take poison, or stop my breath and kill myself too. I will not go with you. Do not kill my husband." Thus the woman succeeded in saving herself and her husband (Jātaka, No. 267). Instances of virtuous women may easily be multiplied. Thus we hear of Sujātā, a faithful, virtuous and dutiful girl who properly discharged her duty to her husband and parents-in-law (Jātaka, No. 194). Asitābhu was another good and beautiful wife. She was not taken care of by her husband who used to enjoy himself elsewhere. She took no notice of this indifference. She invited the two chief disciples of the Buddha, made them presents and listened to their teachings, until she reached the fruit of the First Path. At last thinking that her husband had no need of her, she embraced religious life and in course of time became a saint (Jātaka, No. 234). Rāhula's mother was another devoted wife. She renounced worldly life on her husband's and son's embracing religious life (Jātaka, No. 281). A truly devoted wife pines away for the loss of her dear husband. Kosala-devī, for instance, died of love for her husband who was deprived of his life by his own son

(Jātaka, No. 239). Good wives do not like that their husbands should leave them and embrace ascetic life. Some women whose husbands had joined the order, dressed themselves in their finery and with child in arms tried in various ways to seduce their ascetic husbands from the order, but they were unsuccessful (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 15-16, 184 and 226). One of them listening to her husband's words, was deeply moved and thought of the uselessness of leading a domestic life being deserted by her husband. She then renounced worldly life and joined the order of sisters (Ibid.' p. 14).

A husband is a woman's 'emblem and sign' (*bhattā paññānam iṭṭhiyāti*, Sāmyutta Nikāya, pt. I, p. 42). "Even though she be an emperor's daughter, once married, a woman is known as 'so and so's wife.' There are, however, several cases where she is called so and so's mother, or famed under her own name though married, e.g., Visākhā" (Kindred Sayings, I, p. 58, f.-n. 3). Woman is the 'commodity supreme' (*iṭṭhī bhaṇḍānam uttamam*).¹

The Buddha himself says, "A daughter may be better than a son if she is intelligent, virtuous and devoted to her husband and mother-in-law. The issue of such a good daughter may become a hero and ruler of a kingdom" (Sāmyutta Nikāya, I, p. 86).

As there are good household wives so are there bad and wicked wives as well. There are twenty-five different ways in which a wicked woman is known. She praises her lord's absence from home. She is not pleased at his return, she speaks ill of him, she is silent in his praise, she acts to his injury and not to his profit, she does what ought not to be done but she never does what ought to be done, she goes to bed with her

Female wicked-
ness.

¹ Sāmyutta Nikāya, I, p. 43: "Because she is of indispensable utility or because through her, Bodhisats and world-rulers take birth"—Commentary (Kindred Sayings, pt. I, p. 62, f.-n. 1).

clothes on and lies with her face turned away from him, she changes her side frequently, she makes a great ado, she sighs a long-drawn sigh, she feels a pain, she has to solicit nature at frequent intervals, she acts perversely, she lends her ears to a stranger's voice and listens attentively. She wastes her husband's goods, she forms an intimacy with her neighbour, she wanders abroad, she walks along the streets, she is guilty of adultery, she treats her husband with disrespect, she exposes herself shamelessly to passers-by and standing at the door she often looks around with a confused mind (Kuṇḍala Jātaka, Fausböll, Vol. V, pp. 434-435).

There are nine grounds on which a woman incurs blame. If she is fond of frequenting pleasure parks, gardens, river banks and houses of relatives or of strangers, if she dresses herself in smart cloth vest, if she is addicted to strong drink, if she stares about her with idle looks or stands before her door. A wicked woman despises her lord on eight grounds : if the husband be poor or sick or old or a habitual drunkard, or reckless, or dull, or overworked by his cares of business or disobliging (Fausböll, Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 433).

Wicked wives are not satisfied with their lot. They are very exacting. Somehow or other they will have the thing which they are in need of. Husbands' poverty is no consideration to them. Once a poor man's wife intended to go to a festival putting on a safflower-coloured cloth but the husband was too poor to get it. The wife was so obstinate that she did not hear her husband's pleadings for poverty but she caused his husband to risk his life in stealing safflower from the king's conservatories (Jātaka, No. 147). A wicked wife feigns sickness and does not do her household duties. In vain her husband tries to get her cured of her ailment (Jātaka, No. 130). The Kaccāni Jātaka (No. 417) furnishes us with a picture of how strife and discontent prevail in a house owing to the young wife's trick. Young wives do not

like to wait upon old mothers-in-law but they try to poison their husbands' ears against their mothers-in-law (cf. Jātaka, No. 446). The Culla-Paduma Jātaka tells us that a wife was tired of walking and was carried on shoulder by her husband. In course of journey she became so very thirsty that the husband at last struck his right knee and the wife quenched her thirst by drinking blood from the right knee of her husband. They then came to the bank of the Ganges and began to live in a hut. One day the husband saw a robber with hands, feet, nose and ears cut off, drifting down the stream with loud wailing. The husband took pity on him, brought him ashore and cured him. Now the wife fell in love with the stranger and devised a plan to kill her husband. She took her husband to the top of a mountain and in the pretext of offering something to the spirit of the hill, she smote him on the back and hurled him down the precipice. Then she returned home with great joy (Jātaka, No. 193). This is an appalling instance of an ungrateful and treacherous wife. The husband quenched the thirst of his wife with the blood of his own person but he could not win her sinful heart, on the contrary he had to pay the price of his goodness in the shape of loss of his life at the hands of his own wife. Such awful instances of wife's ingratitude and lechery are numerous in the Jātakas. The Vinaya Texts furnish us with an instance of a wife's infidelity. A certain woman, while her husband was away from home, became pregnant as a result of her intrigues with a paramour. She had a premature delivery and got the foetus carried away by a *bhikkhunī*, a confederate of hers (pt. III, p. 345). The Saundarananda Kāvya of Aśvaghōṣa fairly depicts the character of women. It points out that women subdue gods, kings and sages by their amorous gestures, pride, movement, grace, smile, wrath, infatuation and speech (Canto VII, Śl. 24). Infatuated women cause passionate excitement in

men and when infatuation is over, they cause fear. They are a source of crime and fear. They are never worthy to be attended to. They cause dissension amongst relatives and friends. They are fond of speaking ill of others. They are wrong-doers. They earn commendation by their speech and cause pain with their sharp mind. Their words are as sweet as honey but their heart is full of subtle venom. It is difficult to win female minds. As a poisonous creeper, an unsheathed sword, and shelter in a cave inhabited by reptiles are causes of danger and death, so do women cause future danger. Women are the cause of good men's taking into impoverished life, of their hazardous deeds and of their running rapidly in front of soldiers for battle. Physical beauty, wealth, intelligence, lineage or prowess are of no consideration to women who bring about ruin without any consideration like rivers full of aquatic animals. Women do not remember sweet words, caressing and friendship. There is no one more crooked than fickle women. Women give pleasures to those who do not give them anything in return, they are violent to those who give them much, they are proud to those who bow down their head but they are pleased with haughty persons. They forget past friendship and take pleasures with new men just like cows wounded in one field graze happily in another. If husbands be qualified then the wives treat them as husbands, if they possess no merit, then wives behave like enemies. If they be rich then wives follow them through greed, but if they be poor then wives treat them with contempt. Though women embrace self-immolation on their husbands' funeral pyre or voluntarily sacrifice their life, yet they do not suffer for their husbands, because heartily they do not love anybody. A few women serve their husbands as gods; but thousands of women satisfy their own heart through fickle-mindedness (Canto VIII).

The Buddhist literature depicts the bright as well as the dark side of female character. It gives us a vivid picture of the inherent nature of the tender sex. The brightness of feminine

virtue is reflected specially in the lives of *bhikkhūṇīs* and *therīs*. It is indeed remarkable that tenderness of women could endure the hardship of religious life. The dark side of female character, as portrayed in the Buddhist literature, excites terror and hatred though the delineation is a correct representation of facts. People, having got all the terrible traits in the character of the tender sex in one place, cannot entertain respectful feelings towards women. They are apt to cherish frightful feelings and to keep themselves aloof from feminine charms that overcome man's reason. The softness of feminine heart could awfully assume stone-like hardness by sacrificing motherly feelings in attempting to murder a child (D. C., I, 174 ff.). The Mahāvaiṇsa furnishes us with another instance of woman's criminal nature. It tells us that the queen of Devānampiyatissa coveted the kingship for her own son and went so far as to take the life of her husband's younger brother, the viceregent named Mahānāga by offering a poisonous mango which, unfortunately for the lady and fortunately for Mahānāga, was eaten by the little son of the queen with a fatal result (Ch. 22). The ways of women cannot be understood easily. They are as perplexing as the course of fish in the sea (Jātaka, No. 519). Frail as women are, they are of fickle mind which is as changing as that of shiftY monkeys, as the shade cast by trees on height or depth around, and as the tire of wheel revolving swift without a pause or rest. Women are insensible to parents' love and ties of brotherhood. They do not hesitate in playing a shameless part and are ever ready to violate every law of right. They follow the dictates of their own mind in all their deeds (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, p. 445). Their only weapons are speech, smiles, dance and song. They harass unstable minds (Ibid., p. 452). They are as deadly as black serpent's head and as ravenous as a fire (Ibid., p. 446). They are full of seductive stratagem and deceitful. They never tell the truth for truth amongst them is very rare (*saccam*

Frailty of
women.

sulullabham). They hold truth for falsehood and falsehood for the truth (*musā tāsam yathā saccam saccam tāsam yathā musā*, Fausböll, Jātaka, I, p. 295; cf. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 94). In speech, they make no distinction between the false and true (Cowell, Jātaka, V, p. 242). Like fuel burning in a blazing fire they burn the man whom they serve for gold or for desire (Fausböll, Jātaka, II, p. 330; cf. Jātaka, No. 536). They are pleasure-seekers and unrestrained in lust (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, pp. 435 and 448). They are so passionate that no guard could keep them right. They cannot be restrained from going after their desires. The preamble to the Mudupāṇi Jātaka (Fausböll, Jātaka, II, p. 323) says that wise men of old could not guard their own daughters. While daughters holding their fathers' hand, they escaped with their paramours without their fathers' knowledge (*porāṇakapaṇḍitāpi attano dhītaraṃ rakkhitum nāsakkhimsu, pītaraṃ hatthe gahetrā thitā vapītaraṃ ajānāpetvā kilesavasena purisena saddhimi palāyīti*). Women cannot be guarded. A woman was kept in mid-ocean in a palace in the Simbali lake but she could not preserve her honour. She went wrong in spite of the strong guard (*porāṇakapaṇḍitā mātugāmaṃ mahāsamuddamajjhe simbalidahavimāne vasapetvāpi rakkhitum nāsakkhimsu*, Fausböll, Jātaka, III, p. 90; cf. Ibid., p. 187). A girl was brought up entirely by women from her birth. She saw no man other than her husband. She was kept in a seven-storied house which had seven gateways at each of which was kept a strong guard of women only. But such a girl sinned with an outsider who was brought in with the girl's consent by her designing waiting woman. The girl corrupted herself and took to various tricks to prove her innocence (Fausböll, Jātaka, I, 289—295). The Gahapati Jātaka (No. 199) gives us another instance of a wife's playing tricks with her husband in whose absence she used to intrigue with the village headman. The Ucchiṭṭha-Bhatta Jātaka (No. 212) tells us that a wicked wife used to intrigue with another man in her husband's absence. She was so very treacherous

that she gave cold rice to her husband while she entertained her paramour with hot rice. Her crime was soon discovered and she was severely punished for her heinous offence. The *Durājāna Jātaka* (No. 64) says that a sinful and wicked woman who used to misconduct herself would become as meek as a slave on the days she would go wrong but on the days she did no wrong she was found to be a passionate and tyrannical mistress (cf. *Jātakas*, Nos. 145, 198 and 262). A bride while carried in closed carriage accompanied by a large escort, misconducted herself with King Kaṇḍari of Benares who was kept concealed by his minister in a tent-shaped screen in order to be convinced of the depravity of womankind (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, V, p. 439). Passion to woman is all-consuming. Women are proud by nature. They will not let their pride kiss the ground easily by a man whom their heart yearns for. Once a handsome woman seeing a handsome landowner fell in love with him at first sight. The passion within her was like a fire burning her body through and through. She lost her senses, both of body and mind. She cared nothing for food ; she only lay down hugging the frame of the bedstead. Her friends and handmaidens with great difficulty secured the man's consent to enjoy company with the woman. The woman prepared her chamber, dressed herself in her finery and sat on the bed waiting until the man came and sat down beside her. Then a thought came to her mind, "If I accept his address at once, and make myself cheap, my pride will be humbled. To let him have his will the very first day he comes, would be out of place. I will be capricious to-day, and afterwards I will give way." So no sooner had he touched her and began to dally than she caught his hands and spoke roughly to him bidding him go away, as she did not want him. He shrank back angrily and went off home. Thereafter repeated requests failed to bring the man back and the woman at last pined away and died (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, II, pp. 337—340). The *Bandhanamokkha Jātaka* (No. 120)

tells us that a queen had, by her unceasing importunities, caused a king to promise that he should not look on any other woman with eyes of love, but she herself used to sin in the absence of the king. She sinned with sixty-four, messengers who were sent to her by the king on his way to and from the frontier to enquire how she was doing and also to inform her how he (the king) was keeping. On the king's return the queen's crime was soon discovered. The chaplain of the king asked his majesty not to punish the queen as the passions of women are insatiate and she (the queen) had acted according to her innate nature. Kinnarā, chief queen of Benares, misconducted herself with a loathsome misshapen cripple (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, pp. 437-438). Woman is profligacy incarnate (*itthiyo asātā nāma*, Fausböll, Jātaka, I, p. 283). Fired and blinded by their unbridled lust, women do not shrink from misconducting themselves with their own sons, nor do they step backward to take away the life of their own sons whom they suckled at their own breast in order to sin freely with men of their choice. The Asātamanta Jātaka (Ibid., pp. 285—288) says that a blind and decrepit woman, hearing of her own praise from a pupil of her son, thought that the pupil had fallen in love with her. Passion was kindled within her (*andhāya jarājinnāya abbhantare kilesa uppajji*). So one day removing the curtain of shame she said to the pupil, "Do you desire to play amorous sport with me?" (*mayā saddhimi abhiramitum icchasīti*). The pupil answered in the affirmative and said that his strict master was in the way. The woman said, "If you desire me, I shall kill my son" (*puttam me mārehīti*). Thus settled the old woman, one night with the help of a string as her guide, proceeded with an axe to take away the life of her dutiful son. She actually lay down her axe on the throat of a wooden figure feeling it to be her son's. "So lustful, vile and degraded are women, that, giving the rein to lust, a hag like this, and old as she was, actually thirsted for

the blood of so dutiful a son" (Cowell, *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 149).

The *Avadānakalpalatā* furnishes us with appalling instances of woman's lewdness. *Kāmakalā*, wife of *Candan-datta*, a merchant of Ujjain, became very lustful on her husband's going abroad for trade. She intended to go out of the house and to satisfy her passion, but she was advised by her maid-servant to remain in the house and to satisfy her desires secretly. The diplomacy of her maid-servant brought about union with her own son, *Asvadaṇḍa*, in a dark place. After a few days' union, she made herself known to her son who by her advice murdered his father on his return and went to a foreign country with his mother. There *Asvadaṇḍa* and *Kāmakalā* lived as husband and wife. But the infidelity of *Kāmakalā* towards her husband did not cease here. *Kāmakalā* was charmed with the beauty of a merchant's son named *Sundara* and had a clandestine union with him. But she was detected by her son and she had to pay the price of her second infidelity in the shape of loss of her life at the hands of her own son (*Dharmaruci Avadāna*). *Tiṣyarakṣā*, wife of the Emperor *Aśoka*, was moved by the beauty of her step-son, *Kuṇāla*. Removing the curtain of shame, she begged love of *Kuṇāla* but was rebuked and turned off. Enraged at this she entertained evil thoughts against him. At this time *Kuṇāla* was sent by the Emperor to conquer *Takṣaśilā*. There he stayed for some time. Meanwhile the Emperor *Aśoka* fell ill and on the physician's failure to cure the Emperor, *Tiṣyarakṣā* herself treated the Emperor and cured him. Then the Emperor wished to grant a boon to *Tiṣyarakṣā*. The Empress prayed for the kingdom for seven days. The prayer was granted. Having the royal prerogative *Tiṣyarakṣā* sent a royal letter to *Kuṇjarkarṇa* of *Takṣaśilā* asking him to uproot the eyes of *Kuṇāla* and drive him out of the kingdom in a nude state. *Kuṇāla* saw the letter and uprooted his own eyes. Then with his wife *Kāñcanamālā*, *Kuṇāla* left *Takṣaśilā* and

took to a beggar's life. After a long time he came to Pāṭaliputra and took shelter in the royal elephant-shade. Aśoka heard the sound of his song and lute and recognised him as his own son. He learnt everything about Tiṣyarakṣā from Kuṇāla and became very angry. He was about to inflict proper punishment but he forgave her at Kuṇāla's request (Kuṇāla Avadāna).

Śikhāṇḍi, king of the Rouruka country, was overwhelmed with grief for having murdered his father. To dispell his sorrow, his mother said, "Śikhāṇḍi was stealthily begotten by another man; so he is not guilty of parricide" (Udrāyanāvadāna). The queen-mother's statement to alleviate the grief of the king casts a slur on her character and furnishes us with a picture of the royal harem being sometimes secretly dishonoured by wicked persons. Once a minister in attendance on the king of Benares misconducted himself in the royal harem. He was banished by the king who witnessed the heinous offence with his own eyes (Jātaka, No. 303).

Pañcapāpā, well-known for her being soft to the touch, became queen of two kings who enjoyed her company for seven days by turn. She dwelt seven days in the house of one of them, and then crossed over in a ship to the abode of the other, and when in the mid-stream she misconducted herself with the pilot who steered the vessel, a lame and bald old man (Fausböll, Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 440 ff.). The misconduct of queen Piṅgiyāṇī with a royal groom is another instance of a woman's infidelity. When the king fell asleep, the queen used to get down, every night, through the window, misconduct herself with the groom and then she used to climb back to the palace and shampooed her person with perfumes and lay down with the king. The coolness of her person at midnight caused suspicion in the mind of the king who one night watched her conduct, detected her faithlessness and punished her properly. Being the wife of Brahmādatta,

'earth's all-conquering lord,' Piṅgiyāṇī sinned with her devoted husband's slave and lost by lewdness both king and knave (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, V, p. 444). The queen of King Tissa of Kalyāṇi, was in intrigue with her husband's younger brother, named Ayya-Uttika. The liaison was discovered by the king. Ayya-Uttika fled from the kingdom but nothing is mentioned about any punishment inflicted on the queen by the king (Mahāvamsa, Ch. 22). A queen was in intrigue with her husband's younger brother known as Abhayanāga, who in course of time slew the king and himself became king with his elder brother's wife as queen (Ibid., Ch. XXXVI, verse 42 ff). Anulā, an infamous queen, fell in love successively with a palace-guard, a city-carpenter, a wood-carrier and the royal priest and misconducted herself with each of them and caused, by turn, the death of each of their lives by poison (Ibid., Ch. XXXIV). The example of the licentious Anulā is an illustration of woman's carnal appetite that knows no satisfaction and that makes her a murderess.

All women fail to find delight in their own abode. A wife forsakes her husband though he might be strong and lusty. She will sin with any other man even with a lame person (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, V, p. 440). She cannot be trusted even if she has borne ten children (*na vīssase itthi dasanna mātaram*, Fausböll, *Jātaka*, V, 448). A woman having eight husbands, strong and submissive to her will and capable of fulfilling love's duties, will yet set her love on the ninth for she still lacks something (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, V, 450). Women desire rich lovers like cows greedily seeking new pastures (*gāvo bahutīnasseva omasanti varam varam*, Ibid., p. 446; cf. Fausböll, *Jātaka*, I, p. 295). They can hardly stick to one man (*Jātaka*, No. 507). If they get secrecy and opportunity at the same time, every single of them would fall from virtuous paths. On the failure of other lovers, they will not pause to sin with a humpback

dwarf.¹ They even go so far as to cause defilement in sanctified souls and overcome the virtue of ascetics by their feminine charms and passionate pose (Jātakas, Nos. 63, 263, 507, 523 and 526). They look as fair as lotus flowers. Their budding charms stir up sensuous desire in the minds of laymen as well as ascetics and make them mad (Jātakas, Nos. 66, 523 and 527). They tempt one with looks and smiles, another by their walk, some by strange disguise and others by honeyed talk (Jātaka, No. 536). There are forty different ways a woman makes up to a man. She displays activity, she bends down, she leaps playfully, she looks bashful, she presses together her finger tips, she places one foot on the other, she scratches the ground with a stick, she dances her boy up and down, she plays and makes the boy play, she kisses the boy and makes the boy kiss her, she eats and gives him to eat, she gives or begs something, whatever is done she imitates, she speaks in a high or low voice, she speaks indistinctly at one time and distinctly at another time, she appeals to man with dance and music, with tears or attempts to attract admiration or with her finery, she laughs or stares, she shakes her dress, she moves her loin cloth, exposes or covers up her leg, exposes her bosom, her armpit, her navel, she closes her eyes, she raises her eyebrow, she pinches her lips, her tongue, she makes her tongue loll out, she looses or tightens her cloth, looses or tightens her head-dress. (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, pp. 433-434). Five kinds of women, such as a clever woman, a beautiful woman, a neighbour's wife, a woman who is admired by many men and a woman who seeks a man of wealth for mate, should be shunned by every man (Ibid., p. 446). Women in highways, in lordly halls, in royal cities or in small townships should be avoided. A

¹ Sace labhetha khaṇaṃ vā raho vā
 nivātaṃ vāpi labhetha tādisaṃ
 sabbā ca itthi karreyyūṃ no pāpaṃ
 aññaṃ aladdhā piṭhasappināpi (saddhīm).
 (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, p. 435.)

man who may be famous, wise or respected by all people, will lose his glory like the Moon eclipsed by Rāhu if he happen to come under woman's sway (Ibid., p. 453).

We have just given a terrible picture of woman's inborn nature as drawn in the Buddhist literature. We have found how women disregarding their social status and the pecuniary circumstances in which they were put in, used to commit sin and trick their husbands. Sinful women when detected had to undergo punishment for their clandestine corruption which deserved death, imprisonment, mutilation or cleaving asunder (*vaḍḍhabandhanachejjabhejjārahaṃ dosaṃ*, Fausböll, Jātaka, V, p. 444). But they were, in no case, divorced on the ground of adultery, though divorce was not unknown in those days. The severe punishments that were inflicted on women for the violation of chastity, go to show that chastity was held in high esteem in those days. The lechery and infidelity of womankind, as delineated above, do not warrant the inference that female chastity was not seriously observed. On the contrary, female chastity finds a very important and respectable place in Buddhist literature. The Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya tells us in connection with the Licchavis that violation of chastity was a serious offence. The punishment for a woman who

Chastity. broke her marriage vow was so very severe that the husband could with impunity take away her life. Buddha himself says that "no woman or girl belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction." In the Aṇḍabhuta Jātaka we meet with a reference to the ordeal of fire to prove chastity (*saccakiriyaṃ katvā aggim pavisitva tumhe saddahāpessāmīti*, Fausböll, Jātaka, I, p. 294). From Mahāummagga Jātaka (No. 546) we learn that a bridegroom married a bride after testing her chastity in the following way :—

He sent some of his men with a thousand pieces of money and told them to test the woman whom he had caused

to sit down in the gatekeeper's house, telling the gatekeeper's wife of his plan. The men did so as they were bid. But the woman when offered the money refused to accept it saying, "This is not worth the dust of my master's feet." The men came back and said everything to the bridegroom. Thrice the men were sent but thrice did they return with the same answer. The fourth time he asked his men to drag her away by force. They did so, but when the bride saw the bridegroom in a new dress she could not recognise him but smiled and wept at the same time as she looked at him. When questioned, she replied that she had smiled when she had beheld magnificence thinking that this magnificence must have been earned for some good deeds in a former life, and that she had wept in pity thinking that such a magnificent man would go to hell for sinning against the property watched and tended by another. After this reply she was proved to be a woman chaste in body and mind.

The Mudulakkhaṇa Jātaka (No. 66) furnishes us with a plausible account of ready wit and intelligence displayed by a woman in preserving her chastity. Once an ascetic saw a queen in beautiful dress. He broke through the higher morality and gazed upon her. Lust was kindled within him. Since then he lay on his wooden couch in his hut for seven days as a prey to hunger and thirst, being enslaved by the queen's grace. On the seventh day the king went to the hut and found the ascetic lying on his couch. Questioned by the king as to his ailment, the ascetic told the king openly that he was fired by lust for the queen. The king offered his queen to the sage to fulfil his lustful desire, but as he was giving her away, the king secretly told the queen to put forth her utmost endeavour to save the holy man. When the queen came out of the palace, she asked the sage to go to the king and arrange for a house for them to live in. The sage did so. Then the queen entered the house and ordered the sage many times to do many things one after another. But the ascetic

did not get tired. As he sat with her upon the bed she took him by the whiskers and drew him towards her till they were face to face. Then she said, "Have you forgotten that you are a holy man and Brahmin?" This query brought the ascetic to his senses, and saved the queen's chastity. The ascetic forsook all lustful desire and took the queen to the king (cf. Account of Jayaprabhā in Śrīsenāvadāna in the Avadāna-kalpalatā).

A chaste woman who followed her diseased husband in a forest to wait upon him was once seized by a goblin in the forest while returning to her hut with wild fruits. The woman was told by the goblin to obey him or to lose her life. But she said that it was not a matter of grief for her that she should fall a prey to an abominable ogre, but that the love for her dear husband should fall away from her (Fausböll, Jātaka, V, pp. 88 et seq.; cf. Jātaka, No. 267.) This is indeed a pious expression of a woman pure in mind and body and truly devoted to her beloved husband.

(7)

THE DANCE MOTIFS IN INDIAN ART.

C. KRISHNASWAMI RAO, B.A.

(*Bangalore City*).

The decorative motifs found in the various works of art that have come down to us from the ancient Indian masters

A general and
concise survey
of the Deco-
rative Motifs of
Indian Art.

are so profuse in number and so varied in matter and design that an attempt at the classification of these motifs under certain convenient headings will not be without its fruitful results.

The repertorium from which the Indian artist has been getting his artistic inspiration and nourishment is so huge and widespread, that it nearly covers the world of objective existence and the still bigger world of abstract ideas, so far as he could ransack both of them.

To the Indian artist, with an eye to see and a vision to grasp, the goddess of Prakṛti—the supreme embodiment of the universes of matter and thought—has offered herself with all the decorative motifs, that he can observe in, or create out of, her various moods and aspects whether in the inanimate or animate form, in order that he may so reproduce them, in his intuitional moments, in line or form or colour or movement, as to satisfy his soul hunger and to represent to his fellowmen, not merely the sheer physical beauty or perfection of his (art) work, but also the abstract philosophical truths behind them and thus enable them to touch the eternal within them.

Let us, at the outset, start with the simple motifs of geometrical or symbolical character. These consist of circles,

squares, triangles and spirals of most elementary kind. From these develop the elaborate drawings and carvings of sun, moon, sacrificial pits, *rathas*, *vimānas*, mountains, Brahman's knot arabesques and so forth. These are sacred, being associated with divinities and sacrifices to gods, hence auspicious in addition to their possessing symbolical and esoteric significance. Therefore, these are found in the carvings of our temples and public halls, in paintings on walls or paper, in household floor-drawings, *i.e.*, *Rangoli* figures and in the mystic designs used in the art of necromancy.

Leaving now the inanimate world of objects and symbols and entering the world of plants, we come across various favourite motifs of the Indian artists, in flowers like the lotus with its eight or sixteen or thousand petals in floral designs, in fruits like the pomegranate and plantains, and in trees like the *Aśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*) and the *Kalpa Vṛkṣa*, which is a favourite device with the Indian artists.

Next, in the animal kingdom are found, as favourite subjects for the Indian artists, the representatives from almost all stages of biological evolution, from the fish upwards, *i.e.*, the crocodile, the serpent, the mouse, the swan, the peacock, the *Garuḍa*, the bull, the buffalo, the cow, the tiger, the *vyāla* (leopard), the elephant, and the lion. These are all sacred animals to some divinity or other from *Gaṇeśa* to *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* and are necessarily to be found in all the temples; the cow as the *Kāmadhenu*—the giver of all desires—was the special object of the artist's attention.

In the human kingdom, the great devotees in meditative or yogic postures, kings and queens with arms folded or holding lighted lamps and standing before gods in the outer halls of the temples, the donors and the benefactors have always been the favourite subjects for Indian artists.

Now getting into the superhuman kingdom in search of the favourite motifs of the Indian artists, we find there a

number of beings, *i.e.*, the Yakṣas (chowrie-bearers), the Bhūtas (the evil spirits), Rākṣasas (demons), Vidyādhara (fairies with magical powers), Kinnaras (lute-players), Gandharvas (choristers of heaven), sages in meditation or playing the musical instrument like Nārada and Tumburu, gods like Indra, Ṣaṇmukha, Hanuman, etc., goddesses like Pārvatī, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī and the Supreme Deity in his various incarnations and aspects. If we observe carefully the movements of these beings and analyse the events or scenes in which they appear or are made to appear by the artist, we find them in very large numbers in scenes of music, recitals or dances.

Very few famous temples exist in Southern India that have not the carvings of the divine dancers Natarāja or Bāla Kṛṣṇa, of sages Nārada and Tumburu with their musical accompaniments or the Vidyādhara, Kinnaras and Gandharvas. The fact that not only in religious but also in secular sculpture and painting we have the representations of dances by divinities of both sexes either alone or in *ensemble* is a matter the significance of which it is hard to overlook. So closely studied from all points of view, so profusely conceived and so exquisitely rendered, do these dance designs seem to be, that there is every reason to understand that the dance motif had got itself early well-established as a leading motif of the Indian artist and that this devotion to the dance motif had been a regular cult to him from perhaps the early centuries of the Christian era.

The present paper limits itself to the study of the dance motifs, as they obtain in the paintings and sculptures of India and the Far East.

Dance Motif in
Indian Painting.

Taking painting as the field of our investigation, the earliest paintings we have in India are those of Ajantā (1st to 7th century A.D.). Herein we come across many poses of the hands and body described in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra.

The finger poses have been implicitly copied by the artist monks of Ajantā as in—

- | | | |
|---|-----|-----------------|
| (1) Buddha standing | ... | pose (Kapittha) |
| (2) Lady sitting | ... | pose (Arāla) |
| (3) Queen standing with
a mirror in hand | ... | pose (Arāla) |

In the paintings in the Jain temple of Sittanavasal (7th century A.D.) are to be found many paintings and dances in the conventional poses of the Nāṭya Śāstra.

The migration of the dance cult in painting from India beyond its borders becomes evident from the dance idioms employed by the Khotanese artists of Central Asia. More than in India, in the paintings unearthed in Central Asia, the hand poses of the Bharata Śāstra, though with many modifications, are to be found in plenty; and the dance themes depicted in the conventional Indian poses are common in the paintings of scenes from the Buddhist Heaven. These paintings belong to the 8th Century A.D.

- (1) Avalokiteśvara Buddha—remarkable for hand poses.
- (2) Picture of Buddhist Heaven—for dancing scenes.

Coming to a still later period, almost close to recent times, we find in the paintings of the Kangra Valley School (in Northern India) a remarkable delicacy of treatment in the delineation of the dance scenes, as for example in Śiva dancing before the Goddess Pārvatī, with a heavenly orchestra for his accompaniment, and in Kṛṣṇa dancing as a Gopāla with a pot of milk delicately poised on his head. These two are some of the best examples of the dance cult in Rajput paintings.

Much better than the paintings, the carvings in *basso* or *alto-relievo* by the ancient Indian sculptors bear evidence to the remarkable influence that the dance cult exerted in the field of Indian sculpture. These carvings may be divided into two classes : firstly,

those pertaining to religious themes with a spiritual or esoteric value, and secondly, those of a non-religious nature pertaining to the physical world of men and matter. The former are generally found in temples and form part of the religious art of India. The latter are found in secular edifices generally, and may be taken as examples of pure "*art for art's sake*" in sculptures; and the canons of art applicable to the latter are the same as for the former, the only difference between them being in certain proportions and symbols and exterior adjuncts which the former class of carvings possess and the latter do not. It is but right that the representations of divinities must be as different from those of human beings as the divinities themselves are from mankind.

I. *The Ellora Caves*, built about 760 A.D. by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mālkhed, has religious carvings which are Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite and Buddhist in character. The figure of Rāvaṇa sitting underneath the mount of Kailāsa using his titanic energy and force to lift it up suggests a favourite pose described in the Nāṭya Śāstra. Similarly Narasiṃha, the lion-incarnation of Viṣṇu attacking Hiranyakaśipu, is another recognised pose in the Nāṭya.

II. *The Elephanta Caves*.—In the Elephanta Caves built about the same time as the Ellora Caves, there are Śaivite carvings of Lord Nāṭarāja in his cosmic dance and of Audhakāśura Vadha Mūrti in one of his most furious aspects. The latter carving which is mutilated below the waist clearly reveals in its hand and bodily pose the influence of the Nāṭya Śāstra.

III. *The temples of Conjeeraram*.—In the temples of Conjeeraram (8th century A.D.) which belong to the Pallava period of architecture are to be found hundreds of carvings in which Śiva and Kṛṣṇa are represented as the premier dancers. Two carvings of Śiva and two of Kṛṣṇa selected from out of the many show the remarkable influence of the dance cult on the sculpture of the period.

In the *temples of the Chālukyan period* built in the 12th century at Halebid and Belur are again to be found remarkably exquisite carvings of dancing gods, with all the idioms and phrases of the dance art. Three selected typical carvings, one of Kṛṣṇa and another of Śiva and another of Pārvatī, can prove this.

In later sculptural monuments belonging to about the 15th century, as for example, the temple at Chidambaram, are again to be found hundreds of figures of Naṭarāja and Pārvatī and other lesser gods performing their dances as *offerings to the chief Deity*. The dances shown in bas-reliefs agree very closely with their descriptions as found in classical works on dance. These dance figures are common not only on temple walls but also on Gopuras or Śikhara, *i.e.*, the roofs of the sanctum sanctorium of Indian temples. In the gilt Vimāna of the famous temple at Tirupathi are seen the *Viṣṇu Krānta* and the *Lalāṭa Tilaka* poses of gods. In a Conjeevaram temple, there is an idol of Vāmana more than 25 feet in height in the *Viṣṇu Krānta* pose.

The dance cult in Indian sculpture reigned supreme not only in South India, but also, as in the case of painting, found its way beyond the Indian borders into Java and Cambodia in the Far East. The scenes depicted in bas-reliefs on the walls of the temple of Borobudur at Java, show dance postures as in South Indian temples, as also the entire life and atmosphere of the country in which that art flourished. The sumptuous background and the artistic *ensemble* of characters in the Javanese bas-reliefs form a striking contrast to the Indian ones in many of which the requisite background is entirely absent.

A few fine examples of select sculptures from the bas-reliefs of the Borobudur temple at Java will illustrate the authorised poses of the Nāṭya Śāstra, copied by Javanese artists.

Migration of
the Dance Cult
to the Far East.

Similar carvings have been found in Champā and Cambodia. Two of them now shown represent poses of the Nāṭya Śāstra.

So we can see that the dance cult in sculpture had travelled over a great portion of Southern Asia and that it had continued to be the waking and sleeping dream of many an artist in India and abroad for about 15 centuries at least (approximately from the 3rd to the 18th century). A detailed survey of the subject may push the early limit still more into the earlier centuries of the Christian era and throw further light on the evolution of the Indian art in general and of sculpture, painting, music and dance in particular.

As each age produces a certain type of man who evolves a certain type of art, therefore, to understand works of art of any period we must know about the individuals back of them, the ideas and feelings that permeated those individuals, in order that they may produce particularly those works, and also the political and social atmosphere that fostered the growth of those ideas and feelings. So to understand the evolution of the dance motif in Indian art and the motive forces that were at work in that evolutionary process, we must go into the historical and social background against which the arts developed in India.

The existence of the *dance cult in Buddhist art*, as is seen in the Ajantā caves and in Central Asia, seems to be due to several causes. In Buddhist India, the dancers mostly formed from the slave population were numerically large, and the art of dancing was encouraged and taught in special institutions at the expense of the State. In the Samājas of various cities, exhibition dances used to be held periodically; perhaps the incidents in the Buddhist Jātakas supplied the material for the performances, after the advent of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. Also the final codification of the rules of the dance-land in

An analysis of the leading ideas regarding the relation between Dance and Design in the Buddhist and the Hindū Art.

the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata-muni about the 3rd century A.D., should have influenced the entire world of Indian art, Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist, and imbued it with new life and enthusiasm.

To *the Buddhist artist*, a dancer was a temptress leading him into the whirlpool of Saṃsāra and so to be shunned as Prince Siddhārtha did, or an object of enjoyment as in the Buddhist heavens. There was nothing spiritual about the dance or the dancer. So in Buddhist art, the dancer is lifelike, natural and faithfully delineated and satisfies the observer from an optical standpoint. But from an esoteric point of view the dancers in Buddhist sculpture or painting convey no deep message like the dancing Nāṭarājas. Their form and movement have no symbolic value and suggest no deep philosophical meaning. Barring a few exceptions like the statuette of Dharmapāla Buddha, many of them are lacking in the suggestion of sublime ideas though there may be depth of feeling. The chief point was that Buddha, a great ascetic with a shaven head, however humane he might have been, did not translate his great doctrines and deepest meanings into dance movements. Dance was never a medium to him for the pouring forth of his noble and humane soul. Though Buddha was a great personality that quenched all his *ariṣaḍvargas* at one stroke, his philosophy was full of many a prohibition to adventures in thought, and his disciples though eminently practical-minded in the leading of pious lives, failed to touch the eternal with the warmth of their heart. Necessarily, the Buddhist artists could convey very little of the metaphysical or the supernatural through their lines of colours or forms or movements, in spite of the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the prevailing Hindu religious traditions around them. What they have done they did in a most exquisite manner with remarkable faithfulness to life and nature around them as in the animals of the Sānci Stūpas, or the beautiful women of Ajantā or the

dancers of Java or Indo-China, but without the trace of the abstract or the mystical in them.

But to *the Hindu artist*, as well as devotee, dance is a form of divine service, an artistic form of worship in which he communicates his innermost yearnings and feelings through forms and movements to the *Divine Infinite Soul* who is *Nāṭyapriya* or a *lover of the dance*. In moments of ecstatic devotion, the artist rises higher and nearer to the supreme creative artist, until he feels himself one with Him in action and feeling; in such lofty but rare and transient moments, he catches a glimpse of the Universal Soul which he tries to concretise through his art. So it is the innermost experiences and visions of the Hindu artist-devotee and not his physical perceptions of the earthly objects that have been wrought into stones, paintings or music, or dance movements by the Hindu artist.

The dance is then *a form of divine service* expressing the artist's innermost yearnings and feelings. The dance cult in paintings and sculptures is similarly a form of divine service with this difference that physical movements are substituted by sculptures or pictured movements.

To many minds, the art of movement appeals as a pastime or something to give suppleness to limbs or beautify the human form or lend physical grace. But all these aims are subsidiary to the *chief aim of dance as a ritual—a form of worship, which is Mokṣaprada*, a giver of salvation. The ancient benefactors and donors of temples were certainly not libertines when they made endowments for dances, daily or at stated intervals before God, during the temple service, and built Naṭana Sabhās or dance halls in Hindu temples. A temple grant of the 9th century A.D. refers to the provision made for the recitation of Tiruppadiar Yamala and the performance of certain special dances on special occasions. According to the Mānasāra (500 A.D.) the construction of dance halls seems to have been in vogue in Hindu temples.

In still earlier times, according to Vātsāyana, the temple of Sarasvatī in each town and city seems to have been the scene of periodical exhibitions of dances. So the association between the temple and the *dance as a form of divine service* seems to have been a very, old one and in this association, perhaps, lies the origin of the dance cult in Indian art.

The genesis
of the Dance
Cult in Hindu
Art.

For what the gifted artists with supple limbs expressed through their movements, the other artists strong in other directions expressed in sculptures and paintings. So to the Indian artist there was nothing vile or banal in the art of dance which was to him the highest of arts with the loftiest of human conceptions.

There was another important factor in the Hindu Mythology that favoured the dance motif in Indian art. It was that the gods of the Hindus like Śiva and Kṛṣṇa were themselves foremost dancers. Their dances brought peace to the world, hence they were auspicious. Their dances, with meanings symbolical and spiritual that the Hindu mind has not yet been able to exhaust, have been the sources of inspiration for Hindu poets and philosophers, at least for the past 2,000 years.

So then, the dance designs appeared in myriads on the temple walls, as *symbols of auspiciousness* or *expressions of divine service* or *representations of the cosmic dances of gods*. Havell is of opinion that the image of Naṭarāja represents the dancing orb of the rising sun as observed and felt by the Aryan forefathers of the Ṛgvedic times. It seems to me that his attempt to read in Indian works of art, the simple physical phenomena of nature like the sunrise, the sunset, the mist and the cloud, is rather inconsistent with his attempts elsewhere, to read deep spiritual and esoteric meanings in the Indian art productions. Moreover, if the ancient Aryans had wanted to choose a god to represent the rising sun, they could not have chosen a better god than *Indra, the Lord of the East*, who

with his mighty thunderbolt was 'nṛtyamānaḥ' (Rg., V. 33. 6) dancing, and 'nartayitr' (Rg., II. 22.4) one who made others to dance.

Also Śiva was not the only god that danced. Kṛṣṇa also has performed 'Tāṇḍava Dance' over the head of Kālīyanāga and other dances like 'Rāsa.' His idol, in dance posture, is as common in sculpture and painting as that of Śiva. How to explain his dances in terms of nature phenomena?

L. D. Barnett thinks that the motive behind the image of Natarāja was 'the devil dance.' To interpret a dancer, who is an effulgence of light, and who holds the eternal fire that consumes the dross of existence, as having anything to do with devil-worship, is a leap in the dark.

To my mind, the conception behind the Dancing Natarājas and Kṛṣṇas, who are the Lords of the Universe, seems to be that the artist devotees in their love for dance poses produced dancing gods and goddesses, in sculpture and painting, with a view to invoke their blessings primarily and also to worship them if occasion permitted.

The conception of dance as an auspicious and benevolent form of divine worship, and the iconometrical laws that prescribed to the idols proportions and the poses of hand and body as described in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata, seem to have been responsible for the evolution of the images of dancing gods in Hindu art. "This seems to be the most natural, simple and straightforward view of the dance motif in Indian art.

DENTISTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Dr. JAMSHEDJI JIVANJI MODI, L.M. & S., L.D.S. (Eng.)
(Bombay).

Twelve years ago when I was first appointed to the chair of Dentistry at the Grant Medical College of Bombay, a question occurred to me "whether Dentistry ever existed in India in ancient times." While looking into this question, an idea suggested itself to me that I should open my lecturing session with a lecture on "Dentistry in Ancient India." I set myself to that task and succeeded in preparing a lecture good enough to serve the purpose of a lecture to medical students. But the interesting work on which I was then engaged inspired in me the desire for still closer acquaintance with the subject; and to-day's paper is the happy result of that acquaintance with it.

Dentistry amongst the Ancients has engaged the attention of many before me. All of them have traced its origin to Greece and Egypt, dating it only as far back as about 1500 B.C. The one object of this paper is to show that India, and not Greece or Egypt, was the cradle of Dentistry, and it was known to India several centuries before Egypt knew it. As Dentistry then was an integral part of the Indian Medical System, and not a separate speciality as at present, I shall have to say something about the Āyurveda, i.e., the Old Indian Medicine. It is often said that Āyurveda is a quackery, but those who have patiently studied this old system, have found that far from being a quackery, it at one time flourished in as good a condition as the present-day Western Medicine;

and that Dentistry which is known to the Western countries for the last 75—100 years, was well understood and practised by the old Hindu doctors of thousands of years ago. To ascertain the antiquity of Dentistry one has to look into the question of the antiquity of Indian Medicine because, as said above, Dentistry was an integral part of that medical system.

Indian Medicine is a very, very old science, so old, that it is mentioned in the poetry of the Vedic age, *i.e.*, the

Antiquity of age estimated by scholars to be earlier than Dentistry. 3100 B.C. Like many Western nations,

Hindus also consider the science of medicine to be of divine origin, and so, for its literature, one has to look into their religious books of the Vedas, and the part that deals with medicine is known as Āyurveda. The science of medicine is believed to be so sacred that at one time it was practised by gods only. By gods, perhaps they meant some good and great men who rendered meritorious services to their fellow-men. It was a custom among the ancient people of all nationalities to deify such good men. It seems that, like medicine, Dentistry also was at one time practised by gods, for Aśvins, the “twin sons of the Sun,” are reputed to have given new teeth to Pūshan.¹ This is the earliest mention of Dentistry in Hindu literature that, according to the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (शतपथ ब्राह्मण) which is the commentary of the Śukla Yajurveda, and Lokamānya Tilak, dates back to about 5000 B.C. There is a difference of opinion between the Oriental and Western scholars about the antiquity of the Vedas. While the Oriental scholars date them as far back as 5000 B. C., the Western scholars show considerable tendency of modernising them. But from the astronomical calculations of the positions of the Constellations of Pleiades (कृत्तिका)² and Orion (मृगशीर्ष)³ mentioned

¹ History of Aryan Medical Science by Thakore of Gondal, p. 29.

² Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 2nd Kāṇḍa, 1st Adhyāya, 2nd Brāhmaṇa, 3rd Kaṇḍikā. Sacred Books of the East by Max Müller, Part I, p. 282.

³ Orion by Lokamānya Tilak, pp. 206-7.

in Vedic literature, it becomes certain that the Oriental scholars are right in their calculation. There are not only stray mentions here and there of Dentistry, but we find that this subject was handled by the ancient Hindu doctors, as it is handled to-day by the dental surgeons trained in Western dental system. Let us examine it under the following headings, *viz.*—

1. Mouth—its anatomy.
2. Mouth—its hygiene.
3. Mouth—its diseases and their classifications.
4. Mouth—its diseases and their pathology.
5. Mouth-diseases—their treatment, medical and surgical.

When I mention the word Anatomy in connection with mouth, one may perhaps wonder if that science was known to old Hindu doctors. Yes, they knew that subject well, and their knowledge, far from being based on guess-work, was based on the sure foundation of the dissection of the body. Dr. Wise, to whom we owe much of our present knowledge of the Old Indian Medicine, talking of its Anatomy, says—"The Hindu philosophers undoubtedly deserve the credit of having, though opposed by strong prejudice, entertained sound and philosophical views respecting the uses of the dead to the living; and were the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and essential of all the departments of medical knowledge—practical anatomy."¹ Two well-known Vedic scholars, Messrs. Macdonell and Keith, talking of Anatomy say: "The interest of the Vedic Indians seems early to have been attracted to the considerations of questions connected with the anatomy of the body. Thus a hymn of the Atharva Veda (X. 2) enumerates many parts of the body with some approach to accuracy and orderly arrangement." Writing about practical anatomy, *i.e.*, dissection, Suśruta, that famous Indian

¹ Dr. Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, p. 68.

surgeon, and father of Indian Surgery, who flourished in about 15th century B.C., has said "that a yogin (a holy man) should dissect in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and a physician should not only know the external appearances, but the internal structures of the body, in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining the knowledge of books with practical dissection that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession."¹ How well Suśruta must have known the anatomy of the mouth, and how well he must have dissected that part, is clear from his anatomical description of the jaw bones. Referring to Suśruta's counting of the jaw bones, Mr. A. F. Hoernle says that "Suśruta's way of counting the jaw bones agrees generally with that of modern anatomy."² The following table shows the similarity in the description of the jaw bones by Suśruta to the description in modern anatomy:—

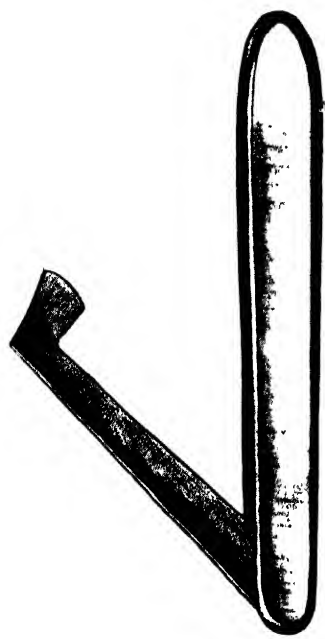
	Modern Anatomy.		Suśruta.	
Superior Maxillary	1. Palatal process	Tālu	तालु	} 1st Hanu
	2. Alveolar process	Ulūkhala	उलूखल	
	3. Body	Facial bone		
Inferior Maxillary	1. Alveolar process	Ulūkhala	उलूखल	} 2nd Hanu
	2. Base			
	3. Chin	Hanvasthi	हन्वस्थि	
	4. Rami	Hanu-mūla-bandhana	हनुमूलबन्धन	

As regards the morphological character of the teeth Mr. Hoernle seems to think that the Indian anatomists were uninformed. But the fact of the old Indian doctors having recognised a dental condition called दाहन (Dālana), *i.e.*, toothache

¹ Hindu System of Medicine by Dr. Wise, p. 68.

² Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India, Part I, by A. F. Hoernle, p. 173.

PLATE I.



Modern Gim-Lanceet (Ash's).



Kuthāra or Axe (after Thakore-Schub).



due to the exposure of the nerve in the tooth, shows that Mr. Hoernle is mistaken in saying that the old Indian anatomists were uninformed in the matter of the morphological character of the teeth.

Not only that Old Indian Dentistry was aware of the order and periods of eruption of the teeth of Teething, i.e., eruption of teeth. the first set, but it was also aware of the disturbances caused to the health of the child at the time of teething. The treatment of the conditions incidental to teething was the same as is prescribed to-day by Western Dentistry. In obstinate cases the operation of lancing of the gums was also suggested as a last resort.

Health is a very desirable possession, because upon it depends the proper performance of every act needed for the life. A proverb has it that if a person possesses all the worldly gifts such as money, park and palaces, but is bereft of health, he is infinitely more miserable than one who, though bereft of worldly possessions, is in perfect health. Guided by these convictions ancient Indian doctors gave prominence to that branch of Medical Science, called Hygiene; and in that branch of Hygiene, mouth-hygiene played a considerable part. It is but natural that Hindus who boast to be the most cleanly nation in the world, and whose daily ablutions have passed into a proverb, and whose religion and custom of ages have made them a prime necessity of their daily life, should have strict sanitary code in the matter of mouth-hygiene. Joseph Murphy says¹ "that the nations of Hindustan, especially the Brahmins or priests of Brahma, take extreme care of their teeth. Every morning they scrub them for about an hour with a small twig of the Fig tree. As this custom is prescribed in the most ancient codes and religious writings of India, it reverts, without doubt, to the remotest ages, and therefore demonstrates the great importance that this people, and particularly the Brahmins, has ever

¹ A Natural History of the Human Teeth by Joseph Murphy.

attached to the beauty and cleanliness of the teeth." In the chapter on mouth-hygiene instructions are given for the cleansing of the mouth and teeth, and the arrangement of the order of the dishes that would be conducive to the health of the mouth and body.

These instructions are that, the first thing in the morning, a Hindu should clean his teeth with a tooth-brush, दन्तकाष्ठ (Danta-kāshṭha) and tooth powders or pastes.

Instructions in
Mouth-hygiene.

It is also enjoined that after cleaning the teeth, the tongue must also be cleaned by means of a tongue-scraper made of either gold, silver, copper or even a twig of a tree; and then the mouth should be well rinsed with cold water. For the tooth-brush the twig of several plants, especially the Bavala (Acacia Arabica), Nimb or Lim (Melia Azadirachta) and Karanja (Galedupa Indica) were recommended. Why, even unto to-day the twigs of these plants are mainly used by the Hindus and other Indian nationalities as tooth-brushes. For the purpose of tooth-powders and pastes, powdered tobacco, salt, burnt betel-nut, pepper, dry-ginger, long pepper, etc., were used.

On the subject of Dietetics some very useful instructions are given as to the order of dishes, that would be conducive to the health of the mouth-cavity and general

Dietetics.

body. These instructions are: "take soft viands first, hard butteracious food in the middle, and liquids at the end of the meals. Similarly the sweets must be taken first, then acid things, and the bitter and pungent things the last of all." Why, even to-day there is a custom in some parts of India (Broach for example) where the people start their meals with sweets. I am told the Bohras also do the same.

In the matter of mouth-hygiene it is also enjoined that there should be no hurry over the meals, and the food must be well chewed; and that the mouth must be well cleaned from inside and out after every meal; and the food particles must be picked out from between the teeth by tooth-picks. Such

was the nature of mouth-hygiene that was taught and practised by the Old Indian Dentistry. As a dental surgeon I appreciate how well it compares with the present-day mouth-hygiene.

The Old Indian Dentistry recognised sixty-five (65) मुखरोग (Mukha-Roga), *i.e.*, diseases of the mouth. In his book "Hindu System of Medicine," Dr. Wise gives the classification as follows:—

Mouth-diseases
—their classifi-
cations.

Diseases of the Lip	...	8
" " " Gums	...	15
" " " Teeth	...	8
" " " Tongue	...	4
" " " Palate	...	9
" " " Throat	...	17
General Diseases	...	3
Total		65

This is neither the place, nor have we the time, to go into the details of the pathology of each disease of the different organs of the mouth-cavity. Neither are these details necessary for the purpose of this paper, *i.e.*, to prove that Dentistry existed in ancient India. But to show you how favourably the old pathology could be compared with the present-day pathology, I shall only mention here some of the diseases of the gums and teeth only, along with the corresponding terms from the present-day Western dental pathology. What the present-day pathology describes as the diseases of the gums, the old pathology describes as the diseases of the roots, though in the substance of the literature the word gum is generally used. Amongst the diseases of the root mentioned by the Old Dentistry are:—

Old Dentistry.		To-day's Dentistry.
शीताद	(Śītāda)	... Scurvy.
दन्तपुण्डक	(Danta-pupputaka)	Gum-boil.
शौबिर	(Śaushira)	... Alveolar abscess.

Old Dentistry.		To-day's Dentistry.	
परिदर	(Paridara)	...	Bleeding gums, <i>i.e.</i> , the condition of early Pyorrhoea.
दन्तवैष्टक	(Dantā-Veshṭaka)		Suppurating Guigivitis.
उपकुश	(Upakuśa)	...	Pyorrhoea alveolaris.

Amongst the diseases of the teeth are mentioned :—

Old Dentistry.		To-day's Dentistry.	
दालन	(Dālana)	...	Local Odontalgia, <i>i.e.</i> , tooth-ache.
कृमिदन्तक	(Kṛimi-dantaka)	...	Caries of the tooth.
दन्तशर्करा	(Danta-Śarkarā)	...	Tartar.
कपालिका	(Kapalikā)	...	Wearing away of the enamel as the result of tartar.
श्यावदन्तक	(Śyāva-dantaka)	...	Black teeth, <i>i.e.</i> , dead teeth.

From this list of diseases it can be seen that Old Dentistry recognised all the diseases that are known to the present-day dentistry; and the nature of these diseases described by the Old Dentistry is almost the same as given by today's dentistry. To show you how profound and complete was the Old Dentistry, I may mention that it was also aware of a very, very rare dental condition "the perforation of the root of the third molar or the *wisdom* tooth by the dental nerve and vessels." You will admire its knowledge of this condition when I will tell you that this condition is so rare that one may come across it in one case out of perhaps one million cases.

The Old Indian Medicine had such fine *Materia Medica*, that it is still a marvel to the Western Medical System. It also had its Surgery. It was such fine Surgery as a present-day surgeon could look up to with respect, considering that it dates back to several thousand years. From that

Mouth-diseases—their treatment (Medical and Surgical).

Surgery, the present-day surgery has borrowed several operations such as Rhinoplasty, Skin-grafting, Lithotomy, Removal of the cataract in capsule, etc. Of Surgery, Weber in his "History of Indian Literature" says: "In Surgery Indians seem to have attained a special proficiency, and in this department European surgeons might perhaps even at this present day still learn something from them, as indeed they have already borrowed from them the operation of Rhinoplasty." About Indian Surgery, Dr. Hirschberg of Berlin speaks in almost similar vein. When Indian Medical System utilised these two branches for the relief of diseases of other parts of the body, it is but natural that the Old Indian Dentistry also made use of them for the relief of dental sufferings. The use of *Materia Medica* by Old Dentistry is evident from the mention of a number of drugs to be used as gargles, liniments, tooth-powders, and tooth-pastes. That Surgery was also utilised for the relief of dental sufferings, is clear from the mention of several dental operations, such as

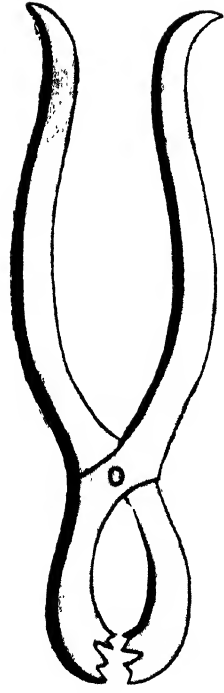
1. Extraction of the tooth by forceps.
2. Extraction of the tooth by elevators.
3. Lancing of the gums.
4. Removal of the tartar.
5. Filling of the teeth.
6. Fitting of the artificial teeth.
7. Ligaturing of the teeth.

While talking of these dental operations I may draw your attention to these diagrams of the old Hindu dental instruments. Along with them I have also given the latest designs of the same to enable you to see how favourably the old ones compare with the new. The instruments were made of best steel for which India was well known. This fact shows that Indian doctors were not afraid of extracting firm teeth, as the Greeks and Egyptians were. That the Greeks and Egyptians ventured the extractions of loose teeth only, is clear from their literature, and the material (lead) of

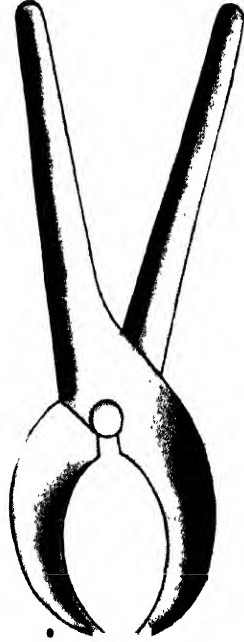
which their dental forceps (odontagogen) were made. A model of such forceps is exhibited in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹ Arabians even more than the Greeks avoided this operation of Extraction. For the proof of the existence of some of these dental operations one need not search into the old Indian literature, for even unto this day you see them performed by Indians who had not the slightest training in the Western system of Dentistry. We come across hundreds of cases in which front teeth are decorated with gold or jewel studs by Indian jewellers. If Indian (ancient and modern) could drill holes in the teeth and fill them up again, for the purpose of decoration, it is quite natural that they should have thought of filling up the cavities caused in the teeth by कृमिदन्त (Krimi-danta), i.e., Caries, or the decay of the tooth. As a dental-surgeon I appreciate the difficulty of drilling a through and through hole (which is required for this decoration) without killing the nerve in these teeth; and yet thousands of teeth are with impunity perforated for this decoration. Another dental operation that from time immemorial is handed down from father to son, or from teacher to pupil, is the operation of Ligaturing the teeth. Even to-day there are some jewellers (सोनी) who specialise in this operation. I have seen hundreds of human teeth so ligatured; and as a dental surgeon I admire this clever art of the Indian jewellers. These methods of decorating and ligaturing the teeth by the jewellers are but the vestiges of the once famous dental operations of the old Indian dental surgeons, of filling in of the teeth for कृमिदन्त (Krimi-danta), i.e., Caries of the teeth, and ligaturing for the purpose of tightening the teeth that got loose due to disease. Other remedial operative treatments done by old Indian dental surgeons were the extraction of the teeth, and removal of the tartar: see diagrams of forceps and scalers. It seems from the literature that the nature of tartar, and of the pathological conditions caused by it were well understood by Old Indian

¹ History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 46.

PLATE II.



Sihhamukha Syastika or Lion Forceps
(after Thakore Sahib)



Tarakasumukha Syastika or Hyena Forceps
(after Thakore Sahib)



gn A

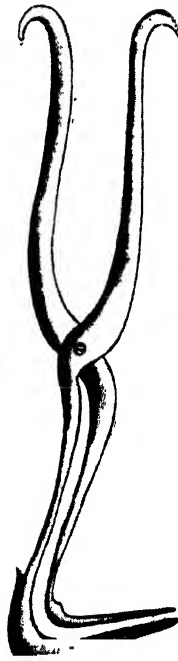


Modern design Ash's Forceps.

PLATE III.



Kākamukha Svastika or Crow Forceps.



Kākamukha Svastika or Heron Forceps.



Same after Tiakore Sahel.



Modern design Ash's Forceps.



Modern design Ash's Forceps.



Modern design Ash's Forceps.

PLATE IV.



Śarapuṅkhamukha Śāla or Tooth-elevator.



Modern design Ash's Elevator.



Tooth-elevator (after Thakore Sahib).



Modern design Ash's Elevator.

PLATE V.



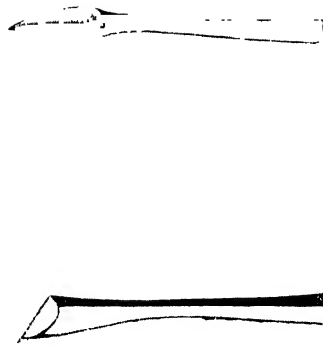
Danta Śaṅku or Tooth-scaler (Sūśruta)



Modern design Ash's Tooth-scaler.



Danta Lekhana or Tooth-scaler (Vāgbhaṭa).



Modern designs (Ash's Scaler).



Danta Śaṅku or Tooth-scaler
(after Thakore Subbha).



Modern design (Lloyd William pattern).

Dentistry, for therein it is enjoined that it must soon be removed. For the pathological conditions caused by it, it is said that "if allowed to remain long, it will destroy the gums and bone, and may cause pus, which may give rise to foul breath from the mouth, and may ultimately loosen the teeth." This pathological condition is called **उपकुश** (Upakuśa), and is the same as what is meant by Pyorrhoea alveolaris of today. The mention in the Old Indian Dentistry of the two diseases Kṛimi-danta, *i.e.*, Caries of the tooth, and Upakuśa, *i.e.*, Pyorrhoea alveolaris, shows that these diseases are ancient diseases, and not recent ones as is supposed by many people. Since the diseases like **कुमिदन्त** (Kṛimi-danta), *i.e.*, Caries of the tooth, and **उपकुश** (Upakuśa), *i.e.*, Pyorrhoea alveolaris, existed then, the old Indian doctors must have taken recourse to the extraction of these diseased teeth. Then it is but natural that having extracted them, they should have devised some method of fixing their artificial substitutes. That they did supply artificial teeth in those days is certain from the fact of the mention of Aśvins having supplied a set of artificial teeth to Pūshan.¹ Another such mention of artificial teeth which dates back to 1194 A.D., we come across in Elphinstone's History of India,² wherein he says that "after having been beaten in the battle, the dead body of Jei-Chandra, the Rahtor Raja of Canouj, was recognised by his false teeth." As said above, the Old Indian Dentistry made full use of India's wealth of vegetable drugs, for the relief of dental sufferings. Its Materia Medica compares very favourably with the Dental Materia Medica of the present day.

Gentlemen, such as I have described above was the Old Indian Dentistry. Then you will ask what happened to it, to have so killed it that no trace of it was noticed in India for centuries till Western Dentistry came in this country to supply

¹ History of Aryan Medical Science by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, p. 29.

² Elphinstone's History of India, p. 365, 5th Ed.

its dental wants. What killed the Old Indian Medicine also killed the Old Indian Dentistry is obvious. And what, I feel I hear you ask, killed them? The Old Indian Medicine, including Dentistry, was at its zenith till the time of the Mahomedan invasion of India in the 10th century when it received its first rude shock. This was the beginning of its decline, for nothing can flourish without the support of the state which now passed under foreign domination. It was during this time of the Mahomedan rule (1001—1707), it seems, that India first came in contact with the European nations, the contact that further strangled this indigenous medical system and its dentistry. After the Mahomedan rule the Peshwas came in power (1715—1818) and under them the Old Indian Medicine struggled to revive. Then after the Peshwas came the English, and their advent in the 18th century brought about the death of that once famous and perfect medical science, because the English came with the preconceived notion that Indian Medicine was a quackery, and the Hindu works on the subject a repository of sheer nonsense. Not only did this notion prevail among the English people, but also among some Indians with a mentality that thinks that everything European is good, and everything Indian is bad, and who because of such mentality lost their confidence and national pride in the Indian Medicine, including Dentistry. This, gentlemen, was the reason of its death and consequent disappearance from this country.

In the very beginning of this paper I have said that in Ancient India, Dentistry did not exist as a separate speciality by itself, as it exists today, but was an integral part of the medical system, and practised by ordinary medical men. It seems that Dentistry attained the dignity of a speciality in Egypt only in the time of Herodotus, *i.e.*, 5th century before the Christain Era, though it was practised in Egypt long before Herodotus. The earliest mention of its existence there

Old Indian
Dentistry—its
influence on the
new.

dates back to about 1500 B.C., for it is mentioned in Eber's Papyrus which is the oldest medical record in the West known up to now. That Dentistry was not practised by a certain class of medical men called dentists, is certain for in the old Indian medical literature there is no word equivalent to *dentist*. Standard Sanskrit dictionaries like शब्दकल्पद्रुम (Śabdakalpādruma), वाचस्पत्य (Vāchaspatya), have no such word. So to find out its influence on the present-day dentistry one has to look for it in the influence of Indian Medicine on the modern Western Medicine. The Old Indian Medicine is the oldest medical science of the world, and the history has distinctly shown that the Western Medicine is the offspring of the Indian Medicine.¹ The references to this effect are amply found in the works of Weber and Buck who are none too partial towards India's claim to precedence in the matter of medicine. Criticising Stenzler's suggestion of the likelihood of Suśruta having borrowed from Greek Medicine, for there is a considerable similarity in both, even Weber in his book "History of Indian Literature"² has to say that "no internal grounds whatever appear to exist; on the contrary there is much that seems to tell against the idea of any such Greek influence. Amongst the individuals enumerated as contemporaries of Suśruta there is not one whose name has a foreign sound. Besides, Suśruta and other writers expressly assign the cultivation of medicine to Kāśī (Benares) and other eastern provinces which never came in contact with the Greeks." Buck in his book, "The Growth of Medicine from the Earliest Time to 1800," seems to belittle the influence of the Old Indian Medicine on the Old Greek Medicine, the progenitor of the present Western Medicine. But probing the history further he has to modify his opinion and say "that it is reasonable to suppose, although directly confirmatory

¹ Is Ayurveda a Quackery?—Paper read by Dr. J. J. Modi, L. M. & S., L. D. S. (Eng.), before the Royal Asiatic Society.

² History of Indian Literature by Dr. Weber, p. 268.

evidence has not yet been discovered, that through the channels of trade between the two countries, some knowledge of the doings of the physicians of India must have reached the ear of their Greek brethren. On the other hand at a later period of history (after the invasion of Alexander the Great) the relations between the two countries became quite close and were kept up without a break for several hundred years. During the earlier part of this period, as appears from the writings of Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen, various drugs and methods of treatment employed by the physicians of India were adopted by the practitioners of Greece.” It seems a half-hearted admission of the influence of Indian Medicine on the Greek Medicine, and in making this halting admission he only considers the direct contact between Greece and India, but he seems to forget India’s indirect influence on Greek Medicine exerted through Egypt, Persia, and Arabia. Now it has been proved that Greek Medicine to a considerable extent owed its knowledge to these countries ; and these countries in their turn owe their medical knowledge to India. Referring to India’s indirect influence on Greek Medicine practised by Hippocrates and Pythagoras who are reputed to have originated the present system of Western Medicine, Dr. Wise in his book “Hindu System of Medicine”¹ says : “All these medical systems have a common source ; being originally derived from the family of Hippocrates. Those distinguished benefactors of mankind first explained the nature and treatment of diseases, and reduced to theory the various phenomena of the human body. The Grecian philosophers were assisted by the Egyptian sages who appear to have obtained much of their knowledge from some mysterious nation of the East. Egypt, after having had her institutions destroyed by the sword of the conqueror, became the seat of the Grecian learning ; which was afterwards transferred to the East, where under the fostering care of the Calyphs of Bagdad medicine was cultivated with diligence and

¹ Hindu System of Medicine by Dr. Wise, p. 1.

success. It received still further additions from the East, and thus improved it was conveyed by Mahomedan conquerors into Spain. From thence it was communicated to the other parts of Europe, where it has exercised the genius of many great men with so much advantage to suffering humanity." In the above passage of Dr. Wise, you have noticed the reference that "it (meaning medicine) received still further additions from the East." That it did receive further additions from the East is certain from the writings of Arabian medical writers like Serapion (Ebn Serabi), Rhazes (Al Rasi) and Avicenna (Ebn Sina). These authors make no secret of their having borrowed from the Indian medical books. Now if it is certain that the present Western Medicine is the offspring of the Old Indian Medicine, then it also becomes certain that the present-day dentistry is also the offspring of the Old Indian Dentistry which then was the integral part of the Old Indian Medicine. We came to this conclusion by examining the history of the Old Indian, Greek, Egyptian, and Arabic medical literatures. Now let us examine if there is any resemblance in the dental literature of other nationalities, and the Indian dental literature. My work of search for the dental literature of other nationalities was considerably simplified by a book called "History of Dentistry" by Dr. Vincenzo Guerini of the University of Naples. Let us first of all search into the Greek medical literature for indications of the influence of Indian Dentistry on the dental part of it. As one, speaking of Greek Medicine, almost always means the medical writings of Hippocrates, for he is the originator of it, let us first examine his writings. Searching in the dental part of his writings, one finds that there is nothing in it that is not in the dental part of the Indian Medicine. On the contrary there is something in Indian Dentistry, *viz.*, Oral-hygiene, on which Hippocrates is almost silent. In the second book of his treatise on Diseases of Women (*De Morbis Mulierum*, lib. ii, p. 666) he gives for foul breath a prescription which he calls "Indian

Medicament¹." This is a candid acknowledgment of his debt to Indian Dentistry. In another of his book "De affectionibus," while talking of the inflammation of the gums, he says "the inflammation of the gums is produced by accumulation of Pituita, and that, in like cases, masticatories are of use, as these remedies favour the secretion of saliva, and thus tends to dissipate the engorgement caused by Pituita."² This Pituita, *i.e.*, Bile is the Pitta of the Old Indian Medicine. Now it is a well-known fact that the Indian Medicine is woven round the theory of the three humours of the body, *viz.*, Vāta, Pitta and Kapha; and that that theory was borrowed by Hippocrates, the originator of Western Medicine, for his explanation of diseases. So naturally he must have also borrowed this idea of Pituita, as the cause of the inflammation of the gums, from the Old Indian Dentistry. Examining the Arabian medical literature we come across some resemblance between its teachings and that of the Old Indian Dentistry. That resemblance we note particularly in the works of Avicenna, that great Arabian medical writer. As I have said above, it is a well-known fact that like Hippocrates, Avicenna also freely drew considerable of his medical knowledge from the Indian medical literature. On the subject of the causes of Odontalgia, *i.e.*, tooth-ache, he mentions 'worms' as one of the causes by which the dental tissue is gnawed away.³ This idea he seems to have borrowed from the Indian Dentistry for therein also it is said that Kṛimi-danta, *i.e.*, Caries or the decay of the tooth, is caused by the worms. Like Hippocrates, Avicenna also believes that the intense pain, accompanied by throbbing feeling in a tooth, is due to an excessive accumulation of humours in the root.⁴ This, as I have said before, is an Indian idea expressed in Indian Dentistry. Having borrowed several other ideas from the

¹ History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 50.

² History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 51.

³ History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 124.

⁴ History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 124.

Indian Medicine, it is but natural that they must have taken this also from the Indian Dentistry. In an article called "Dental Medicines of Dioscorides" in the *Dental Cosmos* of June, 1915, Mr. Hermann Prinz, Professor of Materia Medica in the dental school of Pennsylvania University, attacks this Avicenna, the prince of Arabian physicians, as a flagrant plagiarist; for Mr. Prinz seems to think that he has borrowed his knowledge of Materia Medica from Dioscorides, for there is a considerable similarity between the writings of both. But Mr. Prinz seems to forget that Dioscorides and Avicenna both borrowed their knowledge from the Indian Medicine, and hence the similarity in their writings.

Abulcasis (Abul-Casem-chalaf-ben-Abbas), another great Arabian medical writer, writing on the treatment of teeth loosened by injury, says that "if Styptic remedies have been found of no use, it will be necessary to bind and make such teeth firm by a gold or silver wire."¹ This idea of ligaturing or binding the loose teeth is an old Indian idea perhaps borrowed by Abulcasis. This treatment of ligaturing the loose teeth is considerably practised by Indian jewellers even unto to-day. How this treatment passed from the hands of the doctors into the hands of the jewellers is inexplicable. I have several times seen this work in the mouths of patients, and have always admired it as a relic of that once famous dental treatment. There is a specimen, now in Louvre at Paris, consisting of six front lower teeth so ligatured by gold wire, that was recovered from the necropolis of Saida (the ancient Sidon of old Phoenicia) by Dr. Gaillordot, a member of Renau's Mission de Phenicie.² This specimen is to my mind a proof of India's influence on the Phoenician dental art, perhaps exerted directly on that country, but certainly through Egypt, for that country certainly influenced the life and customs of the Phoenicians.

¹ History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 135.

² History of Dentistry by Dr. Guerini, p. 29.

Such, gentlemen, was the Dentistry in ancient India. You must have often heard that accusation levelled in and out of season by some persons that the Old Indian medicine is a quackery. May I ask, could India, possessing as it did, a polished language, a cultured literature, an abstruse system of philosophy, and such fine dentistry as I have described above, encourage quackery for its medical system? Gentlemen, you know that saying "Nothing is new under the Sun." If that saying is true, and true it is, it is possible, nay I am convinced, that modern dentistry is the re-birth of the Old Aryan Dentistry. Reading its literature on *Materia Medica* and *Therapeutics* I feel that if investigated in the right spirit of seekers after Truth, modern dentistry may yet find plenty in this section to learn from the Old Aryan Dentistry. Whereas, so far the Dental Profession has done its homage to Egypt and Greece as the probable countries of the birth of Dentistry, I for the first time by this paper do my homage to India as the certain land of its birth. I am happy to do homage to the country, to whom that homage is properly due.

SECTION VII
PHILOLOGY

(1)

INDIAN LINGUISTICS AT THE PRESENT DAY.

A. C. WOOLNER, Esq., M.A.,

Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.

In Indo-Aryan philology the most noteworthy event since the last Conference has been the appearance of the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. This, one may say, is the most important contribution to the history of the Indo-Aryan languages since *La Formation de la Langue Marathe* of Professor Jules Bloch. A work of this kind, of course, concerns not merely the student of Bengali but also every serious student of the history of any other Indo-Aryan language.

The book is remarkable from several points of view. It is the first scientific investigation of the history of an Indian language made by an Indian dealing with his mother-tongue. It is also the first treatment of an Indian language that has been based on a special knowledge of phonetics and exact observation of the sounds of the language. The author's phonetic training has indeed reacted on his incidental treatment of earlier stages as far back as the Veda. He never falls into the error of tacitly assuming that any modern pronunciation of Sanskrit, or of a particular letter, is identical with the pronunciation of Vedic times.

On more than one point, where there is a difference of opinion, I find that his conclusions tally with what has been my own belief or suspicion. I am speaking of course of more general matters, not of Bengali in particular. But whatever opinion one may hold on certain vexed questions, it will be universally admitted that this is a very valuable

piece of work and that both the author and his University are to be congratulated on its appearance.

Every other Indian language now demands an equally intimate and equally scientific study.

You will be interested to hear that my friend and pupil Dr. Banarsi Das, after a long study of linguistics and phonetics (including two years at the London Oriental School), has tackled the phonology of Panjabi in a thesis which has been recommended to the Royal Asiatic Society for publication.

It is obvious to you all, though I am afraid not always so obvious to your colleagues in other subjects, that there is a vast field of research in the Indian languages and dialects waiting for workers.

Sir George Grierson's *Peasant Life of Bihar* may remind us how much material there is in the mouths of the peasants, that is not recorded in the dictionaries of the literary languages. The *Linguistic Survey of India*, rich as it is, could in the nature of things give us only outlines, leaving endless particulars to be filled in by local enquirers.

It should be a function of Universities to train such local enquirers, to many of whom these studies could become a hobby and a recreation from routine duties.

It is not field-work only that is waiting to be done. There are many texts in the older forms of the modern languages, not to speak of Apabhraṃśa and Prākṛit, that have yet to be published. And of those that have been published, there are many that the linguist can use only with the utmost caution because of the dubious condition of the text. Will some one give us a critical edition of Kabir, and of Chand Bardai? This work will demand linguistic knowledge, as well as skill in disentangling the confusion of MSS.

Another work to which I should like to refer supplies evidence for the history of an Indian language from the extreme west of Europe. I refer to the masterly description

of Welsh Romani by Dr. Sampson. That the gypsies of Europe use a number of Indian words in their own dialects is probably known to you all. You may be surprised to find so much that is Indian not only in the vocabulary but also in the grammatical structure of the language in a dialect so far to the west.

May I take this opportunity of inviting the attention of Indian scholars to the fascinating linguistic problems connected with the study of Romani. It is not merely a question of finding the Indian form which most closely resembles the gypsy word (in that one may be misled by a coincidence) but rather of tracing back the history of the Romani forms in the light of what we know of the development of parallel forms in India. Moreover Romani, which is a purely popular language, unaffected by literary forms, can throw some light on the history of dialects in India. Of smaller publications that have appeared recently mention may be made of *Le Nom du Riz* by Prof. Jules Bloch. He examines the relationship suggested by Caldwell, of "rice" and other names derived from the Greek form with Tamil *arisi*, 'peeled rice.' Finding no confirmation of the pre-eminence of Dravidian India in ancient commerce overseas, he resorts rather to Sanskrit *vr̥hi* and Persian *birinj* and indicates the possibility of a derivation from a northern region rather than from the south. This problem may remind us of the brilliant researches of M. Przyluski in which he has demonstrated the Austric origin of several Indian words.

The general interest in the recent discoveries made at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, and the hope that the numerous seal inscriptions may be read, may tempt us to look to Sumeria for light on the linguistic prehistory of India. If so, interest will attach to the book published by M. Autran in which he argues the possibility of an ultimate connection between the Sumerian language and the Indo-European family. In any case, whether Sumerian is ultimately

connected with a remote ancestor of the Indo-European group or not, and whether the Mohenjodaro people spoke Sumerian or not, we must be on our guard against being captured by isolated resemblances which are more likely to be due to coincidence. If, *e.g.*, Sumerian *nagar* means a 'mason,' 'builder,' we must not leap to the conclusion that this is the source of Sanskrit *nagara*.

To associate similar words is a natural psychological process useful in the formation of a language and in learning one. It is the foundation of popular etymologies. Within the boundaries of one language or of one family this is now generally understood. But when it comes to the more speculative comparison of remote languages, about which there is little evidence, this is apt to be overlooked, if there are a few dozen words somewhat alike and of somewhat the same meaning. Such long range comparisons distinguish only about six different consonants and two or three vowels at the most, so that a simple calculation will show that for short words with two consonants at least one per cent. of some sort of similarity may be expected, and more than that, if we allow a certain latitude in the meaning of words compared. More important of course than the percentage of such resemblances is the regularity of the differences.

Returning to our proper subject, but looking for a moment to our Iranian border, I may call attention to a *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* by Dr. Georg Morgenstierne. He has recorded interesting information regarding dialects spoken in Afghanistan, which as he says, are in the process of being absorbed by Persian or Pashtu.

Of the purely Iranian languages the most important perhaps is Parācī, hitherto known only by name. This is found in two linguistic islands, in the Shutul Valley and up another tributary of the Kabul river in Nijrau and Pachagan.

Among Dardic dialects he gives particulars of Kati, Vaigali, Askū, and Prasun, all of them varieties of Kāfirī,

and further information regarding Khowar and Pashai. There is an interesting discussion on the linguistic position of the Dardic languages. Kashmiri, Shina, Khowar, Kalasha, Gowarhati. Pashai, and Tirahi he considers "absolutely and unquestionably Indian." Kāfirī has far closer affinities with Indian than with Iranian. Between Kāfirī and the neighbouring Iranian languages (Pashtu, Parācī, Minjani) there is a gulf, but Kalasha, Gowarhati and Pashai form a bridge connecting Kāfirī with the purely Indian languages by many points of agreement in phonology and especially of vocabulary. We shall look forward to the publication of Dr. Morgenstierne's material in a fuller form. Let us hope also that more may be gathered while there is still time. If Norway can depute a competent scholar for work of this kind, surely India or some of the provinces and states of India can also do something.

(2)

THE MAIN LINES OF LANGUAGE GROWTH

BY

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D.,

Professor, Calcutta University.

It is an accepted axiom nowadays in the Science of Language that "the sentence is the unit of language." There is also another dictum generally accepted that the various types of languages found in the world to-day are probably simultaneous growths and that they do not represent *stages* in the growth and development of language. The older philologists had a very comfortable sort of theory that languages pass through a sort of complete circle of the various stages,—Isolating, Agglutinating, Inflectional and then back again to the Isolating—in the course of their history. Everything so nicely rounded off and complete! But that was before the past histories of the languages of the varied types had been investigated carefully, and before the holophrastic languages of the Western Hemisphere had been scientifically studied. The present state of our knowledge tends to prove that the various types *as a whole* have remained more or less distinct throughout recorded history, and that the chief trend of linguistic development in each type (in other words, in language in general) is from the synthetic to the analytic type of structure.

In considering this question we need not confine ourselves to any particular language, but we may try to lay down some general principles and illustrate these from various languages.

To begin at the very beginning of human speech upon earth, it seems that there might have been a stage when the human being was more or less dumb. This might have been true of some of the earlier fossil species of the genus *Homo*. But judging by the structure of the limbs and of the spinal

column, and by the concomitant growth of the brain cavity it seems certain that *Homo sapiens* (in other words, man of the present-day type) had the speech centres in the brain well developed and could therefore speak from the very beginning. Marett has put it very tersely that man "tried to make a speech . . . as soon as he had learnt to stand up on his hind legs."¹

The distinction between man and animals lies in the former's possessing mind. Indeed, the word MAN itself implies the power of thought. The higher animals possessing vocal organs do use a certain code of sounds to indicate various elementary emotions, such as hunger, fear, sex-impulse, etc.;² and this is especially true of the gregarious animals. But we cannot by any stretch of imagination call these sounds "speech" as understood between human beings. These sounds are uttered under stress of particular emotions and are merely in the nature of a warning to others rather than "the conveying of an idea from one mind to another." This last is perhaps a satisfactory definition of "speech." And the power of speech in this sense is possible only to man, because he possesses the power of thought or rationality. The Greeks seem to have clearly grasped this idea for they used the word *λογος* (*lógos*) to mean both "speech" (or "word") and "the power of thought" which controls speech, while they used the word *αλογα* (*áloga*) to describe animals, because they lack the *λογος* (*lógos*) in both the senses.

Animals as well as men are experiencing sense-impressions every moment of their lives. Both are able to take cognisance of each impression whether pleasurable or otherwise. But while man is capable of expressing each of them, the animal can in general give utterance only to a few of the very vivid ones. The human being, however, has to pass through a long process of mental evolution before he learns to use this power

¹ *Anthropology*, p. 132.

² आहारनिद्राभयमैशुनं च सामान्यमेतत्पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।

of uttering forth what he is feeling. For though he has always had the *capacity* of expression, it does not necessarily follow that he has always utilised it from the earliest times. This faculty, like every other, has had to be developed, and has only gradually been brought to its present stage of growth. Luckily for science, we have got even to-day primitive tribes existing in this world who can give us a fair idea of the stages through which the speech of primitive man may have passed. And even if these were absent, we know that every human child passes through these stages in the process of learning to speak.

The primitive human being is not very far removed from the animal in his outer life. His chief concern is with the passing moment, and with the perception of the sense-impressions of the moment. And he can express each of these perceptions by a set of sounds. For each of these sense-perceptions he has got a different set of sounds. These sense-perceptions may be essentially similar but human thought is not sufficiently developed at that stage to perceive similarities other than *absolute identity*. Hence unless the two sense-perceptions are absolutely identical the primitive man feels that there is a difference, and that consequently each needs a separate set of sounds to express it. It is fortunate for him that his needs and his emotions being limited he is not called upon to express his thoughts very often.

Each sound-jumble (set of sounds) that he utters is distinct and separate and is quite independent of the others, however similar in details the individual perceptions may be. Thus, if he-sees-a-fine-fish, and his-son-catches-the-fish, and his-wife-cooks-the-fish, and then they-all-eat-the-fish and they-find-that-the-fish-tastes-nice, for each of these five sense-impressions he has an absolutely different sound-jumble. Each is a sentence complete in itself but between them there is no common factor (fish) such as we would expect to find in more advanced languages. In fact

language at this stage consists of "holophrases" or "sentence-words." I have used here the term "sound-jumble" as being more expressive of the nature of this type of speech. Each sound-jumble, therefore, expresses *one single perception*; but it does not follow that the perceptions are simple ones. They may be fairly complex. Thus, Marett quotes¹ a sound-jumble from the language of Tierra del Feugo (inhabited by some of the lowest type of savages)—*mamilhapinatapai*—which means "looking at each other hoping that either will offer to do something which both parties desire but are unwilling to do."

But the main characteristic of this lowest type of language is that even though several sense-perceptions are more or less similar, that is, even though they possess certain factors in common, the savage mind has not yet been able to grasp them, nor yet to draw them out. Now, this faculty of drawing the common factor from among a number of sense-perceptions is distinctly a faculty possessed by a rational being, a being endowed with λόγος (*lógos*). This common factor drawn from a number of percepts is technically called a *concept*, and the power of drawing a concept is latent in every human being. But amongst the lowest type of human beings it is left in abeyance, because their life-interests, their needs and their emotions barely extend beyond the **आहार** (food), **निद्रा** (sleep), **भय** (fear) and **मैथुन** (sex-impulse), which they share equally with the animals. Hence these human beings live in a world of percepts born of sense-contacts and they hardly seem to feel the need of having any concepts.

As, however, their needs increase, and as their emotions get more complex, certain concepts of common material things begin to be dimly perceived. The sound-jumble still continues, but certain concepts, theoretically at least, get recognised and get a separate name. Here we get a "word" in the strict

¹ Op. cit., p. 140.

sense of the term. Among the holophrastic languages of America, this stage is well exemplified. Thus, Marett quotes from the Old Huron-Iroquois language the following sound-jumbles :¹

eschoirhon, I-have-been-to-the-water ;
setsanha, Go-to-the-water ;
ondequoha, There-is-water-in-the-bucket ;
daustantewacharet, There-is-water-in-the-pot.

We can discover no common factor between these sound-jumbles, but still the human mind has begun to get an idea of the common factor here, the concept "water." The language recognises this when it lays down a hypothetical word *awen* to mean "water." The common factor, the concept, is recognised and it also gets a label (or name) attached to itself ; but still it is a mere hypothetical thing incapable of being used in sentences. Still this is a great step forward, to have concepts recognised at all, and to get labels attached to them. At the next higher stage these "words" get themselves incorporated into the sentence-words (no longer sound-jumbles), and though they are not yet used in their full forms, they can at least be recognised. This stage is also found among the aboriginal languages of America. Thus, in Cherokee we get the holophrase *nadholinin* (bring-us-the-canoe) where the separate "words," *naten* (bring), *amokhol* (canoe), and *nin* (to us), —are clearly recognisable. In the last stage, illustrated by the Mexican, the words are practically as we know them, as in *nisotsitemoa*, which is made up of *ni* (I), *sotsi* (flowers) and *temoa* (seek), and means "I seek flowers."

It is quite obvious that as man progresses culturally, the sense-perceptions that he seeks to express in words would increase enormously in numbers. With such requirements a language made up of mere sound-jumbles would be utterly

¹ Op. cit., p. 141.

inadequate. Hence the very real and pressing necessity of concepts and their corresponding labels (names), *i.e.*, “words,” as distinct from “sound-jumbles.” Śaṅkara in the *Vedānta-sūtrabhāṣya* (i. 3. 28) makes a clear statement on this point: **आकृतिमिथ शब्दानां सम्बन्धो न व्यक्तिभिः । व्यक्तीनामानन्त्यास्संबन्धग्रहणानुपपत्तेः ॥** [The relation of a word is with concepts (आकृति, genus) not with individual percepts (व्यक्ति); for percepts being infinite it would be impossible to lay hold of their relations.] In the higher stages of culture the number of percepts sought to be expressed in speech is practically infinite and this forces on the development of concepts in a large number together with their labels, the “words.”

Once facility is acquired in the drawing of concepts, things move faster. In the beginning, however, the concepts are confined more to material and concrete notions; the abstract concepts come later. Thus we find in many languages, not very primitive by any means, appropriate expressions for “my sister,” “your sister,” “wife’s sister,” “man’s sister,” and so forth, but no separate word to denote “sister.” The mind is capable of grasping the concrete relationship of each individual type of sister, but the common factor of all these individuals—their common sisterhood—has not yet been appreciated. So also with numbers. Many tribes, though using languages of a fairly complex structure, are yet said to be unable to count beyond four. This statement has however to be understood in the sense that their idea of *number in the abstract* does not reach beyond four: but given some concrete objects, trees or boats or pebbles or cocoanuts, they can in certain cases count accurately up to several hundreds. In other words, as far as number is concerned they have no *abstract concepts* beyond “oneness,” “twoness,” “threeness,” and “fourness.” It is only by very slow degrees that complex percepts, though concrete, are seen to be the sum of several abstract concepts.

Exactly the same stages are passed through by the child in the process of acquiring its speech. Only, in

the case of the child, the stages are passed through within a few months, what took the race many millenniums. The cry the infant utters at the moment of its birth and for some weeks afterwards is more akin to the animal cry than to human speech. Linguistic sense begins to dawn upon the child when it begins to babble and to make noises. To the infant the speech of the elders is merely a series of "sound-jumbles" which it tries to imitate in its babbling. For the various concepts which its mind is beginning to draw it has got its own child-labels, which are held to be quite distinct from the "sound-jumbles" it uses in its talks with the elders. This using of two languages, one for use among themselves and one for the elders who cannot understand, is especially noted when there are in a family a number of tiny ones growing up together. Very often the baby language persists long after the children have grown up and have learnt to talk quite fluently the speech of the elders, and this is used to discuss grave secrets and is taught only to very favoured elders who could appreciate its worth. To the child the whole sentence (generally serving to express some bodily want) comes first, the appreciation of the "word" comes later. This is the natural order in which language is acquired and this constitutes the whole secret of "the direct method" of teaching languages.

After a language has arrived at the stage of using "words" rather than "sound-jumbles," another need is felt. This is how to indicate the relationships of the individual words in the sentence. Here we get three clearly marked types, though there are many intermediate gradations between them. These three types are: (i) Isolating, (ii) Agglutinating, and (iii) Inflected. No hard and fast limits can be drawn for these, for these types shade off one into the other by insensible gradations. A particular language may be classified as belonging to one particular type, but it may also possess special constructions and devices characteristic of the other two as well,

Each of these types show languages in various stages of growth and development.

In the Isolating type the most primitive languages form sentences by mere juxtaposition of words without any modification in the word itself or any addition in the nature of an affix. - Such juxtaposition of words among the primitive types of the Isolating languages are capable of expressing only a very limited number of simple relationships, such as, those of the subject and object of a verb, of the possessor and the thing possessed and of the adjective and the noun it qualifies. There are no relative clauses possible, and complex ideas are split up into small co-ordinate sentences. This primitive type is best seen in the Sudan Languages stretching across Africa just north of the equator. A sentence like "I am going to the town," is expressed in Togo as, "I go, reach town-inside"; and in Ewe they say, instead of "He beat him with a stick," "He took stick, beat him"; and instead of "He jumped from the boat into the river," they would say, "He jumped, left boat-inside, fell river-inside."¹ It will be noted here that among case relationships only subject, object and possession can be expressed, and that "prepositions" are wholly wanting. Among the higher developed languages of this type, such as Chinese, the same essential features are observable: juxtaposition to express word-relationship and small sentences co-ordinated together. But Chinese possesses a most magnificent literature, and is quite capable of accurately expressing any idea, ancient or modern. It has developed a special set of "particles."² These are derived from the grouping together the various word-relationships *perceived* and drawing therefrom the underlying concepts. These "particles" according to their innate sense and the context modify the simpler relationships

¹ A Werner, *The Language Families of Africa*, p. 46.

² I use this word in a special sense, akin to that of the Sanskrit term *avyaya*. But the use of the Sanskrit term might be misleading in this connection, for in the absence of all grammatical endings every word in Chinese is strictly speaking an *avyaya*.

as determined by mere juxtaposition. Some of them do the duty of what we call "grammatical suffixes" in Inflected languages, and they are therefore called by the Chinese "empty words," *i.e.*, words, that have no independent signification of their own in the sentence. But each of them is capable, in other contexts, of being used in its "full" significance. Thus the word *liao* signifies the concept of "completion," and it can also be used as an "empty word"; thus, *t'a lai* means "he comes," but *t'a lai liao*, literally "he come finish," means "he came."¹ In the second sentence *liao* is an "empty word" and does the duty of the suffix of the past tense. The sentence construction of Chinese is essentially the same as in the more primitive members among the Isolating languages, though of course the "particles" and the "empty words" give it a greater and a real power of expression. A few examples will show exactly what is meant. "Home one below Heaven" means "All are one family under the canopy of Heaven"; and "Few what see, many what strange" means "The less a man sees, the more has he to wonder at." The style of the later Chinese classical writers is very terse, and full of obscure allusions, and hence extremely difficult to understand. But this is not the fault of the language but of the writers, who wish to make a parade of their learning.² A specimen from the early Chinese classic *Shih Ching* (or the Book of Odes) may be given as typical of the structure of Chinese :

"Quiet girl her beauty,
 "Wait me at city-wall corner ;
 "Love, yet not see,
 "Scratch head, undecided halt."

¹ Incidentally, this construction shows that the fundamental idea of the "tenses" of verbs was action completed or incomplete.

² This is very much like the style of the later *Kāvyas* in Sanskrit.

A little thought can easily lead us to the English version :

“How lovely is the retiring girl,
 “She was to wait me at the corner of the city-wall ;
 “Loving and not seeing her,
 “I scratch my head and am in perplexity.”¹

Because we shall consider the Agglutinating and the Inflected types next, there is no implication that the Isolating type was the first to develop after the words had come into existence. Very probably all the three types developed simultaneously at different centres. The older theory arranging them in a complete circle in order of development is by no means conclusively proved.

In the case of the Agglutinating and the Inflected languages the development and growth seems to have proceeded upon almost parallel lines. In both the types there are grammatical affixes (mostly suffixes, but sometimes also prefixes and infixes as well) which define the relationships of the words in a sentence to each other. A lot of these affixes may have been at one time independent words themselves, as can be proved in the case of many of the affixes of the Agglutinating type and with some of those found in the Inflected languages as well.² But *all* the affixes found in these two language types are not by any means such broken-down words. It is very probable that the greater number among them have been connected with (*i.e.*, are cognate with) other independent words. Thus, the I.-E. endings of the Present tense singulars in the Parasmaipada (*-mi*, *-si*, *-ti*) are clearly connected with the personal pronouns of the three persons, though it would be hardly correct to assert (as the older philologists used to do) that they were themselves broken-down pronouns.

¹ Legge's translation, quoted by Hilier, *The Chinese Language and How to Learn It*, I, p. 13.

² The affix *-ly* in English is a good instance. Also the so-called case-endings found in the modern Indian Vernaculars, like the Bengali *-janya*, *-theke*, or the Gujarātī *-thakē*, *-vise*, etc., have been originally independent words.

The ending in both these types corresponds to a *concrete perception* of the relationships between words. Thus in the I.-E. family the ending of the genitive singular would imply "possession by one" and that of the plural "possession by many." In the Agglutinating type, however, there is a greater degree of analysis, inasmuch as the affixes there convey a single concrete perception, not a compound one as with the Inflected type. Thus taking the endings for the genitive, as we did in the previous case, the Agglutinating languages show in the singular a double affix, "possession *plus* one" while the plural is likewise double, "possession *plus* many." Thus in each grammatical form of these latter languages there are as many affixes as there are individual varieties of relationship to be conveyed. This is seen very beautifully in the Turkish, about whose structural beauty Max Müller spoke in terms of unstinted praise. He quotes the example of the root *sev* (love) with numerous affixes taken singly or together.¹ Thus *sev-mek* is "to love," *sev-ish-mek* has the sense of reciprocity, "to love one another," and *sev-dir-mek* is causal, "to cause to love," while *sev-il-mek* is passive, "to be loved," and *sev-me-mek* is negative, "not to love"; and we can go much beyond these simple forms and go on heaping up the affixes making really complex forms like *sev-dir-il-mek* (to be brought to love), *sev-ish-dir-il-mek* (to be brought to love one another), *sev-ish-dir-il-me-mek* (not to be brought to love one another), and so forth. In the artificial language Esperanto, invented by Zamenhof, this principle of agglutination has been made use of with conspicuous success; thus, *kat-in-et-id-o* (cat-female-small-child) is the "kitten of a small female cat," *kat-id-in-et-o* (cat-child-female-small) is "a small female kitten."² In this artificial language all these affixes are independent words as well and can be used as such.

¹ *Science of Language*, 1899, Vol. I, pp. 426—28.

² The -o at the end indicates that the word is a noun.

In the Inflectional type also we see occasionally influences of agglutination and get the suffixes heaped up. These are seen for instance in Sanskrit in the so-called secondary conjugations, where we get forms like मीमांस्यमानः, दिक्षारयिषति, वेविदयिषामि, दंदशयिषा, etc. The ordinary suffixes of the future in Sanskrit also—स्यामि, स्यसि, स्यति, etc.—are also essentially of the same nature. Then again in the pronouns of the first and second persons we find that while the sense of the number is conveyed by a different stem the case is indicated by the same suffix for all the numbers. Thus we get ममम् (*मभ्यम्), आवाभ्याम्, अम्मभ्यम् and यत्, आवत् (in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*), अस्मत्; and in the second person तुभ्यम् युवाभ्याम्, युष्मभ्यम् and त्वत्, युवत् (unique occurrence in *R̥gveda*, i. 109. 1), युष्मत्. All these show practically the principle of agglutination applied in an Inflected language. And among the I.-E. languages the Tokharian shows in its noun declension this principle very clearly, doubtless owing to its close contact with the Ural-Altaic languages of Central Asia.

As long as the language remains completely Agglutinating or completely Inflectional we have in the affixes more or less “*percepts* of word-relationships,” either singly as with the former, or with several in combination as with the latter. But gradually these affixes come to be thought of in groups arranged mainly according to their sense and then it begins to be perceived that among them also there are common factors—the “*concepts* of word-relationships”—the *abstract ideas* underlying each group of affixes. The process by which these are arrived at is exactly the same as that by which at an earlier stage the language got words in place of “sound-jumbles”; only at this later stage the process is applied to affixes and syntactical relations. By this means the essential ideas underlying syntactical relations are caught hold of and then language becomes like a flexible well-tempered rapier blade. The clarity of thought does not suffer in the least, and new relationships are seen to exist where none had been suspected earlier.

Before these fundamental abstract ideas of syntactical relationships are fully realised the language has already become possessed of a large variety of "particles" and "auxiliaries" and such other words expressing more or less these very ideas. These "particles" and "auxiliaries" have been arrived at from other bundles of percepts (not syntactical) just like the thousands of other "words." Of course these are mostly used in the material sense, but to use them metaphorically is but a small step if we remember how important a part metaphor plays in the building up of a language. And these are exactly the words that help now to express the concepts of word-relationships and take the place of the older grammatical affixes. Semantic causes may also lead to slight changes from their original significations, and they are helped also by the breaking up of the older affixes by phonetic decay and other causes, such as the overlapping of syntactical significations.

Some examples may make these statements clearer. In some of the languages of Africa, like the Bushman Languages, the plural is formed in as many as fifty or sixty different ways. Each particular type of object seems to require its own special type of plural affix so that a round object, or a square one, a rough object or a smooth one, and so forth, has each its special plural affix. Here the plural is not the *concept* of "manyness" but the *percept* of the "manyness of a particular type of object." Perhaps a stage higher come the *four* numbers of several languages spoken among the islands of the Pacific. These are *singular*, *dual*, *tri-al* (indicating three) and *plural*. Here the ideas (concepts) of oneness, twoness, threeness, and manyness (*i.e.*, of four and beyond) have been grasped, still the fundamental relationship of numbers, that "one" and "many" (or "more than one") can between them comprise the whole universe, has not been realised. The idea of having only two numbers is distinctly a more advanced idea. We see that among the I.-E. languages the dual drops out gradually. In Sanskrit the dual originally represents objects which go always

in pairs, like the limbs of the body (अङ्गौ, कर्णौ, हस्तौ, etc.), or like pairs of beings (divine or human) who are always thought of together (पितरौ, मित्रावरुणा, पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ, रामलक्ष्मणौ) or like pairs of opposites (सुखः दुःखे, जयाजयौ, अहिनकुलौ). This seems to have been the original function of the dual in Sanskrit, but in later times we get what might be termed an "unnatural" use of the dual in the *dvandva* compound, such as काकद्वयौ, मयूरिकुलौ, etc. But the very fact that in many of these cases the compound is found in the neuter singular shows that the dual as a number is felt to be redundant, as in शीतोष्णम्, पाणिपादम्, etc.¹

In the I.-E. languages the comparison of adjectives in *three* degrees is merely a relic of the times when there were three numbers—the comparative being used when there were *two* things compared and the superlative when there were more than two. All the older languages of this family show the three degrees but the modern ones show a realisation that only two are quite enough for all purposes. In French, for instance, we get the words *plus* and *le* (or *la*) *plus* prefixed to the adjective to make the comparative and the superlative respectively, and similarly in Italian we have the words *più* and *il* (or *la*) *più* prefixed. In Persian the suffixes used for these two are *تر* (-*tar*) and *ترین* (-*tarīn*). The almost complete identity of these signs indicates a realisation that the essential ideas sought to be conveyed by these two formations are the same. The final step—complete identity of the comparative and superlative forms—is achieved in our Indian Vernaculars : as for instance in Gujarātī, राम बड़ो छे (Rāma is old), राम पेतान्न भाई लक्ष्मणजी बड़ो छे (Rāma is older than his brother Lakṣmaṇa) and राम सबलानी बड़ो छे (Rama is the oldest of all) : exactly similarly we have in Hindī, राम बड़ा है, राम अपने भाई लक्ष्मणसे बड़ा है, and राम सबसे बड़ा है. The same style of constructions we get in Bengālī and in other vernaculars also. In English, though all

¹ Of course the idea of the whole being a "collective" is also responsible for the singular in these cases.

the three different forms are still used, we also get constructions like "the best of the two" or "the better one among them all." Of course these are not regarded as correct standard forms but colloquial.

The dropping of affixes is due in the first place to phonetic reasons, and this phonetic decay of affixes is hastened by the process described above of putting them together in different "bundles," and then drawing the common factors—the fundamental syntactical concepts. For instance, with regard to the noun cases, many languages show a far larger number of cases than the seven with which we are familiar in Sanskrit and the I.-E. languages. Finnish, for example, shows no less than fifteen cases, distinguishing between the ordinary genitive of possession and the partitive genitive, between the true instrumental and the associative case, between the "in"-case and the "on"-case and so forth. In the course of language development several of these are seen to possess a common fundamental concept which then gets adopted for all of them with the necessary variations. Even in the fully inflected stage the process is seen to have already begun, for we find, for instance, an overlapping of cases syntactically. Thus we get in Sanskrit the preposition **विना** used with no less than three different cases from quite early times, and the genitive seems to have been used at all periods to indicate all manner of syntactical relationships.¹ Such constructions mark the beginnings of the analysis of the ideas underlying syntactical relationships.

We find the same process at work in the case of verbal suffixes as well. In the *Atharva Veda* we find the sentence **इयमग्ने नारी पतिं विदेष्टा...सुवाना पुत्रान्महिषी भवति गत्वा पतिं सुभगा विराजतु**, where the moods clearly overlap in sense. The history of the usage of the Aorist, the Perfect and the Imperfect at different periods of Sanskrit also tells the same story of differences being levelled out through realisation of the fundamental

¹ This is seen in the rule so often given **सम्बन्धसामान्ये षष्ठी**; the 6th (genitive) case is used for general relationships.

concept. Similarly with the distinction of *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanepada*. In older Sanskrit, as also in the Avesta and Greek, the distinction between these two "voices" has been more or less carefully observed, but later on it drops out because generally the context is enough to show who enjoys the result of an act or suffers from it. This distinction is found preserved in later Sanskrit only for the passive voice and in certain verbs like *मृ*, to die, which must necessarily be *Ātmanepada*.¹ There are reasons to believe that even the "conjugational signs" (the *vikarāṇi*) of the Sanskrit verbs signified originally some definite modification of meaning. The parent I.-E. seems to have possessed no less than thirty-two such signs² and in Sanskrit a great many of these have already fallen together (the majority in the first conjugation or the *bhū*-class) partly because of the similarity of forms and partly because the original fine "perceptual" differences, which these represented, were being steadily discarded. Thus, from an original root *yu* (to join) we get a derivative form *yu-dh* (to fight) in the specially modified sense of "joining in battle," while the Latin form *jungo* shows another *vikarāṇa*.³ We also find a special class of verbs in *-sko* in Latin and Greek, but in Sanskrit these are (all except one) included among the *bhū*-class with bases ending in *-ccha* (like *शृच्छ*, *गच्छ*, *यच्छ* etc.). In the Veda these verbal *vikarāṇas* are often quite different from what we are used to in classical Sanskrit, and it is

¹ Occasionally in later Sanskrit we find an *Ātmanepada* form deliberately used, e.g., in *Bhagavad Gītā*, xiv. 14, असौ मया हतः शत्रुहन्त्रिये चापरानपि. In Latin the so-called "deponent verbs" are relics of the ancient *Ātmanepada*.

² As enumerated by Brugmann.

³ Is this perhaps at the back of the old-fashioned arrangement of roots by Sanskrit grammarians in the alphabetical order of the final letters? See, for instance, the famous list शक्लृ पच् मुचि रिच् वच् विच्, etc.

not impossible that these did modify the sense in some special manner, to which we have now lost all clue. In classical Sanskrit also we get some roots conjugated in different "classes" and sometimes even with a slight modification of meaning, *eg.*, अच, तच्, लुप्, etc., and these are but relics of the old modificatory power of the *vikaranas*.

From this we see that languages progress from the synthetic type, where there are a large number of affixes to define the relationships of words, to the analytic type, where the ideas underlying these affixes are analysed into their fundamental concepts, thus making it possible for the affixes to be discarded in course of time. This progress from synthesis to analysis is not uniform for all languages, nor is it maintained at a uniform rate during all periods in the history of any particular language. And this advance, as a rule, marks the progress of a race in intellectual acumen. This is specially well marked in the Malay-Polynesian family of languages. In this family, the speech of the highest cultured tribes—the Hawaiians and the Maoris—comes nearest to the analytic type.

But there are many other factors to consider while we survey the history of a language over periods stretching across centuries. Two factors, however, are of prime importance in this connection—(i) racial admixture, or more correctly, admixture with people speaking a different type of language, and (ii) literature and culture, and, above all, religion.

Contact between two peoples speaking different languages affects the speech of both. The most obvious effect of such contact on language is, of course, to be seen in the vocabulary. But that is the least important part of the results which follow. The most important effect is the break-up of the synthetic structure of the language affected. When people intermingle they must necessarily hold intercourse with each other, and in such cases the stronger race, whether politically or culturally, forces the other to adopt its own language ; and

so it is the language of the stronger race that suffers the greatest change.¹ The greater the divergence between the structures of the mingling languages, the stronger marked and deeper is the effect produced. Foreigners cannot speak a language with the same instinctive grasp which a native speaker can command, and hence it follows that a foreigner, while speaking, is always tending towards uniformity by losing sight of the numerous "exceptions" to grammatical rules. This same tendency also leads to a slurring over and ultimate discarding of suffixes. To the foreigner the essential underlying idea is enough and he does not care for the fine distinctions which affixes would make. The native follows him more or less intuitively.² In course of time the resulting simplicity as achieved by the foreigner begins to be appreciated. Language is after all but a means to convey thought from one mind to another, and as long as that purpose is served, the average speaker cares little or nothing for grammatical finesse. And it is the average speaker that moulds a language. Thus, as a direct result of racial intermingling, language advances perforce from the synthetic to the analytic structure. This factor therefore works for change.

The other factor mentioned is a force for conservation. Literature, culture and religion are among the most valued possessions of a race, because they all, and especially the last, appeal to the highest emotions of man. And so we find that when a great literature and culture or a great religion becomes

¹ "The English of Alfred would never have become the English of Chaucer but for the misusage it received by Danish and Norman conquerors. Nor could we be able to account for the strange aspect of French, unless we knew how Latin having suffered already by the ill-treatment of Roman legionaries and the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul, was finally knocked to pieces by German Franks." MaxMüller, *Science of Language* (1899 ed.), I, p. iv f.).

² I myself, while in Germany, if I was not sure of the gender and case to be used with the definite article, used to slur it over and simply uttered "de-." And this answered very well, for the native speaker who heard me supplied the correct form for himself !

embodied in a language, that language gets a power to resist change. For the speakers of that language are naturally loth to get away from what they value the highest. Take for instance the change that has come over German since Luther's days. Luther's *Bible* marks the beginning of Modern German; and the changes that have occurred in the language during the four centuries that have elapsed since that work are very small as compared with those that took place during the four centuries preceding. The more stable conditions of the German people during the last four centuries have certainly contributed to the stability of the language, but the most important factor has been, without doubt, this great book, embodying the hopes and aspirations of the entire nation. Similar has been the effect of the English *Bible* in stabilising the language of England. Shakespeare's works which were produced very nearly about the same time as the *Bible* are easier to understand to-day than the works of Chaucer, who preceded the *Bible* by about a century and a half. In fact there is greater change visible in English between Chaucer and Shakespeare than in the centuries that have succeeded the latter, and this in spite of the most varied type of racial and linguistic intermingling.

Thus it is seen that these two factors are mutually opposed, the first tends towards disintegration and change while the second is decidedly conservative in its effects. The opposite tendencies of these two factors may be exemplified in the difference in the development and progress of two languages of the same family. Hebrew and Arabic in the earlier centuries of the Christian era were practically at the same stage of growth and their structure was practically identical. But modern Hebrew is decidedly analytic in structure, while modern Arabic has still a very considerable amount of synthetic structure. The reason for this change in Hebrew lies doubtless in the historical events which caused the Jews to wander all over the earth and to mix freely with

other nations. The Arabs too had spread all over the old world and had come into contact with people speaking various languages, but there was an important difference. The latter went everywhere as conquerors, who could impose their language and culture upon others, and also above all as bearers of the Gospel of the Prophet of Arabia. And it is this last fact, a great religion embodied in the *Qurān*, that still binds the Arabic of to-day to its ancient form almost unchanged. A great religious book, accepted as sacred by millions, has made the language in which it was written also sacred, and this sacredness has had force enough to resist all changes which might have followed from contact with other languages.

Among the I.-E. languages Lithuanian is at the present day the most synthetic in structure, having remained practically stationary during the past couple of thousand years or so. The reason for this has to be sought in the fact that Lithuania is a comparatively poor country with an extremely rigorous climate, and is full of swamps and forests. It is not a land which could tempt a conqueror; and so the Lithuanians have lived their lives more or less undisturbed within their swampy forests, and their language has felt very little of foreign influences.

On the other hand English and Persian are the two languages of this family that have advanced furthest along the analytical stage. The influences that worked on English are very well-known,¹ and during the last century and more English has been slowly but surely attaining the position of World-language—a position which it has very nearly attained. Persian has been remarkable because it achieved the analytical stage the earliest. Ever since the days of Pahlavi (Middle Persian), *i.e.*, since the second century of the Christian era, the language has been definitely analytical,

¹ See in particular the very fine chart of the progress of English given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., s. v. "English Language."

and during the intervening centuries it has progressed still further in the same direction. The result has been that Persian is now almost completely analytical in structure, if we exclude the formations borrowed directly from Arabic grammar and even these are being used more and more analytically.¹ The reason for this almost complete transformation of Persian is due to the fact that as early as the 7th century B.C., in the earliest stages of the Persian language, the Iranians conquered Babylon and came into very intimate contact with its Semitic language. We find the old Persian even of the Achaemenian days less synthetic in structure than the Avesta which was the language of Eastern Irān. This Semitic contact has continued throughout all subsequent Iranian history and has constantly acted as a factor in changing the structure of the Persian tongue.

The linguistic history of India furnishes quite good instances of the changes from the synthetic to the analytic type. Sanskrit in the earliest stages (*i.e.*, in the *R̥g Veda*) is quite clearly synthetic in structure. The *Brāhmanas* show a very strange type of syntax which seems to me to be only partly due to their being the earliest attempts at prose composition. I think that the peculiar syntax of the *Brāhmanas* really represents a transition stage, or more correctly the first step in the transition, between the synthetic and the analytic types. The reason for this is clear. The *R̥g Veda* hymns were compiled under almost pure Aryan influences for the influences of the *dāsa varṇa*, the aborigines of India, had not begun at that period. The *Brāhmanas*, however, were composed in the plains of the Gangetic Doab and by that time the aborigines had been accepted as the fourth caste of Hindu society. The influence of this racial admixture, therefore, seems to be the principal

¹ Present-day Persian writers have a marked tendency to discard Arabic words and formations and to revert to the pure Iranian elements.

reason of the peculiar syntax of the prose of the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹ But the sanctity of the Vedas already accepted in the *Brāhmaṇas* and definitely established in the *Upaniṣads* acted as a conserving force and resisted to a great extent the movement towards analysis, at least as far as the learned "standard speech"—the Sanskrit language—was concerned. The popular dialects, what might be called the "Primary Prakrits," were unfettered by any such restrictions and they went on along the way to analytic structure. The *Brāhmaṇas* are distinctly more popular in their contents and hence they would naturally show greater influence of the popular dialects than would the more philosophic and more learned *Upaniṣads*. But even here the force of religion acted distinctly as a brake.

Next came Pāṇini with his wonderfully accurate *Vyākaraṇa* (analysis) of the standard Sanskrit speech of his days. So masterly was this work that Pāṇini was almost immediately hailed as a great Sage and received all the honours due to a holy Rṣi. And this added further sanctity to the already holy language he had analysed. From that time onwards to change Sanskrit, or even to think of changing it, was tantamount to a grievous sin. The Prakrits moved on apace along the usual path of analysis, and especially after Buddha had broken the Vedic tradition and had given His message in the vernacular they seemed to have acquired fresh strength. But the Prakrit of Buddhist Scriptures paid the penalty of its new-found greatness, for it became in its turn the *sacred* language of the learned few and ununderstandable by the general public. This was the age of what are known as the "Secondary Prakrits," of which we find specimens in the Sanskrit Drama as also in the fairly extensive Prakrit poetical literature. But all this time Sanskrit remained *par excellence* the language of real culture and works continued to be

¹ The influence of Dravidian languages on Sanskrit is now being definitely accepted. But it has yet to be worked out in detail,

produced in it in great profusion. But the divorce between Sanskrit and the Prakrits is seen to get wider and wider each succeeding generation. Writers of Sanskrit, however eminent, must have talked Prakrit in the bosom of their families for all women talked Prakrit. And in many places it seems clear that the writer has thought in Prakrit and has then translated into Sanskrit. Thus a good many Prakrit forms and "Prakritisms" have crept into classical Sanskrit literature. This growing divergence between the learned language and that of the home is well reflected in the ever-increasingly stilted and unnatural style of later Sanskrit literature. Often there are indeed passages of great beauty and real magnificence—but the language is certainly not the language of average humanity. In one direction, however, Sanskrit had not been fettered by Pāṇinian shackles, and in this direction Sanskrit developed to an extent almost incredible. That direction was the compound, the *samāsa*; for though Pāṇini had laid down the rules governing them, still he had set no limit to the number of words that could go to the making of a compound. Being free to develop in this one direction and knowing from the Prakrits the advantages of discarding suffixes the later writers of Sanskrit took the fullest advantage of this freedom. The huge compounds—the "alphabetical processions"—sprawling across the pages of the *Kādambarī* and similar works are but the natural outcome of the tendencies present in every form of human speech, which ultimately lead it to the analytical type. The very grotesqueness of this form of literary atrocity is but a symptom to show how effectively the natural life of a magnificent language had been strangled out of it by the double sanctity imposed upon it.

Our modern Indian vernaculars (the so-called "Tertiary Prakrits") have grown from the spoken forms of the Secondary Prakrits. They have more or less kept on developing the analytic structure. But so great have been the hold of Hindu Religion and that of the sacred "Speech of the Gods"

(the *Deva-bhāṣā*), that there have been in the history of each one of the vernaculars periods of retardation when it has been thrown back as it were to the synthetic type. The learned Pandits have always tried to force on the more or less analytic vernaculars the synthetic mould of Sanskrit. And many of the earlier as well as later writers in the vernaculars have been profound students of Sanskrit as well as writers of repute in that language as well. Thus we find in the history of the vernaculars alternate periods of Sanskritic and vernacular styles. The influence of Islam did produce a great effect, but even that was powerless to overcome the conservative force of Sanskrit.¹ But among the languages of modern India those which have come most in contact with border or aboriginal tribes are the most pronouncedly analytical in their structure.² Bengali is a notable example of this, and here, besides, the influence of Islam also has gone deeper among the masses than in other parts. The ancient *Madhyadeśa*, the home of Sanskritic culture, surrounded as it always has been by peoples speaking Sanskritic vernaculars, has retained in its language the greatest amount of synthetic structure. And this was, be it noted, in spite of wave after wave of foreign invaders that broke upon it. The chief reason for this was that the heart of the *Madhyadeśa* has always remained Hindu. In fact the Moslems, though politically the stronger race, adopted the language of the land and with a Persianised vocabulary converted Hindi into Urdu.

The advent of the British has brought new and profound influences into India. English words are now current in all our dialects, even in the remotest villages, much as Persian and Arabic words had done in the earlier days. But England has

¹ Besides, the propagation of Islam was mainly among the illiterate masses; hence the influence of Islam is barely perceptible in the vernacular literatures except in Urdu which is mainly Islamic.

² This is specially true where these aborigines have been admitted into the Hindu fold.

succeeded in moving the inner consciousness of India in a manner never known before. Already the effects are apparent in the structure of our languages. The most modern writers are taking the languages definitely along the analytic model of English. And this is scarcely to be wondered at, for most of these writers are deep students of English language and literature and also fairly good writers in that language also. And not a few of them think first in English and then translate into the vernacular. How long this process may continue until the inevitable reaction sets in, and what form that reaction may take, we need not try to guess. One thing at least is certain, *viz.*, that the influence of English has carried our vernaculars definitely further in the direction of the analytical type.

(3)

THE RELATION OF PĀṆINI'S TECHNICAL DEVICES TO HIS PREDECESSORS.

Dr. MANGALA DEVA SHASTRI, M.A., D.Phil.
(*Librarian, Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares*).

There can be no question that Pāṇini occupies the foremost place in the history of Sanskrit Grammar. On account of its accuracy of style and scientific method his masterpiece—the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*—has served as a model to a host of subsequent authors on the subject. That the Pāṇinian grammar represents the climax in the development of the scientific study of Sanskrit is recognised by all. That he was preceded by a long series of Sanskrit grammarians whose works have been directly or indirectly drawn upon by him is also evident from the numerous authorities quoted by him in his *Sūtras*. But in spite of all this it is not generally admitted that the technical devices used by him are not wholly his own innovations; cf., for instance, Burnell: *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, pp. 38—42, 114. The result has been that several works, apparently pre-Pāṇinian, have been assigned to the post-Pāṇinian period mainly on the ground of the use in them of such technical devices. It would not be, therefore, without interest, to show here, on the basis of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the allied literature, the relation of Pāṇini's main technical devices to his predecessors.

His main technical devices may be brought under three heads: (1) the system of abbreviation known as *Pratyāhāra*, (2) the system of *Anubandhas* or indicatory letters, and (3) the use of *Samjñās* or technical terms.

I.

The Pratyāhāras may be subdivided into two varieties, *i.e.*, (1) those based on the so-called Māheśvara Sūtras, like अण्, अच्, etc., and (2) those independent of the same, *e.g.*, सुप्, लिङ्, लुट्, कृच् (III. 1, 40).¹ At first it seems that there is no definite proof for asserting that the system of Pratyāhāras is not entirely due to Pāṇini's own ingenuity, as it is difficult to point out any use of this device in any work which can indisputably be claimed to belong to a pre-Pāṇinian date. Still there are cases of their occurrence which are worth considering in this connection and must not be altogether passed over as of no significance.

The first and foremost of them all is the use of the Pratyāhāra लिङ् in the Vāj. Prāt. (I. 27). That this work must be anterior to Pāṇini and consequently is not by the author of the Vārttikas on the Aṣṭādhyāyī is clear from its loose style and inconsistency as well as want of uniformity in the employment of its own Paribhāṣās and technical terms (cf. I. 38 and 40 ; I. 52 ; III. 9-10), which cannot be compared with the accurate style and the consistency of method of Pāṇini. The use of such terms as प्रत्यय and अष्टक in this Prātiśākhya in a sense which is identical with that found in the Ṛg. Prāt. and is certainly earlier than that assigned to them by Pāṇini is another point (to quote only one out of many of the same sort) in favour of the same view. The identity of the Sūtra—न समस्वात् in the Vāj. Prāt. (I. 3) and in the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (I. 103, 112 ; VII. 23),—which is generally recognised to be anterior to Pāṇini, is also interesting in this connection.

In addition to this I have collected the following instances of the use of Pratyāhāras from the Uṇādi-Sūtras :—अम् (119), इक् (569), अच् (588). Evidently these Pratyāhāras are identical with those of Pāṇini. From this fact and from the identity

¹ Unless otherwise specified, the references in this paper are to the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

of many technical terms (*e.g.*, संप्रसारण, उपधा, वृद्धि, प्रत्यय, रलु, टि, etc.), found in this work and that of Pāṇini, one is easily led to conclude the unity of their authorship, or at least that the former is posterior to the latter. But a reference to the Mahābhāṣya (cf. VI. 1, 123; VII. 1, 2; VII. 3, 50, etc.) and the Sūtras of Pāṇini (cf. VI. 2, 144; VII. 2, 9, etc.) clearly shows, not only that Pāṇini cannot be the author of the Uṇādi-Sūtras, but also that they existed before Pāṇini. This view is also confirmed by later commentators; cf. Kaiyaṭa (III. 3, 1): बहुलवचनमिति । उयादय इत्येव सूत्रमुयादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्त्विति भावः । The remarks of the Pada-mañjarī (III. 3, 1), too, in this connection are to the same effect. The Śābdenḍuśekhara (III. 3, 1) says :—अनेन भाष्यवार्तिकसमूहे न उयादयो बहुलमिति व्याकरणान्तरव्यवस्थापकमिति स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् । Nor can we argue that the Sūtras containing the above Pratyāhāras are later interpolations, because they form an integral part of the whole work. The likelihood that in these cases some later hand might have replaced older expressions by the convenient Pratyāhāras of the Pāṇinian system is also obviated by the presence of several older terms (*e.g.*, सन्ध्यचर, सामानाचर) in works like the Vārttika-pāṭha on Pāṇini, which is more immediately concerned with the Pāṇinian grammar than the Uṇādi-Sūtras. Those terms are still retained there and have not been replaced by those of the Pāṇinian system. In view of all this we cannot set aside the evidence of the Uṇādi-Sūtras as of no importance.

Next we come to the interesting evidence of the Phit-
Sūtras in this connection. The Pratyāhāras used in this tract are :—अच् (27 = अच्), खच् (31), इक् (49), अच् (51), इच् (48, 66 = इल्). It is evident that the reading अच् in Sūtra 51, though generally found in the printed texts, cannot be the original one, because it is rather unnatural that the same author would use अच् and अच् for the same purpose. I have not yet thoroughly examined the question of the relation of these Sūtras to Pāṇini. Still a reference to the Mahābhāṣya

shows that these Sūtras existed at least before Kātyāyana and Patañjali ; cf. Mahābhā. (VI. 1, 92) :—**प्रातिपदिकस्वरस्यावकाशः । आक्षः ।** and (VI. 1, 123) : **सत्यमेवमेतत् । न त्विदं लक्षणमस्ति प्रातिपदिकस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीति । इदं पुनरस्ति प्रातिपदिकस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीति ।** ; cf. also Kaiyaṭa on this Sūtra and the Subodhinī on Phit-Sūtra 1. The remarks of the last-mentioned work on Ph.-S. 86 are :—**तस्य पाणिनीयात्पूर्वप्रवृत्तत्वेनादोषात् ।** In the light of all this it seems likely that these Sūtras were written before Pāṇini.

Then there are several cases of the occurrence of Pratyāhāras in the Paribhāṣās attached to the Pāṇinian system. As yet I am not in a position to answer the question finally as to how many of them are identical with or are based on the Paribhāṣās of teachers older than Pāṇini. The sweeping assertion of Nāgeśa (in the beginning of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara).—**प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचनिकानि, अत्र पाणिनीयतन्त्रे ज्ञापकन्यायसिद्धानि** with regard to all the Paribhāṣās has not been taken in its literal sense even by his commentators. Still there can be no doubt that at least some of the Paribhāṣās are of this nature, especially those which are only partially inferred from the Sūtras of Pāṇini ; for instance, the Paribhāṣās **गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुदुत्पत्तेः** and **रितपाशपातुबन्धेन निर्दिष्टं यद्गण्येन च । यत्रैकाज्ग्रहणं चैत्रपञ्चैतानि न यद्गुणिकं ॥** are taken by the commentators as of this sort. On the former the Pada-mañjarī (II. 2, 19) says :—**एवं तर्हि गतिकारकोपपदानामिति परिभाषा पूर्वाचार्यैः पठिता । सूत्रकारेणाप्यतिरुद्धग्रहणेन तद्देश आश्रिता तत्र सामान्यापेक्षं ज्ञापकमिति कृत्स्नमेव परिभाषार्थं ज्ञापयतीति सिद्धमिष्टम् ।** The Manoramā (II. 2, 19) remarks :—**यद्यप्युक्तरीत्या गद्युपपदयोरेव क्लृप्तमपि त्रितयविषयिणी प्राचां परिभाषा एकदेशानुमतिद्वारा इहापि ज्ञाप्यत इति भावः ।** The words of the Tattva-bodhinī on the latter Paribhāṣā (cf. VII. 2, 10) are also to the same effect. Thus even if we do not take into consideration the question of other Paribhāṣās, several of which contain Pratyāhāras, the occurrence of **सुप्** and **एकाच्** in these two Paribhāṣās alone is of great significance.

It follows from the above discussion that very likely Pāṇini was not the inventor of the idea of Pratyāhāra and that, not only such Pratyāhāras as सुप् and तिङ्, but also those which were similar to or even identical with अण्, अच्, etc., of the Pāṇinian grammar, were known before Pāṇini. This of course implies that the so-called Māheśvara Sūtras, more or less in their present form, existed before Pāṇini. The testimony of Sanskrit grammarians that they are due to Maheśvara (and not to Pāṇini)—even though the tradition cannot be traced in the Mahābhāṣya—and the statement of the Mahābhā. that the word वृद्धि in I. 1, 1 is used in the *beginning* of the शास्त्र for the sake of मङ्गल may also lend some support to the likelihood that they are wholly borrowed by Pāṇini from an older work. Lastly I may add that the familiar way in which the word Pratyāhāra is used in the Mahābhā. also suggests that the word was not confined, even in his times, to the Pāṇinian system alone.

II.

The Anubandhas are generally used with Pratyayas; but their use with particles (*e.g.*, आङ् नञ् सुञ्), Dhātus and Prātipadikas (*e.g.*, नदद् चोरद् III. 1, 134; कुण्डिनच् II. 4, 70) is also not rare. That they were employed by pre-Pāṇinian grammarians is proved in a general way by such statements of the Mahābhā. as पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं वा । पूर्वसूत्रे च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (VII. 1, 18: औङ् आपः). The fact that before offering this as the last solution of the use of ङ् in औङ् some other alternative solutions are proposed in the Mahābhā. does not show, as it has been surmised by some, that Patañjali was not personally acquainted with the actual use of their terms in the works of Pāṇini's predecessors, but only that he, or whoever else might be regarded as the author of the Kārikās on VII. 1, 18, which are explained by Patañjali, wanted, as far as possible, to justify on other grounds the use of this non-Pāṇinian Anubandha. The use of ङ् with आ (=टा) in

VII. 3, 195 and 120, is also explained by the commentators as according to the practice of Pāṇini's predecessors. But we need not be satisfied only with this kind of indirect evidence on this point. Fortunately direct evidence also is not wanting. We find the occurrence of **आङ्**, not only in the Vāj. Prāt. (VI. 24) but also in the Nirukta (XI. 24). Cf. also **एत्**, **ओत्** for **ए**, **ओ** in the Vāj. Prāt. I. 114 and IV. 60 and **वाँसौ** (= **वसौ**) in V. 11. The occurrence of **सन्** (I. 86), **वसु** (I. 88; IV. 35), **मत्तु** (III. 17, IV. 47), **वत्तु** (IV. 48) and **तात्तिङ्** (IV. 20) in the Ath. Prāt. is also very interesting (cf. also below). The arguments of those who hold that the Ath. Prāt. is post-Pāṇinian do not seem to me quite convincing, especially in view of the standpoint taken in this paper.

Another interesting and at the same time incontrovertible evidence is offered by the occurrence of **नञ्** in a Sūtra (वेनुरनजि ठकमुत्पादयति) expressly attributed to Āpiśali—a predecessor of Pāṇini—in the Mahābhā. on IV. 2, 45. In the light of this positive evidence, I think, the Kārikā—ईषदर्थं क्रियायोगे मर्यादाभिविधौ च यः । एतमातं कितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥ in the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 14 as well as the statement द्वावुकारौ, एकोऽननुबन्धकः, अपरः सानुबन्धकः । in the same work on I. 1, 17 are from or are based on pre-Pāṇinian works.

The fact, however, that the purpose assigned to various Anubandhas by Pāṇini is also, at least in many cases, identical with that of his predecessors, would seem to be rather more difficult to prove. What is more, the passage of the Mahābhā. quoted above (पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते) has led some scholars to maintain rather the opposite view (cf. Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, p. 181). A careful reading of the Mahābhā., however, which quotes several pre-Pāṇinian Pratyayas, at once disproves the validity of the opposite view—and establishes the above fact beyond doubt. I have collected several such cases of pre-Pāṇinian Pratyayas from the Mahābhāṣya. They together with their necessary context

and the remarks of the later commentators are given below:—

प्यञ् and फक्—Cf. Mahābhā. (IV. 1, 98): इह केचिद् द्वयेकयोः प्यञं विदधति, बहुषु च फक्म् ।

Kaiyaṭa:—केचित् = पूर्वे वैयाकरणाः ।

ठक्—Mahābhā. (IV. 2, 45): एवं च कृत्वापिशलेराचार्यस्य विधिहपञ्चो भवति । धेनुरनञि ठकमुत्पादयति ।

Nyāsa:—एवं कृत्वापिशलेर्विधिहपञ्चो भवति ।.....‘धेनोरनञः’ इति । एतद्वि तत्सूत्रम् । अस्यायमर्थः । धेनुशब्दः समूहेऽर्थे ठकमुत्पादयति ।

Pada-mañjarī:—(reads कम् for ठक्म्) आपिशलेः सूत्रम् ।

Kielhorn, like the Pada-mañjarī, adopts the reading कम् for ठक्म्, the latter being given as another reading in the notes. The reading ठक्म् is, however, supported, as we have seen, by the Nyāsa and also by the Pāṇinian Sūtra: अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् (IV. 2, 47).

डावतु—Mahābhā. (V. 2, 39): डावतावर्थवैशेष्यात्, etc.

Kaiyaṭa:—पूर्वाचार्यप्रक्रियापेक्षो निर्देशः । इह तु वतुपंविधाय ‘आ सर्वनाम्नः’ इत्यात्वं (VI. 3, 9) विहितम् । पूर्वाचार्यास्तु डावतुं विदधिरे

युद् and युच्—Kāśikā (VI. 1, 144): लुम्पेदवरयमः कृत्ये तु काममनसोरपि । समो वा हितततयोर्मांसस्य पचि युक्-चजोः ॥

Nyāsa:—अतस्तदेव पूर्वाचार्यलक्षणं दर्शयति । लुम्पेदित्यादि ।

Pada-mañjarī:—सातत्यशब्दं पूर्वाचार्यलक्षणसिद्धमुच्चारयता पूर्वाचार्यलक्षणमाश्रितम् ।.....तदेव पूर्वाचार्यलक्षणं पठन्ति । लुम्पेदित्यादि ।

Tattva-bodhinī:—(on शिपा शपानुबन्धेन, etc.) :—अपरस्पर इति सूत्रे सातत्यग्रहणेन एकदेशानुमत्या ‘लुम्पेदवरयमः कृत्ये’ इत्यादि पूर्वाचार्यश्लोके ज्ञापितः ।

Cf. also the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 27:—इहान्ये, वैयाकरणाः समस्तते विभाषा लोपमारभन्ते, etc.

It is clear that the purpose of the Anubandhas in the affixes quoted above must be identical with that in the Pāṇinian grammar. If this supposition is true it, would not be

quite unreasonable to take the Anubandhas attached to Prat-
yayas in Sūtras like प्राचां वस्तुदितः (IV. 1, 17), आरगुदीचाम् (IV.
1, 130), उदीचामिञ् (IV. 1, 153), प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन्बहुलम् (IV. 1, 160)
as really taught by the different predecessors of Pāṇini. The
evidence of the Uṇādi-pāṭha (cf. जुष् 3, उरन् 45, टिष्च् 48, etc.),
if it is a pre-Pāṇinian work, also supports the above view.
The प् of अप् in Phit. 19 S. (नक्षत्राणामन्विषयाणाम्), when अप् to my
mind represents आप् (or टाप् etc.) of Pāṇini, is also worth notic-
ing in this connection.

The Anubandhas (ञ् etc.), attached to the above-quoted
affixes of the Ath. Prāt., though of no use in that work,
must have the same significance as that in the Pāṇinian gram-
mar. Still they seem to have been borrowed from an older
work on Grammar. The use of such non-Pāṇinian technical
terms as पञ्चपदी (I. 88; III. 5) and भूतकरण (III. 49) in the
Prātiśākhya shows that it is anterior to Pāṇini.

It follows that there is no justification for the tendency
of many scholars to assign all works, which show any trace
of 'Pāṇinian' Anubandhas, to the post-Pāṇinian period. We
cannot say, for example, that the occurrence of सन् in the
Ath. Prāt. (I. 86) is a *sure* sign of its being posterior to
Pāṇini.

III.

Samjñās or technical terms are also of two kinds : (1) the
Kṛtrimās, and (2) the Akṛtrimās or Anvarthās. As for
the latter ones I am inclined to think that almost all of them
existed before Pāṇini. A great majority of them actually
occur in works anterior to Pāṇini and many of them are attri-
buted to older teachers also by his own commentators. The
usual remarks of the Mahābhāṣya with regard to such Samjñās—
such as महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वार्थं
हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनमन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत ।
(cf. I. 1, 23, etc.)—when taken in connection with such passages
of the Kāśikā, etc., as पूर्वार्थसंज्ञा चेयं महती । तदङ्गीकरणमुपाधेरपि
तदीयस्य परिग्रहार्थम् । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुद्गव इति (II. 1, 22), also seem

to suggest the same thing. There could be no other reason than the force of established tradition why Pāṇini, bent on all possible economy of words, should have preferred longer (*i.e.*, Akṛtrimā) terms as his Saṁjñās to those of the opposite (*i.e.*, Kṛtrimā) sort. Some cases of the occurrence of some Pāṇinian Akṛtrimā Saṁjñās in the works of his predecessors are shown below by way of illustration.

The Nirukta uses such important terms as सर्वनाम, कृत्, विभक्ति, उपधा, तद्धित, उपसर्ग, निपात, पुरुष (प्रथम, मध्यम and उत्तम), गुण (X. 17), etc. The Vāj. Prāt. shows लुक् (= लोप, I. 114; III. 13), आमन्त्रित (II. 17), संख्या (V. 27), वृद्धि (V. 29), etc. The Ath. Prāt. has प्रत्यय (II. 87), प्रातिपदिक (III. 78), कर्मप्रवचनीय (IV. 3), वृद्ध (IV. 55), etc. The term गुण is also used in the Rg. Prāt. (XI. 10) in a connection which reminds one of the interesting example of the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā on I. 3, 22, *i.e.*, आगमौ गुणवृद्धौ आतिष्ठते (cf. also its explanation in the Pada-mañjarī). The Paribhāṣā गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनम्, etc., already quoted, contains the Pāṇinian terms गति, कारक, etc. By framing the Sūtras वैशाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । परस्य च (VI. 3, 7-8), Pāṇini displays his own regard for the usage of his predecessors—the regard which led him to adopt so many technical terms of theirs in his own work. The terms used in the Uṇādi-Sūtras, as already shown, are almost wholly identical with those of Pāṇini, the only exception which I have noted being तन्त्र for कर्तृ in S. 159.

Pāṇini's own Sūtras like लुपि युक्तवद्भ्यक्तिवचने (I. 2, 51), लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् (I. 2, 54), कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् (I. 2, 57), etc., are also interesting in this connection. Sūtras I. 2, 51, 54 (cf. Kāśikā) imply that the term लुप् was used by Pāṇini's predecessors. The term प्रत्यय strictly in the Pāṇinian sense as opposed to the senses found in the Rg., Vāj. and Tait. Prātiśākhya occurs in a Sūtra quoted in the Mahābhāṣya on II. 1, 51 and expressly ascribed to Kāśakṛtana—a predecessor of Pāṇini—by Kaiyaṭa; cf. Mahābhā. :—किं पुनर्द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्भवति एवं भवितुमर्हति । On this Kaiyaṭa says :—काशकृत्तनस्य 'प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोः' इति सूत्रं

विचारयति । The term सार्वधातुक in a sense slightly different from that of Pāṇini occurs in the Sūtra तुल्युद्यम्यमः सार्वधातुकासु ऋदिति attributed to the Āpiśālas in the Kāśikā on VII. 3, 95.

The case, however, is not quite the same with the artificial Pāṇinian terms like घु, घ, घि, etc. Their use in works indisputably (so the fact that टि occurs in the Uṇādi-Sūtras is not quite to the point) anterior to Pāṇini cannot be pointed out. The fact, however, that several such terms, which are wholly foreign to the Pāṇinian system and which are generally attributed by Kaiyaṭa and others to teachers older than Pāṇini, are used in the Vārttikas (and so in the Mahābhāṣya) shows at least that the idea of coining wholly artificial terms was not unknown to Pāṇini's predecessors—a view which is also confirmed by the use of such terms as सिम्, मुद्, घि, etc., in the Vāj. Prāt. A few examples of such terms are :—

तण—Mahābhā. (II. 4, 54) : बहुलं तणि । किमिदं तणीति ।
संज्ञाद्वन्द्वसोऽग्रहणम् ।

ल—Mahābhā. (V. 2, 37) : प्रमाणे लः (= लुक्) । Pada-
mañjarī (II. 2, 37) : लुक् एषा पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा ।

घु—Mahābhā. (VII. 3, 3) : घोः । किमिदं घोरिति । उत्तरपदस्येति ।
Kaiyaṭa (VI. 4, 149) : घुशब्देनोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धयोच्यते ।

In the Pāṇinian system itself these terms are generally represented by Akṛtrimā Samjñās, which shows that Pāṇini was not very fond of using artificial terms. It being so, the only reason for his having used a few artificial terms seems to be that very likely they are borrowed from his predecessors and that it was only the force of the established tradition that compelled him to do so.

(4)

THE NAMES OF RELATIVES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.

BABURAM SAKSENA, M.A.,

Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Allahabad.

§ 1. The Ṛgveda and the later Vedic literature bear evidence of only the most prominent terms of relationship. Mention is found of grandfather (generally paternal), father, mother, brother, sister, descendants in general, son, daughter, grandson, great-grandson, wife, husband, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, husband's (and wife's) father, mother and brother and husband's sister. Mother's brother comes to be recognised a little later—in the Sūtras. Of these several are found in corresponding forms in other I.-E. languages and hence belong to a stage prior to the advent of the Aryans in India.¹

Several of these terms are onomatopoeitic, *e.g.*, *tata*, *tāta*, *nanā* and are decidedly child's first utterances. Similarly *pitā* and *mātā* may also be considered to have had an onomatopoeitic origin in *mā* and *pā*.² It is most probable, however, that at that early time also there were more onomatopoeitic words to indicate relationship in common speech than have found room in the literary dialect. All literary dialects have a general tendency to avoid colloquial words and the Ṛgvedic was surely no exception. In Hindī, for instance, a speaker to-day would call his father either *bāpū*, *lālā* or *ābbā*, but would refer to him as *pitā*.

¹ O. Schrader (Jevon's Eng. trans.): *Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*, pp. 371—80.

² *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 526, footnote 2 under *Pitr*.

Besides certain basic terms, *e.g.*, *bhrātr*, *duhitṛ*, *putra*, *sūnu*, this literature has a few names which are secondary (compound) formations such as, *pitāmaha* (father's great) and *bhrātr̥vya* (cousin-brother or nephew).

§ 2. Later names, other than those referred to above, found in the Mahābhārata and other early classical Sanskrit works are generally secondary formations on the terms of the Vedic literature, *e.g.*, *mātāmaha* on the model of *pitāmaha*, *pitṛ̥vya* on that of *bhrātr̥vya*; *pitṛ̥ṣvasṛ*, *mātr̥ṣvasṛ*, *bhāginēya*, *svasṛiṇya*, *pautra*, *dauhitra*, *bhrātr̥jāyā*, *śvasūrya* (father-in-law's son, *i.e.*, either the wife's or the husband's brother), *vaimātreya*, etc.

Fresh formations, unconnected with the Vedic terms, are only a few and indicate a definite meaning pertaining to the roots, *e.g.*, *jananī*, *prasū*, *janayitr̥* in the sense of one who gives birth; *ātmaja*, *ātmaajā*, *i.e.*, born from self (one's own issues); *gṛhiṇī*, *kuṭumbinī*—wife, *i.e.*, one who has a house or family under her charge; *sahōdara*—brother, *i.e.*, of the same 'womb'; *sambandhin*—a relative (and later) who has contracted a relationship by marrying his son or daughter; *yātr̥*—husband's brother's wife—lit. one who goes (every now and then to her father's?).

The word *ambā* (mother), found in the Brāhmaṇas, is an onomatopoeic word. The origin of *āvuka* and *āvutta*, restricted to the dramatic literature in the sense of father and sister's husband, is doubtful. They are probably nicknames of some sort and have a Prakritic basis.

§ 3. The word *māmaka*, *māma* is obviously onomatopoeic and probably came to be used owing to the influence of the Dravidian substratum. It is found mostly in Sanskrit fable-literature and has a certain disrespectful tinge in the meaning. Later it entirely replaced the earlier *mātula*. In modern Aryan languages it is the one word common to all and has lost the disrespectful tinge. "In the family organisation of the ancient Indo-Europeans, the notion of relation by

marriage was developed solely as between the wife and her husband's kinsfolk."¹ The words *śvaśura* and *śvaśrū* are primarily used to indicate the husband's parents and only secondarily the wife's. The word *devara* is often met with in the Vedic literature while *syāla* is uncommon. No word is available there for wife's sister but for the husband's there is *nanādr̥*. Facts such as these go definitely to show that much attention was not paid to the wife's relations in the Indo-European stage. But things appear to be different after the Aryan settlement in India. We have such words as *mātāmaha* and *mātula* which indicate that the mother's relations come to be recognised. This was due to the influence of the Dravidian culture where the mother's people are important. It is, therefore, likely that the use of the word *māma* was introduced in the Aryan language, first as a matter for ridicule and only later with sufficient toleration. In modern times, also, a certain disrespect attaches to the bride's people. For instance in Hindī, to call a person one's *māmā*, *sālā* or *sasur* is to abuse him.

§ 4. The basis of the terms of relationship in the Prakrits is Sanskritic, e.g., *mātr̥ṣvasā* > *mātrucchā* > *māucchā*; *duhitā* > *dhītā* > *dhīā* : *duhiā* ; *mātulānī* > *māulānī* > *mallānī*. There are one or two such words as have become so much transformed phonetically that they were hardly capable of recognition and were, therefore, classed under Dēśī words by the Prakrit lexicons, e.g., *pupphiā* < *pit̥r̥ṣvasā*. Then there are certain usages, evidence of which is not met with in Sanskrit works generally, which explain modern words, e.g., Pāli *ayyaka* and Ardha-māgadhī *ajja* are used in the sense of grandfather and *ayyakā* and *ajjiā* in that of grandmother. We have modern forms of these words in modern languages to indicate the same meaning. These, no doubt, come from Sanskrit *ārya* and *āryā*. In the dramas the word *ajja-utta* < *ārya-putra* used in the sense of husband clearly indicates that a married

¹. Pre-historic Antiquities, p. 377.

woman used to call her father-in-law *ajja*. The child took up the word of its mother and would call its father's father *ajja*.

Evidence of fresh formation by analogy is found in the word *māducchaō*—the husband of *māducchiā*—mother's sister.

Clear testimony of the adoption of a Dravidian word by the Mahāraṣṭrī Prakrit is found in the word *attā*—mother-in-law. The word *attaī* is used in Tāmīl even to-day in the sense of 'father's sister' and we have *ātyā* and *āt* in Marāṭhī in the same sense. That these modern words are related to Pkt. *attā* will be clear if we keep in mind that the Dravidian people marry the maternal cousin-sister (*mātula-putrī*) with her father's sister's son (*pitṛśvaṣṭ-putra*) very generally. The girl would very naturally continue to address her aunt (now her mother-in-law) as she used to do before her marriage.

§ 5. The names of relatives in modern Aryan languages (together with names in Tāmīl and Santālī for the sake of comparison) are being given in detail. They have been gathered from the habitual speakers of the languages concerned and are as complete as was possible. The writer is deeply indebted to the ladies and gentlemen who kindly gave the information and also expresses his gratitude to his teacher, Prof. R. L. Turner, who suggested this subject for investigation.

1. Paternal grandfather—Aw. *ājā* and Marāṭhī *āzā* go back to Sanskrit *ārya*¹ (*vide* § 4 above); Pahārī *baṛa baujū* (big father) may be compared with the Sanskrit term where also the meaning is the same; Siṃhālī has *muttā*. The rest are onomatopoeic and modern. Āsāmī, however, adds *deutā* (god) to *kakāi* and Baṅgālī *ṭhākur*, *bābu* or *masāi* to *dādā*.

2. Paternal grandmother—Except Aw. and Marāṭhī *ajī* (< Pkt. *ajjiā*), Aw. *aiyā* (Pāli *ayyakā*), Aw. *dāi* (? from

¹ Dr. Jules Bloch tells us that the word has been borrowed by Canarese in the same sense, *vide* Formation Langue Marathe, p. 290.

dādī by the elision of the intervocalic consonant), Pah. *ammā* (Skt. *ambā*—a copy of the mother's address to the mother-in-law), Āsāmī *āitā*, Oṛiyā *gosomā* and Siṃhālī *āttā*, the rest are onomatopoeic.

3 and 4. Maternal grandparents—Aw., Hin., Pj., D., Sindhī, Gj., Mārwarī, O. and partly Maithilī and Baṅgālī differentiate between paternal and maternal grandparents. Of these O. has *ājā* and *ājī* (*ārya*) and the rest repeat the *na* syllable. Tāmīl and Santālī also do not appear to make the differentiation.

5. Father—The most common word is *bāp* with its variations; Pah., Maith., and Bg. have *bālū* with which Santālī *baba* may be compared. Pj. *piyō* and D. *piu* are descendants of *pitṛ*. Pah. *bau* (*ju*), Marāṭhī *baṛil*, Siṃhālī *tāttā* and *appaṇṇī* and Ās. *deutā* (god) are the only other forms.

6. Mother—The most common words are *mā* and *ammā* with their variations. Other forms are Mālwi *jī*, Pah. *ijā*, Ās. and Marāṭhī *āi*.

Note.—There is a tendency in some languages, particularly in Hindī, to call the parents with names given to them by some of the other elders, e.g., Aw. *buā*, Ās. *bōṭī*, Hin. *jīā*. Sometimes in Hindī children address their mother as *bhanjī*, *bhābhī*, *cācī*, etc. Similarly in the case of father.

7. Uncle—father's brother—The most common words are the various forms of *kākā* and *cācā*. Aw. *pitē* and Maith. *pitū* both of which are used only for reference are descended from *pitṛvya*. Other words are Ās. *dadāi*, O. *dādī*, Ās. and Bg. *khurā* and Marāṭhī *cultā*. If an uncle elder to father is to be particularly indicated Pah. Ās. Bg. O. prefix a word indicating 'big' to the word for father, while Hindustānī has *tāū*, Pj. *tāyā* both from Skt. *tāta*, Mārwarī has *bābā*. Others have no separate mode of distinguishing between the elder and younger uncle. Both Siṃhālī and Tāmīl have no word for 'uncle,' they add the words 'big' and 'small' to 'father' just as the uncle is elder or younger. Santālī has *kaka* for uncle and adds *goṅgo* to father to indicate elder uncle.

8. Aunt—father's brother's wife—the feminine form of the word for uncle is used. In O. where uncle is denoted by *dādī* the word for aunt is *khurī* as in Ās. and Bg. In Siṃhālī—there is no word for aunt—*nendā*, the common word for any elderly lady, is used.

9 and 10. Father's sister and her husband—The variants of the word *phūphū*, common in Western languages, go back to Pkt. *pupphiyā* while of *piusī*, common in Eastern languages, direct to *pitṛṣvasṛ*; Marāṭhī *ātyā*, *āt* to Dravidian, Hindī *buā*, Pj., D., and Mārwarī *bhuā* and Pah. *būbū*, probably go back to some Pkt. form of the same word. For the aunt's husband, the masculine formations on the same word are used except in Pahārī where *bhinjū* (the word for elder sister's husband also) is used. Siṃhālī uses the common words *nendā* and *māmā*.

11 and 12. Mother's brother and his wife—We have one common word *māmā* (with the variants) throughout modern I.-A. languages (as well as in Dravidian and Muṇḍā). For the aunt we have the feminine form of the same word.

13 and 14. Mother's sister and her husband—Except in Pah. and Siṃhālī, the word is *mausi* < *mātrṣvasṛ* with its variants. Pah. and Siṃhālī distinguish between the sister elder to mother and younger to her, by prefixing the word for 'small' or 'great' to the word for 'mother' in Siṃhālī and to *jā* in Pahārī. In this respect also Siṃhālī agrees with Tāmil. For this aunt's husband also, the corresponding masculine forms are used.

15. Brother—In all the languages the word is *bhāi* (with the phonetic variations) except in Siṃhālī where we have *sāhōdarayā* (highly classical word) like Tāmil. In lyrics Aw. sometimes has *biranā*.

16. Elder brother—In Indian languages largely, the elders are never directly addressed and referred to by name. Hence there is a tendency in some to have particular words for them in order to avoid the name. Thus the elder brother, if

not referred to as *bhāi*, is called *daddū*, *dādā*, *lālā*, *kakāidev*. There is no particular term for the younger brother except in Siṃhālī *mallī* (for elder *aiyā* < Skt. *ārya*) like Dravidian.

17. Brother's wife.—The common words are *bhaujī* (Skt. *bhrātṛjyā*) and *bhābhī* (Skt. *bhāvikā*) with their variants. These are generally for the elder brother's wife, the younger is not directly addressed generally but where an exact reference is necessary the words are: Aw. *bhaihō*, Hin. and Maith. *bhābahū* and O. *bhāi-lō* (Skt. *bhrātṛvadhū*), Bg. *bau mā* or *bhāddar bau*. Pah. and Ās. have no words for her—simply daughter-in-law. Other words for elder's wife are: Ās. *nabau*, Bg. *bau didi*, etc., and Marāṭhī *vahinī*. Siṃhālī has *nyainā*—common for all sisters-in-law.

18. Sister—Except Siṃhālī *sahōdarī*, the common word is *bahin* (Skt. *bhaginī*) with the variants. Mārwarī has *bāi* also.

19. Elder sister—The special words are *jīyā*, *jījī*, *jījī*, *dīdī*, *dādī*, *dāi*, *tāi*, *appā* and *akkā* (cf. Tāmil *akkā*). Siṃhālī has a word for younger sister also, viz., *nañjī* (see 16 above).

20. Sister's husband—The most common word is *bahanōi* (Skt. *bhaginī-pati*) in various shapes. Marāṭhī *mēhunā* and Siṃhālī *massinā* (both common for brothers-in-law), Ās. *bhinīhi* and Pah. *bhinjū* are the only other words. The elder sister's husband is generally addressed as elder brother except in Aw., Hin. and Gj. where we have *jījā* (based on *jījī*). The younger sister's husband is treated as son-in-law.

21. Son—Aw. *pūtu*, Pj. *put*, D. *putera*, Sindhi *putṭa*, Ās. *putēk*, O. *pua* and Siṃhālī *puttā* go back to Skt. *putra*, Aw. *baccā* is Skt. *vatsaka*, the aspiration dispensed with in order to distinguish it from *bacchā*—calf. Besides we have *larikā* and *larēkā*, *lallā*, *bēṭā*, *cēlā*, *chēlē*, *khokā*, *polā*, *chāvāl* and *mulgā* and *chāiyā*.

22. Daughter—The words for daughter are as various as for son. Of these Aw. *dhī*, Pj. *tthī*, D. *dhīa*, Ās. *jīēk*,

Bg. *jhi*, O. *jhiā* and Simhālī *duā* go to one or the other Pkt. forms of Skt. *duhitṛ*. Besides we have *larikini*, *laraki*; *lalli*; *chōrī*; *biṭiyā* and *bēṭī*; *lauriyā*, *cēli*, *mēyē*, *khukī*, *mulgī* and *kurī*. Compare Santālī *koṛa* (boy) and *kurī* (girl).

23. Daughter-in-law—Aw. *patōh* and Maith. *putahu* go back to Skt. *putravadhū* while Hin. *bahū*, Gj. *vahū*, Bg. *bau*, O. *boū* (and Pah. *bvai rī*, Ās. *boā rī*?) go to *vadhū*. Mārwarī *bēṭā-bahū* is a modern formation. Pj. and D. *nū*, Sdh. *nohā* and Marāṭhī *sūn* go to *snusā*. Aw. *dulahini* and Hin. *dulahen* are the feminine forms of *dulahā* or *dūlhā* which is probably from Skt. *durlabha*.¹ Simhālī has *lēli*.

24. Son-in-law—The words are all (except Sdh. *nāṭhī* and Simhālī *bainā*) based on Skt. *jāmātr*; even Aw. *damād*² and Hin. *damād* through Persian *dāmād*.

25 and 26. Nephew and Niece—brother's children. The common word in many languages is *bhatījā* (with its variants) corresponding to Skt. *bhrātrjaka*.² Besides we have Bg. *bhāi-pō*, O. *putturā* and Marāṭhī *putanyā*. The words for niece are the feminine forms of these words—*bhāi-pō* has *bhāi-jhi*, *putturā*: *putturā-jhiā* and *putanyā*: *putanī*. Others have *bhatījī*, etc. Simhālī like Tāmīl has no words for these relations.

27. The nephew's wife and niece's husband are treated just like one's own daughter-in-law and son-in-law. They are also addressed as such. But where accuracy of reference is required, the word 'daughter-in-law' or 'son-in-law' is added after the word 'nephew' and 'niece' respectively. In this compounded word the last syllable of the first member is more or less modified except in Mārwarī. Sindhī, Pahārī, Maithilī,

¹ Prof. Jules Bloch also suggested the same etymology in a letter to the writer.

² It is curious that the intervocalic *-t* has survived here (at the end of the first member of a compound) while it has dropped out in *bhāi*.

Marāṭhī and Ṣiṃhālī do not have these compound words at all.

28 and 29. Nephew and Niece—sister's children—The general word is *bhāñjā* (in various forms) corresponding with Sanskrit *bhaginīja*. Besides we have *bahinautā* and *bahenaut* and *bonpō* from *bhagini-putra*. Aw. *bhainē*, As. and Maith. *bhāgin*, Bg. *bhāgnē*, O. *bhāgnā* are based on *bhāginēya*, some being comparatively modern. Besides, we have Mārwarī *bhānyā* and Marāṭhī *bhācā*. The niece is indicated by the feminine forms of these words. Ṣiṃhālī has the words for 'son-in-law' and 'daughter-in-law' to indicate these relations. Amongst these people the issues of two sisters cannot marry together nor can those of two brothers. But a brother's daughter can marry the sister's son or *vice versa*. Hence the terms *lēlī* and *bainā* as well as *māmā* and *nendā* are so commonly used.

30. Nephew's wife and niece's husband—Like the other set (27 above) these are compound words and rather uncommon in use. The modification of the last syllable of the first member of the compound differs variously.

31 and 32. Grandson and granddaughter—son's children—Aw., Hin., Pj., D., Sdh., Gj., Mārwarī have *pōtā* (Skt. *pautra*) or its variants; Hin., Pah., As., Maith., Bg., O. and Marāṭhī have *nāṭī* (Skt. *naptrī*) and its variants. The granddaughter is denoted by the feminine form. Ṣiṃhālī has *monu-purā* and *minī pirī* respectively.

33. Granddaughter-in-law and grandson-in-law—These are compound words like 30, some languages having no special terms.

34 and 35. Grandson and granddaughter—daughter's children—Only Aw., Hin., Pj., D., Sdh., Gj. and Mārwarī make a distinction between son's issues and daughter's. Of these Aw. has the word *nāṭī* and the others *dheutā* (Skt. *Dauhitra*) or its variants. For the granddaughter, of course, the feminine forms are used.

36. These are compound words to denote the grand-daughter-in-law and grandson-in-law.

37 and 38. Great-grand-parents and great-grand-children—The terms for these are formed by prefixing some syllable to the grand-parents and grand-children respectively. Aw., Hin., Sdh., Mār-wāṛī prefix *para-*, Hin., Pj., D., Gj., Mār-wāṛī *para-*, Pah. expresses great-grand-parents indirectly but prefixes *pa-* in the case of children, Ās. prefixes *ājū-* in the case of parents while for the children it has no term. Marāṭhī prefixes *paṇa-* to both while Oṛiyā prefixes it to maternal grand-parents only, prefixing *aṇa-* in the case of children and expressing paternal great-grand-parents rather in another way : *ṭhākur bābū*, *ṭhākur mā*. Siṃhālī prefixes *mī-* and Bg. expresses the parents by *pō maśāi* and *jhī mā*, having no terms for the children. Maithilī has no terms.

39. Stages beyond the above are expressed in Hin. by prefixing *lakaṛ-* or *nagar-* to grand-parents or grand-children, in Pj. by *nagaṛ-*, in Gj. by *sara-* and in D. by *jhaṛa-* and higher still by *sakaṛ*, Oṛiya has *aṇa-ājā* and *aṇa-āi* for gr.-gr. grand parents (paternal) only. Mārāṭhī adds *nī-* to the earlier stage. Siṃhālī is very rich in this respect carrying the denotation to several stages beyond. Others have no terms.

40. Wife—The words for this relative are generally mixed up with those for 'woman,' just as those for son, daughter and husband with those for boy, girl and man respectively. Aw. and Hin. *dulahini*, *dulahen* (Skt. *durlabha*); Hin. *lahū*, Pj. *bauṭṭī*, Gj. *vahū*, Mār-wāṛī *bahū*, Maith. *bahu* and Bg. *bau* all go back to Skt. *vadhū*. Ās. *ghoinī*, Siṃhālī *gainī* (Skt. *gr̥hinī*), Siṃhālī *bhārōyā* (*bhāryā*). Besides we have, Aw. *meharuā*, Pj. *ran* (Skt. *ramaṇī*), *timī*, D. *zāl*, *trimat*, Sdh. *jōy* (Skr. *yoṣit*), Pah. *sēñī*, Ās. *tirutā*, O. *māi-pō*, Marāṭhī *bāy ko* (J. Bloch compares Mār-wāṛī *bāi*—Formation Marāṭhī, p. 375).

41 and 42. Wife's brother and sister—The common words are based on Skt. *śyāla* and *śyālī* except in Siṃhālī where

we have *massinā* and *nainā*. Pah. distinguishes between the brother elder to wife and the one younger to her. Similarly in the case of sister where it agrees with Maithilī. Marāṭhī has alternatively *mēhūṇa*, *mchunī* (Skt. *maithuna*—J. Bloch, p. 390, compares Tāmil *maittunan* and *maccinan* also). Āsāmī has an alternative word *khul khālī* common to both the brother and the sister.

43. Wife's brother's wife and wife's sister's husband—Aw. *sarahaj*, Hin. *sarahej*, *salahaj*, Maith. *sarahōji* and Bg. *śālāj* are from Skt. *śyāla bhrātrjāyā*. Pj. and D. *salehār* (Skt. *śyālabhāryā*?). Other terms are indirect. Aw. Hin. and GJ., Maith. *sārḥū*, Pj. *sāṇḥū*, D. *sāḥḥū*, Sdh. *sanḥū*, Mār-wārī *sāḥū*, Pah. *sārū* and Marāṭhī *sāḥū* are from Skt. *śyā-līvōḍhr* (J. Bloch, p. 418).

44. Wife's parents—The basic words in all the languages (except Siṃhālī which has *māmā* and *nandā*) are Skt. *śvaśura* and *śvaśrū*.

45—49. Wife's uncles, aunts and grand-parents—These are all compound words made by prefixing some particular words to father-in-law and mother-in-law. Siṃdhī, Pahārī and Siṃhālī do not have these and express the sense indirectly. Others also generally do the same but when particularly exact reference is necessary, these words are used. While making these compounds, the pre-fixed word *cācā*, etc., is considerably modified in some.

50. Husband—Aw. *dulahā*, Hin. *dūlhau* (*durlabha*), Aw. *bhatār*, Sdh. *bhartār*, Bg. *bhātār* (Skt. *bhartṛ*), Aw. *saryā*, Maith. *saī*, Bg. *sāmi*, *śōāmi* (Skt. *svāmin*), Aw. *bālam* (Skt. *vallabha*), D. *paē*, Sdh. *patta* (Skt. *pati*?); GJ. *vara*, Maith. *bara*, Bg. *br*, Marāṭhī *navarā* (Skt. *vara*—*nava*—); GJ. *dhaṇī* (*dhanī*), Hin. *gharəwālā* (*gr̥havāraka*), Ās. *giriək*, O. *gerāsta* (*gr̥hastha*); Hin. *mālik*, Pj. *mālik*, Pah. *mālik* (Pers. *mālik*); Aw. and Pj. *khasam* (Pers. *khasam*). Others are *mensaruā*, *murs*, *bīd*, *baig* and *puruṣayā* (*puruṣaka*).

51. Husband's elder brother and his wife—The most

common word is *jēṭhā* (with its variants)—Skt. *jyēṣṭha*. Maith. *bharsur* and Bg. *bhāśur* are from Skt. *bhrātṛśvaśura*. Besides, we have Ās. *bor janāk* and O. *ḍera-sura* (*dēvaraśvaśura*). For his wife the feminine form of *jēṭha* or the word *jā* (Skt. *yātr*) are used. Maith. has *deyādānī* (Skt. *dāyādinī* ?)

52. Husband's younger brother and his wife—Marāṭhī and Sindhī do not make the distinction between the elder and the younger brothers or between their wives. The common word is *dēwara* (Skt. *dēvara*) with various forms and its feminine forms. Bg., Ās. and O. *jā*, and Marāṭhī *zāū* come from Skt. *yātr*.

53. Husband's sister and her husband—The common term is *nanda* with various forms, based on Skt. *nanāndṛ*. For her husband we have various words, based on *nanāndṛpati* except Ās. *nandēk jōvāi* and Maithilī *nanadosi*.

The terms for other relatives of the husband are the same as for the corresponding relatives of the wife. For instance the parents are *sās* and *sasur*, etc. The husband would refer to the children of his wife's brother or sister as if they were his own brother's or sister's except in Awadhī and Maithilī where if a pointed reference is required the terms *sarauta* (*śyālaputra*) and *sarauti* (*śyālaputrī*) in Awadhī and *sarbēṭā* and *sarbēṭi* in Maithilī are employed. Similarly for pointed reference the following are found to be used by the wife:

Aw. *jēṭhauta* and *jēṭhauti*—husband's elder brother's children.

Aw. *deurauta* and *deurauti*—husband's younger brother's children.

(Skt. *jyēṣṭha* or *dēvara + putra* or *putrī*.)

Maith. *jāut* (*yātrputra*) and *jaidhī* (*yātrduhitā*) for husband's brother's children.

Derā. *jēṭhautra* (*jyēṣṭhaputra*) for husband's elder brother's son and *ninandrā* (*nanāndṛputra*) for husband's sister's son.

In Awadhī there are two modern words—*khelbhāi* and *khelbahini*. The former is used by a woman to refer to her brother's wife's brother and the latter by a man to refer to his sister's husband's sister.

In Hindustānī sometimes the word *paṭākh* is prefixed to *sālā* and *bahenōi*. Thus *paṭākh sālā* denotes the *sālā* of *sālā* and *paṭākh-bahenōi*, the *bahenōi* of *bahenōi*.

54. Co-wife—The common basic word is Skt. *sapatnī*. Besides we have Pj. and D. *saukaṇ* and Mārwarī *sōk* and D. *masāt*.

55. Son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents—The common word is based on Skt. *sambandhin* and *sambandhini*. Besides we have Pj. *kuṛma*, D. *sīṇa*, Sdh. *sēṇa*, Bg. *behāi* : *behān*. Mārwarī *byāyaṇā* and *byāyī* have no particular significance, being used to denote any distant relative of equal rank.

56. Real relation—The idea of 'realness' or one's ownness in relation is generally expressed by the forms of the word *sagā* (Skt. *svakaka*). In Bg. and Oṛiyā we have *nija* (one's own) and in Bg. *āpan* (Skt. *ātmanah*) also. Compare Hin. *sagāi*—the ceremony which settles the marriage between two persons.

57. Step-relation—There are two sets of words to express step-relation, one based on Skt. *sapatnī* and another on *vimātā*. Of the former are *sautā*, *sautī*, *sautiyā*, *saut*, *sauti*, *śād* (?), *sāvatra*, *sāvatrī* and *sautēlā*, *sautēlī* (Pkt. *sapattikēra* ?). Of the other are *matēi* (*mātrēyī*), *matrēyā*, *matrēyī*, *māṭējo*, *māṭējī* (*mātrēya-jā*). Some languages express the sense only indirectly.

58—61. To express the sense of 'what sort of cousin' some of the languages have particular words. Aw. and Maith. express the sense by a compound word of 'the uncle concerned + the son or daughter,' e.g., *pitiaut* (*pitṛvya-putra*), *phuphuaut*, *mamaut*, *mausiaut*, etc. Hindustānī expresses the same sense by a combination of the uncle concerned + Pkt. *keraa* (of, by), e.g., *cacērā* (= *cācā* + *kērā*), *phuphērā*, *māmērā*, *mausērā*.

Baṅgālī adds *-tuta*, e.g., *jāstuta*, *pistuta*, etc., while Marāṭhī has the forms *culat*, *ātē*, *māmē*, *māvas*. Sindhī has the terms *sauṭō*, *mārōḷa*, and *māsūda*. Other languages express the sense indirectly, when necessary.

62. Father-in-law's house—The Skt. word *śvaśurālaya* is still the basis of most of the words. Only Ās., Bg., O. and Marāṭhī have fresh words.

63. The girl, after marriage, occasionally refers to the father's house where she was brought up. There are various words for this. Aw. *maiku* and Hin. *māyakā* (Skt. *mātṛ-okas*), Pj. and D. *pēkē*, Sdh. *pēkū* (*pitṛ + okas*), Aw. Hin. and Maith. *naihar* (? *grha*), Marāṭhī *māher* (*mātṛ-grha*) and Gj. *pīhar* and Mārwarī *pīr* (*pitṛ-grha*).

64. The children sometimes refer to their maternal uncle's or maternal grandfather's house. We have Aw. *nanihār*, Hin. *nansāl* (*nānī + Skt. sālā*); Pj. *nānkē* (+ *okas*), D. *nāneghar* (+ *grha*) and Sdh. *nanāra* (+ *vāṭaka* or *aṭṭa* ?). Pahārī has *mālkōṭ*.

65. In Aw., Pj. and Gj. there is a special word to indicate the home of the parents of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. This is based on Skt. *sambandhin*.

§ 6. From the above analysis of the terms it is evident that the basis of words expressive of relations is generally Sanskritic in all modern Indo-Aryan languages. But it may be noted that the relations which are nearest and closest are now most often expressed by some sort of onomatopoeic word, e.g., *nānā*, *kākā*, etc.

There are only rare cases of the incorporation of the words of the substratum languages—*ātyā*, *akkā* and *khurī*, *khurā*. It is curious that there are only two Persian words incorporated, viz., *mālik* and *khasam*—both are used in a restricted area of Northern India and mean 'master' or husband.

Evidence of modern compound formations is very little—*bāṭā-bahū*, *sarbatā*, *kheḷbhāī*.

§ 7. The central dialects are generally rich in the variety and number of the terms of relationship and maintain nice distinctions. The Western languages including Awadhī retain the distinction between the maternal and paternal grandparents and grand-children, while the Eastern and Southern dialects do not. Gujarātī is more akin to Mārwarī and Hindustānī than to Marāṭhī, and Pahārī has some affinity with Āsāmī.

Language.	Information gathered from.	Grandfather (paternal).	Grandmother (paternal).
		1	2
1. Sanskrit ...	Macdonell and Keith : Vedic Index. Monier Williams : Sans-Eng. Dictionary.	pitāmaha, tatāmaha	pitāmahī tatāmahī āryā
2. Prakrits ...	Childers : Pāli Dictionary. Dhanapāla : Pāliyalacchī nāma-mālā. ...	pitāmaha, ayyaka — Pāli ajja, ajjō—Am	ayyakā—Pāli ajjīā—Am.
3. East Hindī (Awadhī)		ājā, bābā	ājī, dājī, aiyā
4. West Hindī (Hindustānī)	Mother of Dharendra Varma, Esq., M.A.	babbā, dādā	dādī
5. Panjābī ...	G. D. Karwal, Esq., M.A.	bābbā	bōbō, dādī
6. Lahndā (Pā- rāwālī)	Shanti Swarup Drown, B.A.	dādā	dādī
7. Sindhi ...	Atma Ram, Esq., Medical practitioner.	dādō	dādī
8. Gujarati ...	Rai Bahadur P. Kanhaiya Lal.	dādā	dādī
9. Mārwārī ...	Soma Datta Sharma, B.A.	dādā	dādī
10. Pahārī (Kumāunī)	Keshab Datta Avasthi, B.A.	baṛa bājū	ammā
11. Āsāmī ...	Miss Sudhālatā Duara, M.A., B.T.	kakā deutā	ātā
12. Maithilī ...	Dr. Ganganatha Jha, and Umesha Mishra, Esq., M.A.	bābā	bābī
13. Bāṅālī ...	K. Chatterpādhyāya, Esq., M.A.	dādā bābu, thākur dādā, (dādā maśāi)	thākur mā
14. Oṛiyā ...	Jagbandhu Das (of Cuttock)	dādā	gosomā
15. Marāṭhī ...	Gopal G. Bhawe, B.A.	ājā (more respectful) ājōbā muttā	ājī ātā
16. Siṃhālī ...	G. P. Āryaratna, B.A.		
17. Tāmīl ...	Subrahmanya Iyer, Esq.	pātanār—(reference) tātā—address	pāṭī
18. Santālī ...	Dr. S. K. Chatterji from a Santālī Grammar.	tatat, tatañ	jīyet, jīyeñ

Grandfather (maternal).	Grandmother (maternal).	Father.	Mother.
3	4	5	6
mātā maha	mātā mahī	tata, tātā, pitā āvuka	nanā, mātā, ambā ; jananī, prasū, janayitrī.
...	mātā, ayyakā —Pāli ajjiā—Am.	tūta, janitā, pitā —Pāli piyā, janaō—Pkt.	mātā, jananī, janikā. ambā, amṃā—Pāli māyā, janānī—Pkt.
nānā	nānī	bāp ^u (reference only) ; bappū, bapaī, bāpū	ammā, māī, buā
nannā	nānī	bāp (reference only) ; address as caccā, bābhūjī, lālā, etc.	mā, jīā
nānnā	nānnī	piyō, bāppū, bāp	mā
nānā	nānī	piu	mā
nānō	nānī	bābō	mā, ammā, amṃī
nūnā	nānī	bāpū	ammā
nānā	nānī	bāp (reference only) ; address as—bājī, bhāijī, etc.	mā ; jī (Mālawī)
as 1	as 2	baujū, bābū	jīā
as 1	as 2	deutā	āī, (bōṭī).
as 1 and (vulgar) nānā	as 1 and nānī, māiyā	bābū	māī—reference only dāī—address
dādā māṣāi. (dādā bābu)	didi mā	bābā (bābu) ; ṭhākūr (by grown up people only)	mā
ājā	āī	bappo	mā
as 1	as 2	bāpīl, bāp ; address as dādā, kākā, etc.	āī
as 1	as 2	tāttā, appaccī	ammā
as 1	as 2	taghappanār—(reference) appā—address	tāyār—(reference) tāī, ammā
...	...	apuñ, apat', baba	eṅgaṭ', eṅgañ ayo, go.

Language.	Uncle, father's brother.	Aunt, →'s wife.	Aunt, father's sister	Uncle, →'s husband.
	7	8	9	10
Sanskrit...	pitṛvya, tñta (jy- ēṣṭha prefixed if elder to father)	...	pituh svasṛ pitṛsvasṛ.	...
Prakrits ...	...	...	pitucchā—Pāli piuccchā, pupphiyā —Pkt.	...
Awadhī ...	piṭh, kākā, cācā, kakuā, kakkā	pitīyānī, kākā, cācī	phūphū, buā	phūphā
Hindustānī	tāū—elder to father. caccā—younger to father.	=tāī =cācī =tāī	buā	phūphā
Panjābī ...	tāyā—elder to father, cāccā—younger to father	=cācī =tāī =cāccī	bhuā	phupphaṛa
Ḍārāwālī...	cācā	cācī	bhuā	phupphaṛa
Sindhī ...	kākō	kākī, bhābhī	pupphī (ref. only) dādī (a common term for any elderly pa- ternal lady)	puppara— (ref. only— otherwise no term)
Gujarātī ...	kākā	kākī	phāī	phuā (jī)
Mārwārī ...	bābā—elder to father; kākā— younger to father (sū added to show respect,	=bābī, bābī bari- yā =kākī e.g., kākī sū)	bhuā	phūphā
Pahārī ...	kākā jeṭhabaujū—i f elder to father	kākhi =jeṛajū	būbū (phū- phū)	bhiājū
Āsāmī ...	dadāī dēu, khurā dēu; bordeuta—if elder	khurī dēu =bor baū	peḥi dēu	peḥā dēu
Maithilī ...	piṭṭī (ref.) kākā	Pitāini (ref.) kākī	piusi, piśī	piśā
Baṅgālī ...	kākā, bābu, khurā maśāī, if elder jāṭhā+bābu or +maśāī	khurī, kākī, (some times mā added) =jāṭhāī, jāṭhāī mā	piśī, piśī mā	piśā, piśā maśāī

Uncle, mother's brother— →	Aunt, →'s wife.	Aunt, mother's sister— →	Uncle, →'s husband.	Language.
11	12	13	14	
mātula, mā- maka, mā- ma.	mātulānī, mā- tulī, māmā- kī.	mātuh ś v a s ţ, mītravasţ.	...	Sanskrit
mātula, mā- tusōdari- ya—Pāli	matulānī—Pāli mallānī, mā- mi—Pkt.	mītucchā—Pāli māucchā, mā- siyā, māucchi- yā—Pkt.	māducchaō—S'	Prakrits
māmā	mār	mausi	mausiā, uausā	Awadhī
mammā	māmī, māī	mausi	mausā	Hindustānī
māmmā	māmmī	māssi	māsaṣa	Panjabī
māmā	māmī	māsi	māsaṣa	Ḍerawālī
māmā	māmī	māsi	mausa—for refer- ence only	Sindhī
māmā	māmī	māśī	māśā (jī)	Gujarātī
māmā	māmī	māsi	māśā	Mārwārī
māmā	māi (jū)	jeṛajā—if elder to mother kar jā—if younger	=jeṛa jū, jeṭha baujū; =karjū, kākā.	Pahārī
momāi dēu	māi deu	māḥr dēu	moḥā dēu	Āsāmī
māmā	māmī	mausi	mausā	Maithilī
māmā, māmā bābu	māmī, māmī- mā	māśī, māśīmā	meśō (vulgar); meśō māśāi	Baṅgālī

Language.	Uncle, father's brother- →	Aunt, →'s wife.	Aunt, father's sister- →	Uncle, →'s hus- band.
	7	8	9	10
Oriyā ...	dādī (if elder baṛṇ pō)	khurī =baṛṇ mā	pīsī	piṣā
Marāṭhī ...	cultā, kākā	cultī, kākī	ātyā, āt	...
Siṃhālī ...	adds 'loku'=big if elder to father and 'bāl'=small (bāppā) if young- er to father	nendā (a common term for elderly lady)	nendā	māmā
Tāmil ...	adds 'periā'=big or 'siriā'=small to father like Siṃhālī	adds these words to mother	attai	attimbēr
Santālī ...	kaka; adds goṅgo to father if elder uncle	kaki; adds goṅgo to mother if elder aunt	hatgm	kumān, kum- at'

Uncle, mother's brother—	Aunt, —'s wife.	Aunt, mother's sister—	Uncle, —'s husband.	Language.
11	12	13	14	
māmū	māī	mausi	mausa	Oṛiyā
māmā	māmī	māvaśī	māvasā	Marāṭhī
māmā	nendā	adds 'loku' and 'bāl' to 'ammā' —as elder or younger	=loku tāttā and bāppā	Sinhālī
māmā (ammān)	māmī, ammāmī	adds periā or sirīā to tāyā and ammā—as elder or younger	adds periā or sirīā to father	Tāmīl
māmā	hatqm	kaki	...	Santālī

Language.	Brother.	Elder brother.	Brother's wife.	Sister.
	15	16	17	18
Sanskrit...	bhrātṛ, s a- hōdara	adda jyeṣṭha, kaniṣṭha, etc., to show dif- ference in age	bhrātṛ + -jāyā, -patnī, -bhāryā, -vadhū; pra- jāvatī, bhāvikā	svasr, bha- ginī, jāmi
Prakrits...	bhṛtā, bhū- tika—Pāli bhāyā, sa- hōarō—Pkt	adda j e ṭ ṭ h a, jeṭṭhaka, etc.	...	b h a g i n ī —P ā l i b a h i n ī, sasā—Pkt.
Awadhī ...	bhāī, (lyri- cal) biranā	daddū, d ā d ā, bhaiyā	Bhaujāī, bhaujī— elder's; bhaiho —y o u n g e r ' s but ref. only	bahini ...
Hindustānī	bhāī ...	daddā, bhaiyā ...	bhaujī, bhābhī— elder's; youn- ger's s o m e times referred as bhābahū	bahen ...
Pañjābī ...	barā ...	no term ...	bhābī—elder's; in case of younger's only for reference	bhaiṃ ...
Ḍerāwālī...	bhirā ...	no term; Muslims call him lālā	bhābī—elder's; in case of younger's only for reference	bhīṃ ...
Sindhī ...	bhāū ...	dādā ...	bhābhī—elder's only	bhēṃ ...
Gujarātī...	bhāī ...	no term; simply as bhāī, bhāījī.	bhābhī—elder's only	bīn ...
Mārwārī...	bhāī ...	no term ...	bhōjāī ...	bain, bāī ...
Pahārī ...	bhai ...	dādā ...	bōjū—elder's bvairī—youn- ger's	bainī ...
Āsāmī ...	bhāī ...	kakāī dēu ...	nabau—elder's, younger's— bōārī—bro- ther's wife	bhanī ...
Maithilī ...	bhāy ...	no term ...	bhaujī—elder's; b h ā b a h ū— younger's	bahin ...
Baṅgālī ...	bhāī ...	dādā ...	elder's—bau didi, bau ṭhā- krun, bau ṭhān; youn- ger's—baumā, bhāddar bau	bōn ...

Elder sister.	Sister's husband.	Son.	Daughter.	Language.
19	20	21	22	
younger— bhagini- kā	bhaginīpati, bhagini- bhartṛ, āvutta	putra, sūnu, ātmaja, tanaya, suta	duhitṛ, putrī ...	Sanskrit
...	...	putta, puttaka, suta sūnu, attaja, tanaya —Pālī	dhītā, dhītikā, puttī, sūnū— Pālī; dhūyā, duhiyā—Pkt.	Prakṛite
jīyā, dīdī	bahanoī; elder's addressed as jīyā	laṛikā, pūt ^u , baccā, address- as pūt ^u ā, bacuā	laṛikīnī, biṭiyā, lauṛiyā, dhī	Awadhī
jījī ...	bahenoī; elder's ad- dressed as jīyā	laṛekā, lallā ...	laṛakī, lallī ...	Hindustānī
no term ...	bhanoiyā; —addressed as bhaiyājī	put ...	kuṛī, tthī ...	Pañjābī
no term ...	bhanavaiyā; colloquial —bhāi	put ^{ra} ...	dhī ...	Dīrāwālī
dādī ...	bhenivyō ...	puṭṭā; kikkō —male child	dhīa; kikkī— female child	Sindhī
jījī ...	elder's as jījājī	bēṭṭ, chaiyā ...	chōṛī ...	Gujarātī
no term ...	bainōī ...	bēṭā ...	bēṭī ...	Mārwarī
dīdī ...	Elder's— bhīn ju; younger's— jamai	cēlā (plural of boy—nāntīnā)	cēlī (plural of girl—nāntīnī)	Pahārī.
bāi dēu ...	bhinīhi deu —elder's; jōvāī— younger's	puṭṭē—ref. puttāi—add.	jīṭk—ref. jī—add.	Āsāmī
bahin dāī (dīdī— vulgar)	bahanoī; address by family name	bēṭā ...	bēṭī ...	Maithilī
didī ...	bonāī; add. as jāmāī bābu or by family name	chēlō—ref. khokū—add. dialectal— polā, chāvāl	mēyē, jhī—ref. khukī—add.	Bahgālī

Language.	Brother.	Elder brother.	Brother's wife.	Sister.
	15	16	17	18
Oṛiyā ...	bhāi ...	no term ...	bhāujjā—elder's; y o u n g e r's— bhāibō	bhounī ...
Marāṭhī ...	bhāū ...	dāḍā, bhāū ...	vahinī — elder's only	bahiṇa ...
Siṃhālī ...	sahōdarayā	aiyā—elder; mallī —younger	nyaiṇā ...	sahōdarī ...
Tāmil ...	sahōdaran .	tamayanā — ref. annā—address (tambī — youn- ger)	madanī, mannī (anni — non - Brah. only -) elder's only	sahōdarī ...
Santālī ...	hoehā ...	(b o k o t k o ṛ a - younger)	hili ...	...

Elder sister.	Sister's husband.	Son.	Daughter.	Language.
19	20	21	22	
appā ...	bhinēī ...	pua ...	jhiā ...	Oṛiyā
akkā, jijī, tāī, ba- hin	ref. — mēhu- nā, baha- nōī; add. elder's bhāūjī	m u l g ā (when respectful ref. ciraḥjīva).	mulgī ...	Marāṭhī
a k k ā ; younger — nangī	massinā ...	puttā ...	duā ..	Simpālī
a k k ā—ad. ta m a k - kuī—ref. o n l y ; younger — taṅgāī	attimbēr ...	maghan, putti- ram r e f.— pillayī—add.	Maghaḷ, puttirī— ref., p e ṇ ḍ a— add.	Tāmil
ejit', ejīn; address o n l y ; — d a i younger miserat', b o k o t kuṛī	teaṇ ..	h o p o n — s o n , child; hōpon herel, b a b u —male child	m a e , maku; h o p o n — e r a —girl child	Santālī

Language.	Daughter- in-law.	Son-in-law.	Nephew, brother's son.	Niece, brother's daughter.
	23	24	25	26
Sanskrit...	snuṣā, va- dhū, putra- vadhū	duhituh-patī, duhitr-patī, jāmātṛ	bhrātrvya? bhrātṛja, bhrā- trīya	bhrātṛjā.
Prakrits...	vadhū, va- dhukā—Pāli sumha, putta-va- hu—Pkt.	jāmātā—Pāli ...	...	...
Awadhī ...	Patōh, du- lahini	damād ^u , dulahā	bhatij	bhatijī
Hindustānī	Dulahe n, bahū	damād, jamāī ...	bhatijā	bhatijī
Pañjābī ...	nū	jvāī	bhatijā	bhatijī
Dērāwālī...	nū	javāī	bhatrijā	bhatrijī
Sindhī ...	nohā	nāḥī	bhāitjo	bhāitjī
Gujarātī ...	vahū	jamāī	bhatrijo	bhatrijī
Mārwarī...	bōṭā bahū ...	javāī	bhatijā	bhatijī
Pahārī ...	bvairī	jamai	bhatij	bhatijī
Āsāmī ...	boārī	jōvāī	bhatijā	bhatijājī
Maithilī ...	putahu	jamāy	bhūtij	bhatijī
Baṅgālī ...	bau mā	jāmāī (sometimes addressed by father-in-law as bābājī)	bhāi-po (dialec- tal—bhāstā).	bhāi-jhī
Oṛiyā ...	hou	jōī	putturā	putturā- jhā
Marāṭhī ...	sūn (in ref- only sūn bāī)	zāvāī	putanṇā	putanī
Siṃhālī ...	lēī	bainā	as son	as daughter
Tāmīl ...	nadri-peṇḍa	mā-pilāi; maru- maghan (by non-Brah.)	no term	no term
Santālī ...	Kimin, bahu	jawāe	bhaṇat koṛa	bhaṇat kuṛi

Nephew's wife and niece's husband.	Nephew, sister's son.	Niece, sister's daughter.	Nephew's wife and Niece's husband.	Language.
27	28	29	30	
bhrātṛja-vadbū	bhaginī-suta bhaginī-putra, bhā- gimēya sva- sriya	bhaginī-putrī bhāgineyī svasriyā	bhāgineya-vadhū	Sanskrit
...	bhāgineyya — Pālī	...	...	Prakrits
bhatij-bahū, bhatij-damād, bhatij-bahū, bhatij-damad	bahinautā, bhainē bahenaut bhāñja	bahinautim bhainī bahenautim bhāñjī	adds bahinaut or bhanij to bahū and damād bahenaut — or bhanaj — bahū, bahenaut -damād, bhannaj- jamāī	Awadhī Hindustānī
bhatij-nū bhatij- jvāī	bhāñjā	bhāñjī	bhāñj-nū bhāñj vāī	Pañjābī
bhatijā-nū no term bhatijā- vahū	bhanijā bhāñējō bhāñej	bhanijī bhāñējī bhāñējī	no term no term bhāñej-vahū	Dīrāwāhī Sindhī Gujarātī
bhatijā- bahū no term bhatijā- boārī bhatijā- jōvāī	bhāñjā bhāñyā bhāñjā bhāgin	bhāñjī bhāñyī bhāñjī bhāginī	bhāñja-bahū bhāñja-javāī no term bhāgin-boārī bhāginī-jōvāī	Mārwāṛī Pahārī Āsāmī
no term	bhāgin	bhāginī	no term	Maithilī
bhāi-po- bau, bhāi- jhi-jāmāī	bhāgnē (by males) bōn po (by fe- males)	bhāgnī (by males) bōnjhī (by fe- males)	bhāgnē bau bhāgnī-jāmāī	Baṅgālī
putturā- boū put- turā-jōī no term	bhōñjā bhagnū bhācā	bhāñējī bhācī	bhōñjā-boū bhāñējī-jōī no term	Oṛiyā Marāṭhī
no term maru-mag- ghaī, maru- maghan ...	bainā maru-mag- han bhagna	lōī maru-maghaī bhagna kuṛī	no term maru-maghaī maru-maghan ...	Simhālī Tāmīl Santālī

Language.	(Grandson, son's son.	Grand-daugh- ter, son's daughter.	Grandson's wife and grand-daugh- ter's husband.	Grandson, daughter's son.
	31	32	33	34
Sanskrit ...	napīt, naptr, pau- tra, putra-putra	naptrī pautrī	...	napāt dauhitra
Prakrits ...	nattī—Pāli	...	...	...
Awadhī ...	pōtā	pōtī	para-patōh para-damīd nat-bahū nat-damād	nātī
Hindustānī	nātī, pōtā	nātin, pōti		dheutā
Pañjābī ..	pōttā	pōttī	pōt-nū pōt-jvāī pōt-ri-nū	dohṭā
Ḍerāwālī	poterā	pot-ri		ḍot-erā
Sindhī	pōṭō	pōṭī	no term	ḍohiṭṭō
Gujarātī ..	pautara	paut-ri	pautara-vahū pautara-jamāī	daubittar
Mārwarī	pōtī	pōtī	pōtā-bahū pōtī-javāī	dohitā
Pahārī ...	nātī	nātnī	no term	as 31
Āsāmī ..	nātī	nātnī	nāt boā rī, nāt jō- vāī	as 31
Maithilī ..	nātn	nātin	no term	as 31
Baṅgālī ...	nātī	nātnī	nāt-bau, nāt-jām- āī	as 31
Oṛiyā ..	nātī	nātnī	nātnpī boū, nātnpī jōī	as 31
Marāṭhī ...	nātū	nātin	nāt sūn; nāt zā- vāī	as 31
Sinhālī ...	monupurā	minī pirī	as 32 as 31	as 31
Tāmil ...	peran	petī	indirect, e.g., peran maṇaiṇi, petī kh- aṇvan	as 31
Santālī ...	jaekoraṇ koṇa, go- rom koṇa, goṇom	jaekorar kuṇī goṇom kuṇī =friend	...	...

Grand-daughter, daughter's daughter.	Grandson's wife and grand-daugh- ter's husband.	Great-grand-par- ents.	Great-grand- children.	Language.
35	36	37	38	
naptrī ... dauhitrī ..	...	prefixes pra- to each, <i>e.g.</i> , pra- pitāmaha	prefixes pra- to each, <i>e.g.</i> , pra- pautrī	Sanskrit
..	...	...	...	Prakrits
nātini ...	nat-bahū	prefixes para-	prefixes para-	Awadhī
dheutī ...	nat-damād dheut-bahū dheut-damād	prefixes para- or para-	prefixes para- or para-	Hindustānī
dohtī ...	doht-nū	prefixes para-	prefixes para-	Panjābī
dotarī ...	doht-jvāī dotarī-nū	prefixes para-	prefixes para-	Dērāwālī
dōhiṭī ...	no term	prefixes para- (in daily talk add- ressed as vaṛo nānō, etc.)	prefixes para-	Sindhī
dauhitrī ..	dauhitar-vahū dauhitar-jamāī	prefixes para-	prefixes para-	Gujarātī
dohitī ...	dohitā-bahū dohitī-javāī	prefixes para- or para-	prefixes para- or para-	Mārwārī
as 32 ...	no term	indirect, <i>e.g.</i> , bara baujūke baujū	panāṭī panāṭini	I ahārī
as 32 ...	as 33	prefixes ājū-	no term	Āsāmī
as 32 ...	no term	no term	no term	Maithilī
as 32 ...	as 33	pō masāī jhī mā	no term	Baṅgālī
as 32 ...	as 33	ṭhākūr-bābā } pat. ṭhākūr-mā } paṇa-gosopā } mat. paṇa-gosomā }	aṇa-nāṭī aṇa-nūṭini	Oṛiyā
as 32 ...	as 33	paṇa-zōbā paṇa-jī	paṇa-tū paṇa-tin	Marāṭhī
as 32 ...	as 32 as 31	prefixes mī-	prefixes mī-	Siṃhālī
as 32 ...	as 33	kōlū-tātā kōl-pāṭī	prefixes kōl-	Tāmil
...	...	...	...	Santālī

Language.	Stages beyond great-grand parents or great-grandchildren.	Wife.	Wife's brother.	Wife's sister.
	39	40	41	42
Sanskrit ...	..	patnī, bhāryā, jāyā, janī, janī, dāra, gṛhiṇī, kutumbinī	śyāla, śyāla śvaśūrya.	elder—jyeṣṭhā śvaśrū; younger—syālī, śyālī.
Prakrits ...	...	bhariyā, jāyā, jāyikā, vadhū—Pālī.	sāla—Pālī	...
Awadhī ...	no terms	dulahini; (meh-arua—woman)	sūra	sūri
Hindustānī	prefixes nagar or lakar to grand-parents or grandchildren.	dulahan, bahū	sālā, sārē	sārī, sālī
Pañjābī ...	prefixes nagar to grand-parents or grandchildren	hanṭī, ran, (tīmī—woman)	sārā	sārī
Ḍerāwālī ...	prefixes jhara-, e.g., jhara-dāḍā and higher still, e.g., śakar-dāḍā	zāl, trimat (bride—kurī)	sālā	sālī
Sindhī ...	prefixes tara-, e.g., tara-nānū	jōv	sālō	sālī
Gujarātī ...	prefixes sara-, e.g., sara-pautara	vahū	sālō	sālī
Marwāṛī ...	...	bahū (bride—bīnanī; in Mālwa lāṛī)	sālā	sālī
Pahāṛī ...	...	senī	jeṭha—elder to wife; sālō=younger to wife.	elder—sāsu younger—sālī
Āsāmī ...	no term	ūrutā, ghoṇī (bride—kaniā)	śālā khul khālī	khul khālī
Maithilī ...	no term	bahu, strī (bride—kanayā)	sār	elder—jeṭh sāsu; younger sārī
Bhaṅgālī ...	no term	bau	śālā	śālī

Wife's brother's wife and wife's sister's husband.	Wife's father and mother.	Wife's father's brother and his wife.	Wife's father's sister and her husband.	Language.
43	44	45	46	
sakhi?	śvaśura śvaśrū	...	...	Sanskrit.
...	sasura—Pāli sāsū—Pāli attā, sāsū— Pkt.	...	...	Prakrits.
sarahaj sāṛhū (his wife sometimes as sarhūāini).	sasur sāsū	prefixes pitiyā or caciyā to 44	prefixes phu- phuā to 44	Awadhī
sarahaj, salahaj sāṛhū (sarhūāini)	sasur sās	prefixes taiyā if elder and caci- yā if younger to 44	prefixes phu- phuā to 44	Hindustānī
sāḷehīr sāṇḍū	saurā sas	patiaurā—hus- band's uncle only; patis—hus- band's aunt only	phaphēs phupphaṛa	Pañjābī
sāḷehīr sāḍhū	saurā sas	pitrorā pitrahās	phupphāhas	Ḍerāwālī.
no term; saṇḍhū	saurō sas	no term	no term	Sindhī
... sāṛhū	sasurō sāsū	prefixes kakiyā, to 44	prefixes phaiyā- to 44	Gujarātī.
sūḷā. helī sāḍū	sasaurā sāsū	prefixes—baṛiā- if elder and kākī- if younger, to 44	prefixes bhuū- to 44	Marwāṛī
... sāṛū	saurjū sāsū	no term	no term	Pahāṛī
khulkhālī ghoinī khulkhālī jōvāi	hīhūr hoḥu	prefixes khurā- to 44	prefixes pehī- to 44	Āsāmī
sarahōjī sāṛhū	sasur sāsū	prefixes pitiyā- to 44	prefixes pisiū- to 44	Maithilī.
śālāj; bhāy rā bhāi (i.e. mu- tual brothers)	śośur śāśurī	prefixes jāś- if elder and khur- if younger to 44	prefixes piś- to 44	Baṅgālī

Language.	Stages beyond great-grand-pa- rents or great- grandchildren.	Wife.	Wife's brother.	Wife's sister.
	39	40	41	42
Oriyā ...	paternal gr. gr. grand-parents= aṇa-ājā; aṇa-āī.	māi-po	sōfā	sālī
Marāṭhī ...	adds ni- to the earlier s t a g e, e.g., ni-paṇa-tū	bāyko (bride—kaniyā)	śālaka (sometimes mēhuṇā)	sālī (sometimes mēhuṇī).
Siṃhālī ...	gr.-gr.- g r a n d - father=k i t t ā his father=kiri kittā, his father= nāttā, his father =paṇāttā	bhārōyā (gainī—woman)	massinā	nainā
Tāmiḷ ...	prefixes illi- to grand f a t h e r, etc., e.g., illi- tāttā	manaiṇī pañjādī	maittunan, maccinan	maittunī maccinī
Santālī ...	...	rinik, era, bahu	bahonhar—el- der to wife; ergyelūn— younger to wife	...

Wife's brother's wife and wife's sister's husband.	Wife's fa- ther and mother.	Wife's father's brother and his wife.	Wife's father's sister and her husband.	Language.
43	44	45	46	
sōṛā-boū sālī-jōī	sasura sāsu	prefixes j ē ṭ h a- if elder and pī- if younger to 44	prefixes pī- to 44	Oṛiyā
sāḍhū	sāṛā sāsū	prefixes culat- to 44	...	Marāṭhī
no term	māmaṇḍī nendamā	māmā nendā (common terms)	as 45	Siṃhālī
no term; ṣaḍḍaghaṇ (ṣaḍaghar)	māmā or (respectful) māmanār māmī or (respectful) māmiār	no term	no term	Tāmil
saḍget	hoṇhar hanhar	...	...	Santālī

Language.	Wife's mother's brother and his wife	Wife's mother's sister and her husband.	Wife's grandfather and grandmother.	Husband.
	47	48	49	50
Sanskrit...	...	...	...	pati, dhava, bhartṛ
Prakrits...	...	...	...	pati, dhava, bhattā —Pāli pai, bhattā —P'kt.
Awadhī ...	prefixes māiyā- to 44	prefixes mausiyā- to 44	prefixes dadiyā- (paternal) or naniyā- (maternal) to 44	d u l a h ā , k h a s a m , bhatār, me- n s a r u ā m a n a ī (man); (lyrical—bā- lam, saryā)
Hindustānī	prefixes māiyā- to 44	prefixes mausiyā- to 44	prefixes dadiyā- (paternal) or naniyā (maternal) to 44	dūlhau, mā- lik (w e s- t e r n m o s t d i a l e c t— n a s s a u , bannā)
Panjābī...	maliaurū malēs	...	dadiaura-dadēs naniaurū-nanēs	gharawā lā , khasam, mālak
Ḍerāwālī	...	...	ḍāḍehorā, ḍāḍehas	paē
Sindhī ...	no term	no term	no term	mur-, patta, bhartār
Gujarātī...	prefixes māiyā- to 44	prefixes māsiya- to 44	prefixes dadiyā- (paternal) or naniyā (maternal) to 44	dhanī, vara (pati)
Mārwaṇī...	prefixes māmi- to 44	prefixes māsi- to 44	prefixes dādī- (paternal) or nānī, (maternal) to 44	bīd, bīdrājā
Pahāṛī ...	no term	no term	no term	mālik, baig
Āsāmī ...	prefixes momā- to 44	prefixes māhī- to 44	prefixes kakā- to 44	giriyeḥk

Husband's elder brother and his wife.	Husband's younger brother and his wife.	Husband's sister and her husband.	Co-wife.	Language.
51	52	53	54	
devṛ, devura, bhrātṛ, śvaśura, śvaśurya; wife—yātṛ	as 51 (except bhrātṛ-śvaśura)	nanāndṛ, nanandṛ, nanānduh pati	sapatnī	Sanskrit
...	devara—Pāli dēyara, diyara—Pkt.	nanandā—Pāli	sapatṭī—Pāli	Prakrits
jēṭha jēṭhānī	dēwara deurānī	nanda; nandoī	saut ¹	Awadhi
jēṭha jēṭhānī	dēwara deorānī	nanda, nanad (lyrical—nana- diyā) nandōī	saut	Hindustānī
jēṭha jēṭhānī	deur, derānī	nanāṇ; nandoiyā	saukan	Pañjābī
jēṭha jēṭhānī	dēr, dīrānī	nīnāṇa	saukan, masūt	Ḍērāwālī
as 52	dēr, dērānī	nīrāṇa no term	...	Sindhī
jēṭha jēṭhānī	diar, dīrānī	naṇada, naṇadoī	...	Gujarātī
jēṭha jēṭhānī	dēwar, dorānī	naṇad, naṇadoī	sōk	Mārwārī
jyāṭha (jū) jēṭhānī— jēṭhāṇ cf. 41	dēwar, dyorānī dyorāṇ	nanda	saut	Pahārī
* bor janāk, jā	deorēk, jā	nandēk, nandēk jōvāi	satinīyēk	Āsāmī

Language.	Wife's mother's brother and his wife.	Wife's mother's sister and her husband.	Wife's grandfather and grandmother.	Husband.
	47	48	49	50
Maithilī ...	prefixes māmā- to 44	prefixes masiā- to 44	no term	sar (vulgar), bara, (madhukar)
Baṅgālī ...	prefixes māmā- and māmī- to 44 respectively	prefixes mās- to 44	prefixes dādā- and didi- to 44 respectively	bhāṭār (vulgar), sāmī, sāmī, bār
Oṛiyā ...	no term, indirect, e.g., māmī pōrā, māmū or gerastār māmū	no term	no term	gerasta
Marāṭhī ...	...	...	prefixes āzē- to 44	navarā
Sinhālī ...	as 45	as 45	no term	puruṣayā; minihā-man
Tāmil ...	no term	no term	no term	khaṇavan
Santālī ...	...	...	...	jawāe

Husband's elder bro- ther and his wife.	Husband's younger bro- ther and his wife.	Husband's sister and her husband.	Co-wife.	Language.
51	52	53	54	
bharsur jēṭhi, dēyādanī	dyōr, dēyādanī	nanadi, nanadōsi	sautini	Maiṭhili
bhāsūr (bōṛo) jā	dæor, (choṭo) jā	nanad, nandāi	śotin	Baṅgālī
ḍera-sura ḍera-jā	ḍiara, (choṭ) jā	naṇoda ; naṇodēi	sautuṇī	Oṛiyā
as 52	dīr (ref.), bhāū jī (ad.), zāū	naṇada	ṣavat	Marāṭhī
massinā- nainā, cf. 41	as 51, cf. 41	as 51	...	Siṃhālī
as 52 adding perīā if necessary, cf. 41	maittunār (sirīā) ; varaghattī (sirīā), varatāl (sirīā), cf 41	nāttanār (ref.) and akkā (address) ; attimbār	śakkalattī	Tīmīl
bahoūhar, cf. 41	eroyeliñ, cf. 41	ajhnar—younger	hirom	Santālī

Language.	Son-in-law's or daughter- in-law's father and mother.	Real relation.	Step relation.	Cousins, father's brother's—
	55	56	57	58
Sanskrit ..	sambandhin sambandhinī	svaka	vimātr—mother, vaimātrēya— brother, vaimā- trēyī—sister	...
Prakrits ...	...	..	...	..
Awadhī ...	samādhi samādhiṇī	sagā, saga—m. sagī, sagī—fm.	sautēlā, sautū—m. sautēlī, sautī—fm.	pitiaut—m. pitiautī—fm.
Hindustānī	samdhī samdhin	sagō—m. sagī—fm.	sautēlā—m. sautēlī—fm.	cacēlā—m. cacēlī—fm.
Panjābī ..	kuṛma kuṛmanī	sakā—m. sakī—fm.	matēī mā—mother others indirect, e.g. matēī mā dā barā	...
Dērwālī	sīṇ	sakkā—m. sakkī—fm.	matrēyā—m. matrēyī—fm.	pitrēr bhirā, etc.
Sindhi ...	sēṇa—m. sēṇe—fm.	sagō—m. sagī—fm.	māṭējō—m. māṭējī—fm.	sautō—m. sautē—fm.
Gujarātī ..	samdhī samdhan or samdhānī	sagō—m. sagī—fm.	...	indirect e.g., kākā nu chaiyō
Mārwarī...	byāyana and byāyī (common terms for any relations, distant and equal)	sagū—m. sagī—fm.	indirect, e.g., dūsri mā; dūsri mā kā bhāī	no term
Pahārī ...	samdi samdyānī	sāk	sautiyā	no term
Āsāmī ...	...	...	...	no term
Maithilī ..	samadhi samadhiṇī	sōdara (brother or sister)	saut—m. sautī—fm.	pitiaut
Baṅgālī ...	behāī behān	nijā āpon	śōt +	jāstuta—elder's khurtuta— younger's
Oṛiyā ...	sōmudī sōmuduṇī	nijā	bimūtā bhāī, etc.	indirect, e.g. jētha po bhāī dādī po bhāī culat
Marāṭhī ...	...	sakkhā—m. sakkhī—fm.	sāvatra—m. sāvatrī—fm.	no term
Simpālī ...	no term	indirect, e.g., ekku sē pan (born in the same womb)	no term	no term
Tāmil ...	no term	sahodaram, sahodarī (brother and sister)	māṭā-tāī or māṭā- sittī=mother, others indirect	no term
Santālī ...	sumdhi	sagai—relationship	mit lae boehā— uterine brother	no term

Cousins, father's sister's—	Cousins, mother's brother's—	Cousins, mother's sister's—	Father-in-law's house.	Language.
59	60	61	62	
paitr̥ṣa- sreya or paitr̥ṣa- sriya pitucchā- dhītā — Pāli	mātuleya	mātr̥ṣvasreya or mātr̥ṣvasriya	śvasurūlaya	Sanskrit
phuphu- auta—m. phuphu- autī—fm. phuphērā —m. phuphērī —fm. ...	...	...	...	Prakrits
	mamauta m. mamautī—fm.	mausiauta—m. mausiantī—fm.	sasurān (sasurē— in case of girls only)	Awadhī
	mamērā—m. mamērī—fm.	mausērā—m. mausērī—fm.	sasurāl (-r)	Hindustānī
	...	...	saurē	Pañjābī
no term	no term	no term	saurē (ghar)	Ārāwālī
no term	mārōṭa—m. mārōṭe—fm.	māsāda—m. māsāde—fm.	saurā	Sindhī
no term	no term	no term	sāsaurū	Gujarātī
no term	no term	no term	sāsūrō	Mārwarī
no term	no term	no term	saurās	Pahāṛī
no term	no term	no term	indirect hohur ek ghor sāsūr	Āsāmī
pisiant	mamiant	masiant		Maithilī
pistuto	māmātuto or māmāto	māstuto	śōsur būṛī	Baṅgālī
pisī po bhāī, etc.	māmū po bhāī, etc.	māusi po bhāī, etc.	sasura-ghṛa	Oṛiyā
ātā	māmē	māvas	sāsūr vāṇ (sāsar- girl's only) see note to 63	Marāṭhī
no term	no term	no term		Sinhālī
no term	no term	no term	pukkam-hus- band's house	Tāmil
...	...	...	...	Santālī

Language.	A girl's home, original be- fore marriage.	Mother's home before her marri- age.	Son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents' home.	
	63	64	65	
Sanskrit ..	..	mātulya	...	...
Prakrits ..	...	...	...	...
Awadhī ...	maiku, naihar	nanihār	samdhīyānā	...
Hindustānī	māyakā, naihar	nansāl	samdhīyānā	...
Pañjābī ...	pēkē	nānkē	indirect, <i>e. g.</i> , kuṛī da saurī	...
Deṛāwālī ...	pēkē	nāneghar	..	...
Sindhī ...	pēkā	nanāra	...	...
Gujarātī ...	pīhar	...	samdhāṇū	...
Mārwāpī ...	īr	..	...	...
Pahāpī ...	...	mālkōṭ	..	...
Āsāmī ...	indirect	indirect	indirect	...
Maithilī ...	naihar	...	..	...
Baṅgālī ...	...	māmār bāpī, etc.	bei bāpī	..
Oṛiyā ...	bapo ghōra, etc.	ājā-sāī or māmū-sāī	somudī-ghōra	...
Marāṭhī ...	māher	...	...	...
Sinhālī ...	Note—'mahā gēdar'—indicates the original home of a girl or boy. After marriage they together make one of their own.			...
Tāmīl ...	purandām	no term	no term	...
Santālī ...	...	...	...	... *

* The writer is indebted to Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya for a few suggestions also while he read the proofs. If there are any mistakes still in the noting down of the Names of relatives, the writer takes full responsibility for them on himself and does not put it on his correspondents.

THE 'SEKAŚUBHODAYĀ': A MEDIAEVAL ROM-
ANCE AND COLLECTION OF TALES FROM
BENGAL, WRITTEN IN CORRUPT SANSKRIT.

Mr. SUKUMAR SEN, M.A.,

Lecturer in Comparative Philology, Calcutta University.

The 'Sekaśubhodayā' or "the Holy Rising (or Advent) of the *Shaiikh*" was known to have existed in one manuscript only which was deposited in the *Bāis Hājārī* mosque in Maldah (near the ruins of ancient Gaurā). There it was looked with reverence by the *mutwallis* as well as by the Mahomedan public in general. On very especial occasions it was chanted, and this was believed to have been efficacious for removing diseases and other evils. When the late U. C. Batabyal was posted at Maldah as the Magistrate of the district he received the information that a very old and valuable manuscript written in Sanskrit was deposited in that mosque. He lost no time in securing the manuscript and had it carefully copied out by the late Pandit Rajanīkānta Chakravartī, the then head Pandit of the local Model School. The manuscript looked very old and was certainly in a very dilapidated condition and even the Pandit, who was himself a very good Sanskrit scholar, could not occasionally read properly lines after lines. Mr. Batabyal subsequently after his transfer from Maldah lost the original manuscript: in any case after his death all trace of the MS. was lost. But the copy now exists, and it is in spite of its defects and its occasional lacunae, a quite serviceable one, apart from being the sole repository of the work. I am at present engaged in bringing out a critical

edition of the book together with a translation which will be furnished by Mr. Manīndra Basu of the Calcutta University, the present owner of the copy made by Pandit Rujanīkānta.

The frame-work story of the 'Sekaśubhodayā' is this. One day when the King Lakṣmaṇasena was doing ablutions in the Ganges he saw a *deruish* dressed in black walking over the waters of the Ganges towards him. The newcomer was no other than the Shaiikh Makhlum Shāh Jalāl-uddīn-i-Tabriz, a Mahomedan saint of great renown. The king at first received him very coldly. But by means of a demonstration of his occult powers the Shaiikh won him over in no time. Umāpatidhara, one of the ministers of the king, continued to be hostile to the Shaiikh, but he, too, was convinced of the Shaiikh's miraculous powers in the long run. On each demonstration of fresh supernatural powers the king began to bestow upon the Shaiikh splendid grants. The Shaiikh built a mosque there and continued to attend the king at court. The last two chapters—the twenty-sixth and the twenty-seventh, and part of the twenty-fifth also, possibly did not occur in the original manuscript and hence they are not found in the copy. So we are not sure whether the Shaiikh left the king's court at all, or lived there till his death.

The Shaiikh used to narrate his own experiences which were varied and often quite thrilling. Other people also, not excluding the King Lakṣmaṇasena, were asked to narrate their own stories. Thus, a good collection of popular tales of mediaeval Bengal is incorporated in it. Not a few, however, are taken from standard Sanskrit works such as the 'Pancatantra' or the 'Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā.'

The book is ascribed to Halāyudhamiśra, a minister at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. The colophon at the end of each chapter runs thus: *iti halāyudhamiśrakṛtau sekaśubhodayāyām . . .* This book contains a great many anecdotes of the 'Pāla' and the 'Sena' kings of Bengal, and

a few are concerned with some of the great poets and *savants* of pre-Mahomedan times, *viz.*, Jayadeva and his wife Padmāvati, Umāpatidhara and Dhoyī—who are popularly believed to have been courtiers of the King Lakṣmaṇasenadeva. [Cf. the verse in the Gītagovinda beginning with, *vācaḥ pallavayaty umāpatidharaḥ*, etc.]

The Sekaśubhodayā is a forgery possibly of the time of Akbar. Local tradition has it that when Toḍarmall, the finance minister of Akbar, came to Maldah during his revenue survey, the *mutwalli* of the *Bāīs Hājārī* mosque (the mosque was so called as it yielded an annual income of rupees twenty-two thousand) did not, or rather could not, produce any document which rendered the property revenue-free. Any grant from the Pathan rulers would not have mended matters, as the Moghuls had no love whatsoever for their Pathan predecessors. Consequently this work, 'Sekaśubhodayā,' was produced as the necessary document as it narrated the facts and the circumstances under which the grants were severally received from Lakṣmaṇasenadeva.

Internal evidences accorded by the book also go to show that it cannot be put back further than the latter half of the fifteenth century at the most. These are as follows :

- (i) One of the stories [Chapter XIII] records that once a great *savant* and musician, Vuḍhanamiśra, defeated all the scholars and musicians at the court of Kapileśvara, the King of Oḍra (Orissa), and eventually came to the court of Lakṣmaṇasena and challenged the king to show off a scholar or a musician who might possibly match him. Now Kapileśvaradeva or Kapilendra was the last king of the Solar dynasty in Orissa and reigned from 1434 to 1470 A.D. He was succeeded by Puruṣottamadeva (1470—1497) whose son Pratāparudradeva (1497—1540) was a contemporary and devotee of Chaitanyadeva.

- (ii) A number of Persian and Perso-Arabic words occur in the book. This would have been an impossibility in a book written in the twelfth century after Christ. These words are as follows : *masīda* [< *masjid*]; *durveśa* [< *darvareśa* < *darwēš*]; *āsā* [< 'asī]; *jahāja* [< *jahāz*]; and *namāja* [*namāz*]; and some proper names.
- (iii) The work is ascribed to Halāyudhamiśra. But Halāyudhamiśra was a great Sanskrit scholar ; and it would be idiotic to suppose that such stuff could have come possibly from his pen.

The book, however, is not a very late work. The reasons are as follows :

- (i) The few Persian or Perso-Arabic words that occur here are such as were the very first set of words that might have been borrowed from the Mahomedan invaders ; and these words again occur in an old form.
- (ii) Not a few Bengali verses occur in the text which have a sufficiently old appearance.
- (iii) There are a few old place-names, which have undergone considerable phonetic change later on.
- (iv) One or two anecdotes of Rāmapāla and his son, which are found here, do not occur anywhere else. This could have been hardly possible in a very late work.

One verse occurs which gives a date of the death of Rāmapāladeva, the last king of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal. The verse runs as follows :—

*Śāke yugma-veṇu-randhra-gate kanyāṃ gate bhāskare
Kṛṣṇa-vākpāti-vāsare yamatithau yāma-dvaye vāsare ।
Jāhnavyāṃ jalamadhyatas tvanaśanair dhyātvā padam
cakrīṇaḥ*

[*Gopālā-*] *nvaya-mauli-man!aṇa-manīḥ śrī-rāmapālo
mrtah ॥*

It is no doubt a quotation as its style is in violent contrast with that of the other portions of the book. The first line is defective as it lacks two short syllables. It ought to have scanned thus :—

— — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — —
 s̄a ke yug ma * ve ṇu ran dhra * ga te kan yām ga te bhās
 ∪ —
 ka re

It is unfortunate that some of the syllables which give the date are missing. From this fragment, however, the late Pandit Rajanikānta Chakravartī derived the year 922 (*Śaka*?).

One anecdote [Chapter III] mentions that the only son of Rāmapāla once outraged the modesty of a woman, and on coming to know of this the king summarily condemned him to die by impalement.

Another interesting anecdote narrates how, immediately after the death of Rāmapāla, Sahadevaghōṣa, one of his ministers, elected Vijayasena (the grandfather of Lakṣmaṇasena), then a poor wood-cutter [*Kārpaṭika*] but a devotee of Śiva, to succeed the last of the 'Pāla' kings in Bengal.

About Lakṣmaṇasena we can know that he was an expert archer and a great conqueror. No Mahomedan [*yavana*] could enter his dominions and remain alive. But he was greatly attached to his (second ?) wife Vallabhā almost to foolishness, and this queen was a terror to all. She was especially antagonistic to the minister and scholar Umāpatidhara. There is no mention of the king having any issue.

Jayadeva, as we know from the 'Sekaśubhodayā,' was a master-poet [*karīndra*] and a master-musician too, as he could, and did, grow new leaves in a leafless tree by merely singing a melody. His wife Padmāvati also was an accomplished musician. She was possibly trained as a dancing girl, before her marriage with Jayadeva, as we frequently find her appearing at the king's court, which a high-caste lady seldom did.

Govardhanācārya was probably a *brahmacārin*, as it is mentioned that on one occasion he was so disgusted with the interference of the queen that he was ready to leave the court for ever, with his *daṇḍa* and his *kamaṇḍalu*.

The language is the most interesting feature of the work. The style is very often extremely elliptical, finite verbs being not infrequently suppressed, e.g., *tato rājā* "then the king (said)"; *tataḥ sekam rājā* "then the king (said) to the Shaikh"; *tataḥ sekam* "then (Mādhavī said) to the Shaikh"; *daivavipākāt durvātataḥ* "unfortunately a gale (arose)"; *tataḥ kiyati khanite eko maṇḍapaḥ* "then after digging some while a platform (appeared)," cf. *parvataṁ laṅghayitvā sapta kṣāranadyaḥ* "having crossed the mountain the seven acid streams (appear)" [Divyāvadāna].

There is very often no agreement between the subject and the predicate, or between the substantive and the adjective, in gender or number, e.g., *brhannaukā, jahāja iti prasiddhaḥ, tasmīn vṛkṣe lagnaḥ* "the big boat, known as 'jahāja,' stuck at that tree"; *tato naukā 'smadūjñayā pradhāna-puruṣa-sthānam gataṇ* "then at my command the boat went to the place of the Supreme Being"; *tatkaṇā gātre samlagno bhavati* "a particle of it sticks to the body."

Similarly there are some instances where there is no agreement in person between the subject and the finite verb, e.g., *tato 'ham kruddhas tasmāi kaṇḍapeṭām adāt* "then I was angry and gave her a box on the ear." See *infra*.

The following are the peculiar inflected nominal forms:—

Nominative singular (feminine): *śāsti, strī, vadhu, śvaśrū, vidhi* (this word is treated in the feminine gender and has the adjective *iyam*).

Nominative plural (masculine): *sarvvā*.

Accusative singular (feminine): *kācit, strī* (also *parastrī*), *nagarī, vadhū*, etc.

Accusative plural (masculine): *jñānahīnāḥ*.

Instrumental singular: *śāstinā, rājā*.

Locative dual : *stanau*.

Vocative singular (feminine) : *mādhavī*, *sundarī*
(masculine) : *bhrātā*.

asmākam is used for all the numbers, and for the accusative and the genitive as well.

A very interesting fact is that the instrumental forms have frequently been used for the nominative. This is no doubt due to the fact that in the late Middle Indo-Aryan the passive construction became the most usual one and that the decayed nominative suffix was often confused with the instrumental suffix (also with the locative) in late Middle and early New Indo-Aryan speeches [cf. S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, 1926, pp. 724, 726, etc.]. Thus—

mayā “I,” e.g., *mayā sūkarīva* “I am as it were a sow”; *mayā tasya pādavandanam kṛtavatī* “I did homage at his feet” [cf. S. K. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 809].

tvayā “you,” e.g., *yad uktam tvayā’si* “what you have said” [cf. S. K. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 817].

sādhunā : *nimajjamāne tena sādhanā asmākam punaḥ punaḥ smāritavān* “when being drowned the merchant thought of me again and again.”

rājñā : *iti śrutvā mantrī maunam ālambya [-te], tathaiiva rājñāpi, tathaiiva sabhāsadās ca* “on hearing this the minister kept silent; so did the king and the courtiers.”

vyāghrābhyām : *tam api rajakaputrasametena dvau vyāghrābhyām khāditau ca* “him along with the washerman’s son the two tigers have eaten up.”

The accusative is the general case. It very often replaces other oblique cases, e.g., *kañcukam paridhāya svarṇakala-saṃ kaṭim āsthāya* “having put on a bodice and having held a golden pitcher at the waist”; *samāyātvā putram hrdayam kṛtya ruditavatī* “she came and took her son to the bosom and wept”; *punaḥ so’pi. . . kācid gramaṇi nāpitavadhū sandeśasumetena. . . mām prāsthāpayata* “again he sent a

village woman, the wife of a barber, to "me with sweets"; *mama vacanam* for *mama vacanāt*.

The accusative was such a strong case that very often it was retained even in the passive construction, *e.g.*, *tato mayoktaṃ tām nāpitavadhūm* "then it was said to that wife of a barber by me."

The book shows greater peculiarities in the treatment of verbs and verbal forms.

The past participles in *-ta* are mostly used in the active construction.

The causative is unnecessarily used for the simple verb—this is really a characteristic of late Old Indo-Aryan as well as of Middle Indo-Aryan syntax. The reverse process is also found, *e.g.*, *mriyate* for *mārayati*, *āsthāya* for *āsthāpya*, etc.

The passive base and the passive form is widely used for the active voice, and forms which are not allowed by the grammarians are also used extensively. Thus *kriyate* for *karoti*, *brūyate* for *bravīti*, *ucyate* for *vakti*, *nīyate* for *nayati*, *dīyate* for *dadāti*, *gīyate* for *gāyati*, etc.

The following forms are ungrammatical :

svapa (imperative singular, second person)

ta-sthatuḥ (perfect dual, first person)

adāt (aorist singular, first person)

vardhate (present dual, third person)

bravīṣi (present plural, second person)

bhāṣē (perfect singular, first person).

There are very many ungrammatical forms of this type.

It is interesting to note that the third person singular suffix *-te* or *-t* is used for the second person, singular and plural, and the second person singular suffix *-si* for the third. Thus—

gīyate for °se ; *brūyate* for °dhve ; *icchē* for *iccheḥ* ; *bravīṣi* for °ti ; *hanīsyasi* for °ti ; *sādhayīsyasi* for °ti, etc.

The present is sometimes used for the future, and the future is occasionally used for the past (perhaps being

confused with the aorist), e.g., *mayā uccāvacam pitur uddiṣya rodiṣyāmi* "I cried aloud naming my father"; *vakam haniṣyasi katham* "how could you have killed the heron?"

The periphrastic perfect is used occasionally for the immediately past, and not infrequently for the future, e.g.,

*āturā brāhmaṇāḥ sarve tathā ca mama kiṅkarāḥ |
etān yah pālayāmāsa sa rājā jayatāc ciraṃ ||*

"The afflicted, the Brahmins and my attendants," [said Rāmapāla] "he who shall provide for these, may that king be eternally victorious."

sarvān api bhedayāmāsa "I shall immediately pierce all of them through."

There are not a few adnominal verbs and verbal formations, e.g., *yuktāyate* "is not advisable"; *ālāpayitum* "to have a chat"; *apavādayate* "slanders"; *gocaritavant* "one who has informed"; *krodhayase* "you are angry"; *jālatolaya-māna*, "drawing water."

The writer of the 'Sekaśubhodayā' thought in Bengali and wrote in Sanskrit and without much care for the grammar of the latter. Thus there has crept in a great deal of Bengalicisms in accidence, syntax and idiom. These are of immense value. Some of these are stated below:

(i) The nominative forms *mayā*, *tvayā*, are clearly Sanskritized from middle Bengali মই and তুই [cf. S. K. Chatterji, loc. cit.].

(ii) The verb *nī* has been frequently used in the sense "to take"—this is certainly a Sanskritization of the Bengali verb নে "to take" which come from O.I.A. *labh* through the successive stages *lah* and *nah*: several other Bengali verbs have been used in this way.

(iii) The Bengali present perfect forms have thus been translated into Sanskrit:

khāditvāste < Bengali খাইয়াছে "has eaten; has misappropriated."

patitvāste < Bengali পড়িয়াছে "has fallen,"

dattvāste < Bengali দিয়াছে “has given.”

dattvāsmi < Bengali দিয়াছি “I have given.”

vāritāsmi < Bengali বারণ করিয়াছি “I have asked him not to do.”

kṛtvāste < Bengali করিয়াছে “has done.”

(iv) Bengali phrases and idioms have been frequently translated. Thus:

asmākaṃ vacasā < Bengali আমার কথায় “on my words.”

manasā cintayāmāsa < Bengali মনে ভাবিল “thought within himself.”

asmākaṃ samakṣam < Bengali আমার সম্মুখে “before me, in my face.”

bhojanārthaṃ samājñāpayā < Bengali ভোজন করিতে আজ্ঞা করণ “please command to take food, i.e., the dinner is ready.”

kiyat kiyat < Bengali কিছু কিছু “some bits of.”

andhe bhaskmamukhi < Bengali কাণি পোড়ারমুখী, an abusive phrase.

yātrām kṛtvā < Bengali যাত্রা করিয়া “having made the start for a journey.”

tvam asmākaṃ gr̥hakathām na jñāsi < Bengali তুমি আমার ঘরের কথা জান না “you do not know my home affairs, i.e., you do not know the secret.”

Instances could have been multiplied. But the philological and linguistic aspect of the book will be more fully discussed in the Introduction of the critical edition of the text, which is now under preparation.

(6)

NEPALI : ITS LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

BY

DHARMA ĀDITYA DHARMĀCHĀRYYA

(*Katmandu*)

There seems to be some misapprehension, in stronger words, misrepresentation about the languages of Nepal, amongst the literate people and the academic institutions in particular and the citizens in general of India. The reasons for this are that there are very few scholars at present in Nepal who can avail opportunities to interpret from historical and literary standpoints in modern scholarly form the true facts about Nepal and there were hardly any all-Indian institutions known to them through which they would be able to make known their views. Coming to know of late that the All-India Oriental Conference has taken up the work of collecting and publishing in a suitable form the valuable reports of scholarly researches made by the literate Indian world, I venture to submit this paper for the public enlightenment of all the Indian brethren and Universities. Of course it may not be unknown that since that eminent British scholar and pioneer explorer Brian Houghton Hodgson presented hundreds of the Nepalese manuscripts to Europe, prominent Eastern and Western scholars like Minayeff, Max Müller, August Conrady, Sylvain Lévi, Takakusu, Kawaguchi, Sakaki, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Hara Prasad Shastri, Madame Neel, and many others had more or less done their utmost to interpret the language and literature of the Nepalese or vulgarly the Newaras who form the aborigines of the Nepal State which is vitally related to India in at least religion and culture. But it remains to be boldly said that there is the absolute need of a more complete and authentic interpretation of the subject which is here made to a possible extent.

ORIGIN OF NEPAL.

The original *vamśāvalī* or chronicle of the Newaras or the Nepalese who are historically known to have been the earliest settlers in the Valley of Nepal records the fact that Nepal was a lake abounding in serpents or Nāgas and that it was surrounded on all sides by the Himalayas. Although this fact has been geologically accepted and the modern State of Nepal has extended beyond the Northern and the Southern Himalayas, this lake was known as Nāgahrada or the 'abode of the serpents' and this very valley was afterwards known as Nepāla. So the only habitable site above the waters of the lake which became the historic Swayambhū, more vulgarly Sambhunāth in Parbatia and Singu in Nepali, was on the north-western mount. This mount is now classically known as Goshring, as it looked like the horn of a cow. The lake is known in the language of the people as Nāga Vāsa which is synonymous with the classical term Nāga Hrada, and is fourteen miles in length. There was no human habitation.

FIRST IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA.

Thousands of years back, it is said, in the Satya Yuga, Vipaświ Buddha came from Bandhumatī, a city in Madhyadeśa during his religious tours, with a large retinue of Buddhist monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen who before belonged to the four professions of a priest, a soldier, an agriculturist and a menial. There was Light or *Jyotiswarūpa* and those who wanted to stay there, remained behind; while Vipaświ Buddha and the rest went back to Bandhumatī. This was the first Indian settlement on the Swayambhū Mount.

ŚIKHI BUDDHA'S ADVENT.

Long afterwards Śikhi Buddha also came from India with a large following of rājās and people of the four professions. It is said Śikhi Buddha became absorbed into the *jyotiswarūpa*

and some of the retinue followed suit. While some settled here, the others went back to India. This is the second settlement.

VIŚWABHŪ BUDDHA'S VISIT.

After thousands of years came Viśwabhū Buddha from Anupamanagara in Madhyadeśa, with many disciples of this town. He too left his disciples to remain on the Mount.

FIRST CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO NEPAL

MAÑJUŚRĪ BODHISATTWA FROM CHINA.

Then came Mañjuśrī Bodhisattwa with a large following consisting of the Chinese prince Dharmākara and people of various avocations from Mahāchīna, Mañjuśrī himself being from Mount Pañchasīrsha or 'the five-pinnaced' now at Foochow (?). He found the Indian immigrants settled there and could not find space for his retinue. He thus found out a passage for the waters of the lake to flow out at the south-western side of the lake. The cleft is now renowned as *Koduwāla*, which is a Nepalese term signifying 'the water flowing down inside.' The water flows down deep into a pit-like bottom and cannot be seen for a great distance. Then he founded the first great city which was named after him as Mañjupattana, with its metropolis known as Rājapattana. As there must be a king to rule over the people from India and over the Chinese colonists, so he anointed the Chinese prince Dharmākara as the first king. Again Mañjuśrī introduced Chinese arts and crafts, agriculture, commerce and industries. It is also evident that more immigrants from China came afterwards; as Hodgson* also writes, 'since very many persons had come from Mount Śirsha (China).' He further, says 'Mañju Śrī . . . gave the name of Mañju Śrī Parvata to the small hill and called the desiccated valley, Nepāla'—*Né* signifying, the sender (to paradise) who is Swayambhū, and *Pāla* 'cherished'—implying

* Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, page 11.

that the protecting genius of the valley was Swayambhū or Ādi-Buddha. Thus the valley got the name of Nepāla. . . . Thus was Nepal peopled, the first inhabitants of which came all from Mount Sirsha, which is in Mahā Chīna, and thus the valley got the name of Nepāla, and its inhabitants, that of Nepāli, whose primitive language was Chinese. This language in course of time came to be much altered by the immigration of people from Madhyadeśa, and by the necessary progress of corruption and change in a new country, till *a new language arose in Nepal by the natural course of things*. The primitive inhabitants of Nepal were all of one caste, or had no caste. But their descendants, in course of time became divided into many castes or had no caste.

FORMATION OF THE NEPALESE NATION.

Gradually the Chinese and Indian immigrants began to interconnect themselves by intermarriage, common religion, etc. Thus there resulted an interconnection of the two races from India and China and the people naturally assimilated the common and nation-building arts and the civilization of the two races. Besides these, there is evidence of fusion of not only the language but also of the facial features, of the customs and manners, etc. B. H. Hodgson who is only representing the evidences given by Pandit Amritananda of the Maha Bodhi Temple (Vihāra) at Aśoka Pattana or Pattana who is the compiler of Dharma Kosha, etc., the translator of some Buddhist works into Nepalese or Newāri and the most prominent Buddhist and Nepalese scholar of the nineteenth century, has already said as given above that *a new language grew up which became the lingua franca of the Nepalese or Newāra nation*. In the ancient chronicle or *Vamśāvalī* of which the 'History of Nepal' edited by Dr. Daniel Wright is only a Parbatia recension, modified and accepted by the Gurkhas, whose advent into Nepal dates back only to 1768 A. D. and also in the *Vṛihat Swayambhū Purāṇa*, the definition of the important races

that settled within and without Nepal Proper, is given thus :—

Himālayavāsibhiḥ Nepālavāsibhistathā

Madhyadeśavāsibhiḥ sarvaiścha deśavāsibhiḥ

(S. V. Purāṇa, p. 147).

Atra Nepālajā vāpi anyatrajā viśeshataḥ

(Idem, p. 207).

.....Atra Nepālavāsibhiḥ

(Idem, p. 432).

These extracts from the Purāṇa also found in the chronicles are enough to prove that the term Nepālavāsī was specially applied to denote the people who had already settled from remote ages. It is also evident that although other dynasties and races were introduced into Nepal the latter claimed their own distinctive titles. But it is a fact that those who settled afterwards might be termed Nepalese in the same way as the Moslems and Christians should be called Indians in India. Such distinctions are generally met where there exists the difference of language, literature, religion, race, customs and manners between the original settlers and the later immigrants. In the case of Nepal too there exists particular distinctions specially on account of the race and language; as, the Nepālavāsī or the original Nepalese, the Himālayavāsis or the Parbatīās who live outside the valley of Nepal and the latest immigrants—the Madhyadeśavāsis—who call themselves Gurkhās. Historically it is thus obvious that the new race was called the Nepalese or the Nepālavāsis or vulgarly the Newāras and the language that they spoke was Nepālabhāshā, Nepālī or vulgarly Newārī.

THE NEWĀRAS OR THE NEPALESE.

When Hodgson asked Pundit Amritananda, ' what and from whence are the Newars, from Hindusthan or Bhot and

what is the word Newar, the name of a country or a people?' the reply given was thus—'The natives of the valley of Nepal are Newārs. In Sanskrit the country is called Naipāla, and the inhabitants Naipāli; and the words Newār and Newāri are vulgarisms arising from the mutation of P to V, and L to R.' As an example he named the word Bandya (which means a Buddhist monk) which 'is metamorphosed by ignorance into Bānrā, a word which has no meaning.'

THE MEANING OF NEPAL.

There is divergence of opinion about the origin of the word Nepāla among the Nepalese and the later settlers from India. The earliest and most unanimous interpretation, also corroborated by Hodgson and Amritananda is that NE signified 'the sender' to Paradise—to Swayambhū Ādi Buddha, the Infinite or Non-Mortal Buddha, and the term Pāla meant 'cherished.' Thus the word Nepāla implied the protecting genius of Nepāla to be the first Infinite Buddha. But the significance attached to it by the later immigrants from the Madhyadeśis including the Śaivite Newārs and the Gurkhās is that the term Nepāla had its origin from a sage Ne or Neyam, who as Dr. Wright's *History of Nepal* states 'was a devotee' of Swayambhū Buddha and who was devoted to the welfare of the valley. Both of the interpretations are based on a religious claim. While the first definition is subject to the authenticity of the existence of the Eternal Buddha, the latter assumption remains to be proved. Hodgson says, 'In the Nepalese *Vamśāvalis* the first race of kings are apparently Gwāllā and Śaivas or rather Pāśupatas who worshipped Paśhupati and received the throne from a Rishi called Neyam.' But this is open to doubt in all ways. The next dynasty is clearly barbarian and utterly alien to Sanskrit and India. It is of the Kiranti tribe now extant in all the eastern part of Nepal. This evidence is indecisive.

Professor Sylvain Lévi also quotes this evidence. Being based on Brahmanical mythology of the latter period, it is not accepted by the people—the aborigines of Nepal.

The popular assertion of the Newāras is that because Prince Dharmākara from China ruled the kingdom justly the country was called Nemenā Pālita or Nepāla. They mean to say that the people were righteously governed and so the valley was Nepāla or Nayapāla implying 'the place protected by *nema* or more usually *naya*.' This is the present, the rational (historical ?) and the probable interpretation of the term NEPĀLA.

POST-CHINESE IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA.

ADVENT OF KRAKUTSANDA OR KRAKUCHCHHANDA BUDDHA.

Before a technical discussion of the Nepali language and literature is attempted, it is worth while to understand the effect of a number of immigrations from Madhyadeśa. After the departure of Mañjuśrī, came Krakutsanda Buddha from Kshemavatī in Jambudwīpa who was followed by Rājā Dharmapāla and a number of lay and monk disciples. Delighted at the beauty of the valley, the priests led by Kuśadhwaṇḍa and the warriors led by Abhayadaṇḍa became baptized in the order of the Bhikshus or Monks and settled here. The origin of the Bagmati, an important river is ascribed to the Bāgdwar on the Phulochcha Mountain or Foochow, where they were novitiated. This Buddha too returned afterwards with a few followers.

ADVENT OF KANAKAMUNI BUDDHA.

Then after hundreds of years came Kanakamuni (or Konagamana) from Śobhāvātī with a large retinue and he too returned leaving many disciples to live in the new valley. Hodgson adds that 'these too, like all the preceding, soon lost

their name and character as Madhyadeśīyas, and were blended with the Nepali or Newar race.'

ADVENT OF KĀŚYAPA BUDDHA.

Centuries after arrived Kāśyapa Buddha from Kāśī, Benares, with the usual retinue and he too went back leaving behind many disciples to inhabit there. Hodgson adds that 'most of the people who came with him stayed in Nepal, and soon became confounded with the aborigines.' He is said to have sent Rājā Prachaṇḍa Deva of Gaur (Bengal) to Nepal who is famous as Śāntikara Āchāryya there. To Buddha is ascribed the naming of Benares as Kāśī.

ADVENT OF ŚĀKYA MUNI BUDDHA.

This is the only Buddha who is historically known in the history of Nepal and India. After his Buddhahood at Buddha Gaya, more apparently during his preaching at Benares, he went to Nepal, accompanied by his 1,350 disciples including the Rājā of Benares, his councillors and people. He preached on the mount which is now marked by the Puchchhāgra Chaitya, and made Chuṇḍā, a yakshiṇī, a bhikṣuṇī or nun. He is said to have visited the Namo Buddha Mount, 18 miles from Katmandu, where he, in his former birth, sacrificed his life for a tigress. His visit to Nepal occurred during the reign of Jitedasti, the then Kiranti ruler of Nepal. He left many disciples here, who as Hodgson admits, 'became blended with the Nepali race.'

CONNECTION OF INDIA AND NEPAL.

The history of Nepal and the Nepalese thus dates back to thousands of years and even the recent researches in ancient Indian history and culture are too meagre to prove the authenticity of the first six Buddhas, the existence of Ne Muni and so on. But Emperor Aśoka visited the site at Nigali

Sāgar where Kanaka Muni attained Nirvāṇa. The people of Nepal believe that the history of India and Nepal goes back to thousands of years back, that the history of ancient Indian culture has not yet been sufficiently inquired into and that there is much left for the oriental scholars to point out about Indian culture and its wide developments. Until the discovery of the ancient relics in Egypt and the archæological finds in Sind, people of India believed in the Indian calculation that the history of India commenced from the Vedic period dating from 3000 to 1500 B.C. The chroniclers of Nepal and all those who know the history of Nepal and also of India are strongly of opinion that Indian culture dates back to millions of years. Even the chief cities of Nepal have changed names and history three times.

Besides these facts the Nepalese people who trace their origin to ancient Chinese emigrants, and admit Indian connection with that Mongolian stock, as is apparent from their physiognomy, the monosyllabic nature of Nepālī or vulgarly Newārī, peculiar 'customs and manners and religion too, are decidedly of opinion that they had not only connection with the ancient Indian lands but also direct means of communication with India and China. The history of the Nepalese bears evidence to a number of such notable facts, viz. :—

(1) Dharmākara, the Chinese prince gave over the sovereignty of Nepal to Rājā Dharmākara of Gauṛ who had come with Krakutsanda Buddha;

(2) Rājā Prachanda Deva of Gauṛ had, as advised by Kāśyapa Buddha, came to Nepal and became a disciple of Guṇākara Bhikshu who was a follower of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattwa of China;

(3) Rājā Guṇakāma Deva of Mañjupattana now known as Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa or Katmandu* became a disciple of

* The original name of the present Kātmāndu was Mañjupattana. The name was changed to Kāntipura by Rājā Guṇakāmadeva in the Kaligata year 3824.

Rājā Prachanda Deva who had become a Buddhist priest and was named Śāntikara.

Besides these records almost all of the rulers were from India. The Guptas, the Mallas, the Lichchavis, the Rājputs, the Sūryavanshis, the Somavanshis, the Karṇāṭakis, and the Rānās were all from India, although the Rājās of Nepal were connected with the Rājā of Bhoṭ or Tibet, the earliest historic account available being the princess of Nepal given in marriage to the first Buddhist ruler Srong-tsan-gampo or Śuddhajīva of Bhoṭ or Tibet, about 1,200 years back. Until the last decade there was connection with China and the principal Buddhist temple in Nepal was under Chinese religious supervision. But in spite of all the ancient connections and the advent of Indian dynasties the Nepālī or Nepalese language of Nepal did never change, as it would be evident from the following accounts.

NEPĀLABHĀSHĀ.

Thus from historical records it is evident that the language of this Nepalese nation or the Newāras is alone called Nepālabhāshā or Nepālī or Newārī. Since the advent of the immigrants from the earliest time down to the present race the only language known to the Nepālavāsis or the Nepalīs is Nepālī and none else, although the Himalayan people or the Parbatias and the latest immigrants from Udaipur who were refugees from Moslem invasion gradually migrated towards a site which later became famous as Gōrkhā over 40 miles west of Mañjupattana or Katmandu, spoke the language called Parbatia or Gurkhali, a modern name. Throughout the manuscripts written on palm-leaves and yellow-painted papers of Nepal in Nepālī we find the frequent use of the usual term Nepālabhāshā. A survey of the Catalogues of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Durbar Library, Nepal, of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of the Cambridge University Library and also Nepalese Buddhist

Sanskrit Literature compiled by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, will enable the ascertainment of the fact. But the greatest authority is B. H. Hodgson and his Essays which represent his scholarly convictions as well as those of Pandit Amritananda, the foremost scholar of the nineteenth century. Some of the earliest Nepalese MSS. referred to therein are worth mention here. That will prove the extensive use of the term.

In the Asiatic Society Catalogue is mentioned the Bodhi-charyāvatāra Pañjikā written in Newārī or Nepālī character in the Nepal Era 198 which is equivalent to 1078 A.C. Another is the Sampuṭa Tīkā written in 1025 A.C. Another important work is the Chatuḥśatikā by Āryadeva with a commentary by Chandrakīrti belonging to the eleventh century. Another work of the earlier date is the Jātakamālā of the tenth century, both of them being written in the same Nepālī character. In the Durbar Library Catalogue, the bibliographer, H. P. Shastri, draws attention to an original work Yogamālā or Haramekhalāṭīkā in Nepālabhāshā—the original text of the Haramekhalā, a work written in Prakrit verse at Bhīllamalla in Guzerat. The Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra, now in the Asiatic Society of Bengal has a colophon, namely, Nepāla-Bhākhā Sambat 801, the use of Kha for the cerebral Sa being in common use. Cecil Bendall in his Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of the Cambridge University Library mentions the Amarakosha with a Newārī Commentary called the Vivṛiti by Māṇikyā, the author of Abhinava Rāghavānanda Nāṭaka, written in the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla, dated 506 N. E. (1386 A.D.); the colophon of this work runs thus :—

Kṛtaishā Amarakoshasya tena *Nepāla-bhāshayā*

Again—Māṇikyavirachito Amarakoshasya Naipālabhāshāṭīp-
paṇī samāpteyam. Swastīśrīmannepālikasatṃvatsare
506....

Śrī Jayasthitibhūpāle Nepālarāṣṭhṛaśāstari.

In another work known as the *Stutidharma*, the term *Nepālamaṇḍale* is given. In the same catalogue in the *Panchamahārakshāsūtrāṇi* the term *Nepālavarsha* is mentioned, although the Nepalese people vulgarly call it *Newāra Saṃvata*, even *Newā Saṃvata*. In another work, namely, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, dated the 923 (1803) 'Abde *Nepālike*' is given.

The above instances are enough to prove the customary use of the term *Nepālabhāshā*, although the people use the colloquial term *Newā-bhākhā* or *Newā-bhāyē*. The Nepalese community is generally conservative and the up-to-date use of the term *Nepālabhāshā* in all the Nepalese MSS. and other writings is an obvious fact. A brief survey of their ancient and modern works of which MSS. are still innumerable, will evince the nationalistic spirit they even now cherish. They have been found using not only the term *Nepālabhāshā* or *Nepālī* for their mother-tongue but also for the usual term representing their nationality as regards the name of the country, the national year, the State, etc. Their extensive history and literature even up to the present time bears evidence to the fact that as a vernacular of the Nepalese community it holds a paramount position even in modern times. That *Nepālī* was the only language known to the country and to the State before 1768, the year of the advent of the military classes of Gurkha who took shelter there since the Moslem invasion of Chitore, had been a well-known fact, although Dr. D. Wright, the English translator of the Parbatia recension of the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Nepal which was originally in Nepali, made a scholarly mistake in his statements that some of the MSS. written in 1386 and 1629 A.D. were in Parbatīyā. Evidently, all these MSS. were written in the Nepalese language and character. Some of the MSS. written at least

DEŚABHĀSHĀ OR LINGUA FRANCA.

some centuries back particularly mentioned even in the colophons the term *Deśabhāshā*, thus proving that *Nepālī* was the

language of the country—Nepal. The great majority of the people of the Nepali race live in the cities, villages and districts of the State; while the majority of the Parbatias reside in the hill-tracts and the outskirts of Nepal Proper. It is, therefore, not strange that it should be, as in ancient times, called the Deśabhāshā of not only the Nepali community but of Nepal Proper. Of course the court language of Nepal in modern times is Parbatīā, also known as Gurkhālī.

THE NEPALI COMMUNITY.

Although the Nepali race is a single race and claims a historical descent from the Indo-Chinese family that settled in the valley of Nepal, the later immigration of the Dravidian and Aryan people from India into Nepal enforced a change in the pre-arranged order of the mono-communal race. Originally the Nepalese had no such touchable and untouchable distinctions amongst themselves. They professed various avocations of life; but the democratic institutions and influences testify to the communal unity of the race. Hodgson and Pandit Amritananda admit the fact that the Nepalis represented a single caste, all being Buddhists. In his Essays the former writes thus:—"When these Madhyadesīyas had become numerous in Nepaul, they and their descendants were confounded with the former or northern colonists under the common appellation of Nepali and Newari; being only separated and contradistinguished by the several trades and professions which they hereditarily practised. Thus in the early ages, Nepal had four classes of secular people, as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, and four ascetical classes, namely, Bhikshu, Śramaṇa, Chailaka, and Arhanta, dwelling in forests and monasteries and all were Buddha-mārgī." Although at present Chailakas and Arhantas are non-existent, the Buddhists formed the vast majority. Hodgson further remarks, "Buddhists, of some one or other of the above denominations, comprise the vast majority of

the Newar race, and the minority are mostly Śaivas and Śāktas." In the History of Nepal Dr. Wright says, "(Buddhists) Bandyas are like Sannyāsis, who are all of one class without any distinctions of caste." These Bandyas who are classically or formally known as Bhikshus and Vajrāchāryyas form over ten thousands. And the rest of the people are divided into 64 sub-communities with their respective minor sub-communities. Thus Dr. Wright mentions and adds that there were two classes of Brahmins, Pañchagaurā and Pañchadrāviḍa, each containing five divisions with numerous sub-divisions. Again there were four divisions of Jaisis, viz., Āchāryya, Baid, Śreṣṭha, Daivajña. Āchāryyas were divided into three classes; Baid into four; and Śreṣṭhas into many classes. Of Śūdras (farmers) there were thirty-six classes of which the Jyapu had 32 divisions, and the Kumhal (potters, etc.), four divisions. The Podhyā (untouchables) class had four divisions. Although Rājā Jayasthiti Malla defined the religious and social system of the Nepalese race before his death in Saṃvat 549 (1429 A.D.) there have been diverse modifications to include the later immigrants from India. But all these sub-communities of the modern Nepali race speak one and only one language, that is, Nepāla-Bhāṣhā or Nepālī. Thus the ancient tradition testifies to the fact that the vast majority of the Nepalese aborigines from the earliest times to the present day have been using it not only for their religious literature but the ancient chronicles, technical, commercial and all other classical and popular works were written in this language. It may be here added that although the Nairs of a province formerly known as Nāyara in Conjeevaram in the Madras Presidency, led by Rājā Nānyadeva of the Karnāṭakī dynasty came and settled in Nepal about 889 A.D., this language did not change. It has been also found that although the different dynasties like the Gupta, the Āhīr, the Kirati, the Somavaṃśī, the Sūryya-vaṃśī, the Ljchhavi, the Thākuri and the Mallas and also

the Rānās ruled in Nepal, Nepālī has ceaselessly continued to be the *lingua franca* of the Nepalese community. In a manuscript dated 481 N. E. (1361 A.D.) written in the reign of Rājā Jayarāja Malla, Daivajña, Anantarāma probably a Nair from South India, used this language, in spite of the fact that many manuscripts, written in different characters of India, have been found dating back to nearly a thousand years.

DIFFERENT CHARACTERS USED IN NEPAL.

It may be rightly said that Nepal represents mediæval India, nay Greater India, as regards the different Indian and Northern characters introduced by the different classes of people that immigrated into Nepal. It might also be said that when India underwent economic chaos and political vicissitudes, during the mediæval ages, more prominently with the advent of the invading hordes from the North-Western Provinces of India the various literary works written on palm-leaves, birch-barks, etc., might have been brought when they sought refuge in the valley of Nepal. Surrounded on all sides by the Himalaya ranges and inhabited by a war-like and cultural Nepali race, Nepal is historic to-day not only as the refuge of the chaos-driven and orthodox Indians of the four castes but also as a literary *bank* where they could deposit all their productions of ancient literary culture from oblivion and desecration by the aggressive hordes. To the present day over fifteen kinds of Indian characters are known to the Nepalese, a short description of which is attempted below :—

1. *Raṇjā*.—This is the earliest character in which the Sanskrit Buddhist texts dating back to the second century A.C. are said to have existed. Most of the ancient Buddhist texts including the Buddhist Sanskrit works are said to have been written in this character, as is also evidenced by the use of, and high regard for, this character in Tibet and the

Far East. Even now this character is much used in writing the sacred Buddhist formulas on flags, walls, gates, artistic religious utensils, etc. Every year in the month of Śrāvaṇa the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, the most important philosophical work of Mahāyāna Buddhism written in this character is exhibited in the Vikrama Śīla Vihāra or Thambahil at Katmandu. Another MS. of the same title said to be over 800 years old is enshrined in the Kwalakhu Vihāra at (Aśoka) Pattana.

Rañjā is also said to be the oldest Nepali character, as not only Sanskrit works but also Nepalese works have been found written in this character. Hodgson is also of the same opinion, as he writes :—‘The three Newari alphabets are denominated Bhunji Mola, Ranja and Newari...but old Bauddha works exhibit them all, especially the two former.’

2. *Bhujimo or Bhunjimōla*.—This is said to be the second character used in ancient Nepal. The word itself means ‘the head of a fly’ and does not seem to denote a particular type of India but it signified that this character was written in such an ornamental design that the upper portion of the letter when written bore an appearance of the head of a fly. One MS. namely, the Ratna Sañchaya Gāthā of Prajñāpāramitā with the date of 295 N. E. (1175 A.C.) was found written in this character. This work was translated into Chinese between 980 and 1000 A.D. It possesses a very ornate appearance and stripped of its ornamental features, it bore an appearance of the Sanskrit character. MSS. are still available in this character ; but it is little in use at present. MSS. like the Saṅivarodaya Tantra and the Kriyā Saṁgraha are existent.

3. *Pachumola*.—This is another ancient type. The word stands for ‘a head that is even,’ that is, not with pointed parts as in Newari. All the signs of the letters were written on the same line and not pointed upwards. MSS. like the Kālachakra Tantra were found in this character, thus showing that its use was not earlier than the sixth or seventh century A.D. MSS. in this character are still found.

4. *Gujimo or Gomo*.—This is the fourth ancient type used in the mediæval period and the word itself meant that the letters were either with ornamental curves (Gujimola) or with round curves (Gomola). MSS. were formerly written also in this character but when it was first used is not known.

5. *Newārī or Nepālī*.—While the above four types are mostly used in the writing of Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. notwithstanding the fact that they are also said to be the ancient characters of the Nepālī language, Newārī is the national character most popularly used by both the aboriginal Newars and the Śivamārgī or Śākta Nairs who came with Rājā Nānya Deva about the ninth century A.D. This is the present recognised character in which the Nepali literature as also the Sanskrit literature practically used in Nepal, of the different sects of Hindus and also the Buddhists has surpassed all other so-called Nepali characters. It is the national type used by the Nepalese citizens in all their religious and worldly transactions. Researches remain to be done to find the earliest use of Nepali character; but the following MSS. give us some idea of the earliest use of the Newari or Nepali letters:—

1. Ushnīsha Vijaya Dhāraṇī dated 88 N. E. or 968 A.D.,
Shastri's Catalogue 359B.
2. A Tantric work dated 149 N.E. or 1029 A.D (Idem,
III, 359A).
3. Chatuspīṭha Nibandha., 165 „ „ 1045 „ (Idem,
III, 359C).
4. Another MS. „ 224 „ „ 1124 (As. Soc. Cat. 72).
5. Nārāyaṇa-Puripricchā „ 481 „ „ 1361 „ (Idem).
6. Paṇḍaravādāna „ 429 „ „ 1309 „ (Ditto).
7. Bendall's Catalogue
Collection Add.
1644 „ 325 „ „ 1205
8. Pañcharakshā (ditto) „ 509 „ „ 1389

Thus there are many hundreds of MSS. which are written in Nepalese character and most of them have Nepālī

colophons. Further discussion will follow below on the Newari or Nepali character.

6. *Aśokan Character*.—It is now an admitted fact that Aśoka the Buddhist Emperor of India visited, as the chronicle of Nepal records, Nepal with one of his daughters Chārumatī who was married to Prince Devapāla of Devapattana in Nepal. The four Aśoka stūpas or thuras as the local people call it, one Aśoka Vihāra and remnants of Aśoka chaityas at Aśoka Pattana or modern Pattana bears testimony to the Aśokan influence that Nepal had had. It is now a problem for research as to whether Aśoka did not leave any of his historic pillars in Nepal, as he did at Lumbinī on the Nepal border, also whether the Brāhmī character was not used in Nepal. Bendall however refers to the fact that 'the triangular Aśoka character, already lost in Kuṭila character lingered on later in Nepal than elsewhere.' One inscription on stone water fountain recently found in Nepal displayed the Aśokan form of character.

7. *Kuṭila*.—This is one of the early characters from India in which MSS. were found in Nepal. Cecil Bendall refers to the Pañcharakṣhā Sūtra written in the Kuṭila type of the eleventh century A.D., also the same written in the 14th year of Nayapāla, the King of Bengal (Circa A.D. 1054). Other MSS. are the *Ashtasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* written in the fifth year of King Mahīpāla of Bengal (Circa 1020 A.D.) and the *Maittreya Vyākaraṇa* written in the 57th year of Gopāla Deva of the Pāla Dynasty (tenth century Kuṭila). Although stone inscriptions and manuscripts are still found, it is no longer in use.

8. *Gupta*.—General Cunningham fixes the date of the origin of the Gupta Era to 167 A.D.; but the exact use of the Gupta character in Nepal is still indefinite. Except the Kuṭila character, the former is not existent at the present time.

9. *Devanāgarī*.—The use of this character seems to have come much later. A manuscript of the *Ashtasāha-*

srikā Prajñāpāramitā taken to Cambridge by Cecil Bendall is dated 128 N.E. (1008 A.D.) and another MS. the Mādhyamika Vṛitti by Chandra Kīrti is dated 701 N.E. (1781 A.D.). The use of this character is of much later growth, as during the last thousand years Newari had become the national character of the people. It is now being used in the State affairs; for Parbatīā or Gurkhālī has no character of its own.

10. *Kayethināgarī*.—This is one of the characters mentioned in the huge stone inscription inscribed by the order of King Jaya Pratāpa Malla of Katmandu (then Kāntipura) in 1654 A.D. But for this mention it is hardly known to the people. It might be said that the character may have been introduced during the advent of Raja Harisimha Deva of Ayodhyā in 444 N.E. (1324 A.D.). This is much akin to Nāgarī.

11. *Maithilī*.—MSS. have been found in this character, dated 433 N.E., 390 Lakshamaṇa Era, which was also introduced from the Bihar side by much later immigrants. The Vṛittasāra by Rāmapati dated 1550 Śaka Era (1628 A.D.) was also found, thus evincing the use of it not later than three centuries. This too is obsolete.

12. *Telugu*.—It is known as Tailangi in Nepal and might have been introduced by the Nairs that came at the end of the 10th century A.D. A manuscript in this character was found some years ago. It is known to the Nepalese; but it is not mentioned in the stone inscription of King Jaya Pratāpa Malla.

13. *Bengalī*.—This is not one of the recognised characters of Nepal; but it is mentioned by King Pratāpa as Gaudīya and manuscripts dated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century have been recovered. They are:—

- (1) Mahābhārata Prasthānaparva copied by Rāmdās, dated 545 N.E. (1425 A.D.)

- (2) Siddhekaṣīra Mahāmantrarāja, dated Śaka Era 1189 (1267 A.D.).
- (3) Sikshā Samuchchaya of Jayadeva of the 14th and 15th centuries.
- (4) Bodhicharyāvatāra, dated 1492 Vikrama Era (1436).

Thus the above thirteen characters are the more prominent characters, although Pratāpa mentions fifteen characters. The fifteen types mentioned are :—

1. * Gomola or Gujīmola. 2. Pārsī or Persian. 3. Tīr-
hūtīyā, probably Maithilī. 4. Rañjā. 5. Majhepata. 6.
Devanāgarī. 7. Ujembru (Tibetan). 8. Gauḍīya or Ben-
galī. 9. Arābī or Arabic. 10. Kayethināgarī. 11. Kata
or Kuṭila. 12. Umeta (Tibetan). 13. Kashmirī. 14. Feringī
or English. 15. Newāra.

So if there are fifteen characters only known to Nepal, the other two might be Tibetan, both the capital and small types. The stone inscription which includes the non-Indian or Western characters cannot be representative of the characters that were recognised in Nepal. It has omitted important types introduced by those who actually immigrated into Nepal. It displays the king's zeal for eulogizing his favourite deity and not his serious devotion to the preservation of the Indian characters introduced by the different settlers in Nepal.

NEPĀLĪ CHARACTER.

The above details enable the determination of the fact that in spite of the different characters introduced into Nepal, the position of the Nepālī or colloquially the Newārī character forms the most important. While the Rañjā, Bhujinimola, Pāchumola, Gujīmola types had been frequently used for the Sanskrit Buddhist works, Newārī was definitely recognised as the national character of the Nepali community. This must

have been considered the simplest, the most adaptable by both the aboriginal Nepalese and the later immigrants. It possesses some of the characters common to Devanāgarī, Rañjā, Bengālī, etc. Hodgson aptly remarks, 'Newārī alone is now used by both sects of the Newars for profane purposes and for sacred, both even employ the Devanāgarī, oftener the Newārī.' Of course Nepal being vitally concerned with India Proper has adopted the Sanskrit character. Yet the people had their own character—the Nepālī in which almost all the literary works abound. The existence of this type which exhibits a nationalistic handling dating back to about a thousand years has to be taken into consideration. The main thing therefore is that the entire Nepalese community has Newārī or Nepālī for their literature, and is the only character most widely used by the whole Nepali community.

NEPALESE LITERATURE.

Nepalese literature is divided into two important sections, Saivite and Buddhist. While the two main towns of Kāntipura (Katmandu) and Aśoka Pattana (Pattana) abound in Nepālī works on Buddhism, Bhaktapura (Khopadeśa) is the only town where Śaivite MSS. have been recovered in abundance. Most of the MSS. are written on palmyra leaves and on yellow-painted Nepali plant paper. To make them worm-proof, they use orpiment with flour paste which is applied on the paper and dried up and levelled with a heavy weight. It is divided into about a dozen sections such as follows :—

1. *Dharma Sūtras and Purāṇas :*

12 Buddhist works have been translated into Nepālī, of which the most notable are the Vṛihat Swayambhū Purāṇa, the Megha Sūtra, the Bhagavānaya Janma Charitra, the Buddhokta Saṃsārāmaya, already printed in Nepal, are notable. Of the other works which number over ten independent works, the Haramekhalā with the Vivṛiti commentary in Nepāla Bhāṣā, the Kubjikālaghutippaṇī dated 505 N. E. (1385 A. D.) and the

Dharma-Lakshmī-Saṃvād, dated 1581 A.D. are worth mention. All the MSS. have not been recovered and are being searched for.

3. *Vyūhas or Buddhist topographical and biographical works :*

The Gaṇḍa Vyūha, the Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha, the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, and the Sukhāvātī Vyūha.

3. *Jātakas or Previous Birth-stories of Buddha :*

34 Birth-stories are the most popular and are translated from the Jātakamāla of Ārya Sūra, the Jātakāvadāna, the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā of Kshemendra. Each story is either a separate manuscript scroll or part of a big MS.

4. *Avādanas or Marvellous Stories of Buddha and his disciples :*

These are translations of the Avadāna Śataka, the Avadānamāla, the Divyāvadāna, etc. Although some of the stories are common to the Jātakas and the Avadānas, there are different interpretations.

5. *Kathā and Vākhan or Stories, Local Traditional and Folklore Stories :*

(a) Stories derived from the Dwāvimśati Avadāna Kathā, the Hitopadeśa, the Pañchatantra, the Swasthāni. The latest discovery is the Dwādaśa Mantribuddhi Kathā from Bhaktapura, consisting of 12 vernacular translations and the texts.

(b) *Local traditional Legends.*—The legends connected with the popular divinities such as Āryāvalokiteśvara, Ānandā-dilokeśvara, Dharmarājalokeśvara, the Lākhe or the Māra stories, Mañjuśrī, Sasamāñju or the Goddess of Learning, and Vikramāditya. There is a huge literature in this section.

(c) *Folklore Stories.*—These also are numerous being derived from the Vetālapañchavimśati, an early MS. known being dated 1675 A. D., local events, etc.

6. *Māhātmyas or Descriptive Accounts of Sacred Places :*

These are long and short descriptions. The known works are the *Aṣṭamīvrata*, *Lakshachaitya*, the *Nepāla*, the *Śrīṅgabherī* the *Uposhadhavrata*, the *Vasundharāvratā*, the *Uposhadhavratavidhāna*. Wright's Collection includes the last dated 928 N. E. (1808).

7. *The Vamśāvalīs or the Chronicles :*

The literacy of the Nepalese is known by the many *vamśāvalīs* they have about the ancient and modern history of Nepal, of the origin of popular customs and rites, temples, *viḥāras*, etc. The *Samvatsara* records the origin of different eras used in Nepal, one of Bendall's collections being dated 1862 A. D.

8. *Tutas or Popular Hymns :*

There is plenty of vernacular hymns mostly on Buddhist personalities, *e.g.*, Hodgson's Collection known as the *Gīta Pustaka* dated Nepal Era 825 (1705 A. D.). Bendall got *Nāma Saṃgīti* dated 1859 A.D. Wright's Collection includes the *Sragdharā Stotra* dated 1784 and 1846 A.D. Besides the vernacular literature which affords much material for hymnological research, Nepal abounds in Sanskrit hymns derived from Sanskrit works as well as these compiled in Nepal. They are helpful for historical and religious research and a compilation called the *Bauddha Stotra Samuchchaya* is being attempted.

9. *Songs :*

These are numerous and they are all in the name of kings, divinities, seasons, customs and rites, individuals. Wright in his *History of Nepal* records the *Yaśodharā*, dated 1487 A.D.

10. *Dramatic Works :*

The largest number of them is based on Buddhist tradition as well as Brahmin. The most notable are the *nāṭakas* of Buddha's previous birth-stories, the *Hariśchandra*, the *Gopī-Chandra*, the *Kārtika*. A MS. the *Nala-Damayantī Nāṭaka*, originated by King *Jaya Prakāśa Malla* of *Kāntipura*, has been found in which *Hindī* and *Nepālī* have been used. The *Nepālī* version of the *Abhinava Rāghavānanda Nāṭaka* has not yet been found.

11. *Rites and Rituals :*

These are all based on the sacred texts as also the rites of popular divinities. The Abhishekavidhi, the Durgati Parīśodhana, the Mahāmañjuśrī and Nāga Pūjās, the Pāpapurimochana Nirdeśa, the Vāgīśwara Pūjā are some of the works.

12. *Politics and Morality :*

The Bodhichāṇakyaṇīti, the Pañchatantra, the Hitopadeśa the Dwādaśamantribuddhikathā, and the Chāṇakayasāra Saṃgraha are the only works known. There are the sectarian versions of the Chāṇakyaṇīti.

13. *Rhetoric and Prosody :*

There is not much worth mention in this line as much research remains to be done on this subject. The Chhandomṛita-latā, an original work on prosody by Pandit Amritananda is the only work known and the people must had had translations. Nor is anything known of Nepālī Grammar although Dr. A. Conrady has given short details on Nepālī Grammar in the Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band XVII, 1893. A Sanskrit-Nepali word-book, a translation of a chapter of the Amarakosha has also been published therein. It is evident that there are Newārī versions of the Sāraswata Vyākaraṇa, the Bālābodha, etc.

14. *Technical and Medical Works :*

Although Nepal is now well-known for its own art and technical skill, enough literature has not yet been recovered. Part translations of the Ratna Parīkshā by Buddha Bhaṭṭācāryya dated 1262 A.D. and the Svarodayadaśā might have been made by the artisans who are not well versed in Sanskrit. There are native medical works and the Dravyanirṇaya with Nepālī translation dated 658 N.E. is worth mention.

Recent researches show that loads of manuscripts in the vernacular as well as in Sanskrit are still awaiting light. The main cause of want of enough literature seems to be that almost all the religious and other references were directly made

from the Sanskrit originals. With a huge Sanskrit literature to guide them and having regular preachings in the Vihāras and temples directly from Sanskrit with vernacular interpretations, Nepālī literature like the Bengālī or Hindi literature of ancient days has much field for development.

NEPĀLĪ INDISPENSABLE FOR INDIAN RESEARCHES.

Besides, Nepālī is indispensable for researches in Ancient Indian History and Culture ; because most of the Indian and Nepalese MSS. are written in this character. The earlier MSS. require the knowledge and understanding of the more ancient Nepālī types referred to above. Owing to a superficial knowledge of Nepalese characters and language, even scholars like Bendall, Wright, Rajendralala Mitra and Hara Prasad Shastri have misrepresented ancient Buddhist literatures of Nepal in their editions of the bibliographies of Nepalese ancient MSS. The following are some instances :

Cecil Bendall—Śrīmatyotalake for Śrīmatpotalake.

Bhajudhanamechoyaviya for Bhajudhanam, the word choyaviya is not a proper name ; but it is meant only to say that 'it was written by ' Bhajudhan.

H. P. Shastri—Juro for Julo (A.S.B. Col. p. 13).

Chope for Choye (Idem, p. 26), the colophon given in page 63 of the Catalogue is full of mistranscriptions.

D. Wright—Iratayo Tṛipa for Pratāpo Nṛipaḥ, Kaṣhpiri for Kashmīri. Parbatia for Nepali MSS.

In view of the fact that there is abundant Sanskrit and vernacular literature to be recovered, there should be provision for the recognition and understanding of the Nepalese characters and words. The stone and metal inscriptions still unexplored, the colophons of manuscripts, the hymnological and other works reveal an ancient history of Nepal and India.

MISREPRESENTATION OF NEPĀLĪ IN INDIA.

Recently misrepresentations made in the Universities of India by some Nepalese ignorant of the History and Literature of Nepal have been found out. While the Nepal Government institution, the Gurkhā Bhāshā Prakāśinī Samiti is publishing all its publications in the Gorkhā Bhāshā or Gorkhālī, the court language of Nepal, and the Patna University has named it Parbatīā, as that is the popular name for same language, the University of Calcutta has given a double name of Parbatīā for the Translation Papers, and for the Composition Paper Nepālī. Again some Parbatīās of Darjeeling have also called it Nepālī. Fortunately after a joint application by the Nepālī students and merchants, it has been properly named Parbatīā; while the Nepālī has been reserved for the Hindi of Nepal—Nepālabhāshā. In these days of Oriental and scholarly research, any misrepresentation that might have been wilfully or unknowingly made, should be removed. If there has been any such in the University of Allahabad, an historic centre of culture, it is hoped that authorities concerned will properly term Parbatīā or Gurkhālī as it should be and the historic and classical name of Nepālī or Nepālabhāshā should be reserved for Nepālī alone. Of course when both the languages of Nepal are used there, Parbatīā or Gurkhālī as a court language and Nepālī as the *lingua franca* of the Nepali community which, as Hodgson and Amritananda and others have already admitted, forms the majority of the citizens of Nepal, they are both called Nepalese, in a general sense only. Not only this, the earliest works in Parbatīā published at Benares, are known as Gorkhā Bhāshā or Parbatīā. Vijnān Vilās in his Bhāratavarshako Itihās aptly calls it Parbatīā.

It is, therefore, earnestly expected that through the medium of the Oriental Conference held in the centre of Aryan culture, the paper would be able to rectify the misrepresentation that might have been made in any part of India. The earliest, yet the only language of the Nepali community—the language

without a knowledge of which all ancient Indian researches in history, literature, iconography, hymnology, epigraphy especially as regards the mine of manuscripts in Nepal—the research vernacular which bibliographers, epigraphists, iconographers, etc., like Hodgson, Wright, Bendall, Minayeff, Lévi, Takakusu, Kawaguchi, Shastri, Mitra, Coomaraswamy and many others had to know is distinctly separate from Parbatīā or Gurkhālī, the advent of which cannot be traced earlier than 1768 A.D. and the literature of which is of very recent growth. Hodgson aptly remarks, “The Newars alone have a literature, and that wholly exoteric.”

THE 'VARṆA-RATNĀKARA' OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA KAVIŚEKHARĀCĀRYA

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Cal.), D. Lit. (London),
*Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics,
Calcutta University.*

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A. THE MANUSCRIPT

The 'Varṇa-ratnākara' is the oldest work in the Maithilī language of North Bihar that we know of, and it goes back to the 1st half, perhaps to the 1st quarter, of the 14th century. It is preserved in a unique MS. on palm-leaf now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in its Government Collection of MSS. (No. 48/34). The MS. is written in old Maithilī characters. It originally contained 77 folia, but 17 of these are now missing (folia 1 to 9 at the beginning; folia 11 and 12, 14 and 15, 17, 19, 26 and 27). The leaves measure from 15" long by 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ " to 2" broad, fairly well preserved, but some pages are slightly damaged by white ants. Generally there are five lines on each page, but there are a few pages with four lines and a few more with six. The writing is fairly legible. The work now begins with page 10a. Fortunately the last page (77b) giving the colophon has been preserved, and we know from it that the MS. was written in the year

388 of the La Saṃ era which is still current in Mithilā: this corresponds to 1507 After Christ, the La Saṃ having commenced from 1119 A. C.

The present MS. has been copied from two other MSS., both of which seem to have been imperfect or incomplete. At least one certainly was. The work is in several chapters called *kallolas*. The seventh *kallola* in the present MS. ends at page 69b, line 3, after which the eighth apparently commences, and it is continued to p. 70b, where, while the work is in the course of enumerating various kinds of ships and boats, it breaks off abruptly at line 4. A verse in *Śārdḍūla-vikrīḍita* metre then follows, indicating the termination of the work :

यावत्तीरघिनन्दिनी मुररिपोर्वचःस्थलं गाहते
यावत्तिर्जरमिन्धु × स × सुखं रत्नाकरो विन्दति
यावत्पङ्कजबान्धवस्य भवनान्युद्योतयन्ते कलाः
काव्यं श्री कविशेष (= ख) रस्य सुधियां तावत्कृषीष्टोत्सवम् ॥

after which comes this statement, in corrupt Sanskrit :
आदर्शग्रन्थमेकं समाप्तं (,) द्वितीयस्य कतिपया ॥ इति ग्रन्थः सति तद्विषय (= ख) ते ॥
We have after that several other *varṇanās* or descriptions, beginning with राज्यवर्णना, up to the end (page 77b), and again the work is made to end, without the expected title of the last *kallola*. The verse यावत्तीरघिनन्दिनी, etc., occurs again, with the second line equally defective, and then come the date of the copying and the name of the scribe, Śrī Maṇikara, of village Sauriā, and the MS. ends with a salutation : ल स इन्द्र आश्विनवदि
सप्तमी रवौ सौरिद्या ग्र मे श्रीमणिकरै ह्वितेत्यं पुस्तीति । ओं भैरवाय्यशिवविष्णवे
नमः ॥

The first source MS. was thus defective: there was no proper ending of the work in it, and besides certain things seem to have been left out from the body of the work which were added at the end from the second source MS. by the copyist. Unfortunately the title of the eighth *kallola* has not been given by the copyist, either through the absence of it also in the second MS., or through some inadvertence,

Judging from the ordinary age of MSS. in the Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, the date of copying, 1507 After Christ, is fairly old for a work in a vernacular speech.

At the request of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and through the authorisation of the Bengal Government, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstrī, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., instituted a search for Sanskrit MSS. during the years 1895 to 1900. In that connexion he undertook two trips to Nepal and one to Benares. The results of his Nepal trips are well-known: he recovered and described a number of valuable works so long preserved in that country, works which were supposed to have been lost for ever or the very existence of which was not known. His two assistants Paṇḍits Rākhāla Candra Kāvya-tīrtha and Vinoda Vihārī Kāvya-tīrtha travelled all over Bengal (with its old boundaries, including Bihar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa), visiting private collections of MSS, taking notes, and securing MSS. for the Government wherever they could be obtained. The MS. of the V. R. was obtained from Mithilā by Paṇḍit Vinoda Vihārī Kāvya-tīrtha in course of this search. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstrī, in his 'Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895- 900)' (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1901), which is addressed to the Hony. Secretary of the Society, thus describes this find (p. 23):

'6. The last Maithila MS. obtained during these years under review is that of the Varṇana-ratnākara by Jyotirīcvara Kaviṣekharācāryya. The MS. is dilapidated in the extreme. But the portion that is still in good preservation is written in bold and beautiful hand. The character is ancient Maithili which can be scarcely distinguished from ancient Bengali. The language is Maithili but it cannot be properly distinguished from Bengali as there are more than 50 per cent of

expressions that are Bengali. The book belongs to the early part of the 14th century. No Bengali or Maithila MS. of that age has yet been discovered. The subject-matter of the book is very curious. It gives the poetic conventions. For instance, if a king is to be described, what are to be his qualities; if a capital is to be described, what are to be the details; and so on. Sometimes the conventions are very amusing. I will give the description of a pimp; she must be about a hundred years old, with wrinkles all over her body, her hair as white as conch shell, her head high, her body without flesh, her cheeks all shrunk, her teeth all fallen. She must be a brother of Nārada (the god of quarrels) and an expert in bringing two persons together, and so on. This book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyāpati. As regards the antiquity of the work, the author is already well-known from a MS. of Dhūrttasamāgama Nāṭaka in the Durbar Library. The Nāṭaka was composed by the same Jyotirīvara Kaviçekhara during the reign of Harasiṃha Deva, the last of the Karnāṭaka Kings of Mithilā, whom Prof. Bendall placed in or about 1324.'

Unfortunately, details as to the time and place of the find, and the name of the last owner have not been given. The MS. has passed into the custody of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, along with other Government MSS. There it has remained unknown and unutilised, except by Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstrī, who first brought it to the notice of the learned world. In his Introduction to the collections of Buddhistic verse in Old Bengali and Western Apabhraṃśa, the 'Hājār Bacharer Purāṇa Bāṅgalāy Bauddha Gān O Dohā,' published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Paṇḍit Śāstrī has referred to the list of the Siddhas or Mahāyāna Saints of later Buddhistic times as given in the V. R. (pp. 35—36, 'Bauddha Gān O Dohā' Calcutta, Bengali year 1323). In an article on the names of the fractional numbers in Bengali, contributed to the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā for Bengali year 1330, the present writer also has

had occasion to quote a passage from this MS. He has also noticed the work briefly in his 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' Calcutta, 1926, Vol. I, pp. 102-3.

The philologist who in a sense 'discovered' the Maithilī and other Bihārī dialects, by first studying them properly and indicating their true position within the family of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, namely, Sir George Abraham Grierson, curiously enough does not mention the MS. or the work either in his note on Maithilī literature in the Linguistic Survey of India volume on the Bihari Dialects (L. S. I., V, II, 1903, pp. 17-18) or in his valuable grammar of Maithilī (second edition, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, pp. xiii ff., where the L. S. I. account is repeated). It is likely that the notice of the work in Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstri's Report has escaped the attention of Sir George, who is truly the father of Maithilī studies, and he missed examining the MS. when he was in India.

The late Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti in his brilliant paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1915 (pp. 407—433), reconstructing the political history of Mithilā during the pre-Mughal period, speaks of Jyotirīśvara as deserving mention for having composed the earliest extant work in the Maithilī vernacular, the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (p. 414). Mr. Chakravarti apparently consulted the original MS., as he gives the correct name of the work, which is '*Varṇa-ratnākara*', as it occurs in the MS, and not in the form in which it has been given by Paṇḍit Haraprasāda in his Report and in the 'Bauddha Gān' (as '*Varṇana-ratnākara*'). Mr. Chakravarti's statement is given by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji in his 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' II, Bengali year 1324, p. 138: Banerji however says that the V. R. is *on* or *about* Maithilī. Mr. Shyam Narayan Singh in his 'History of Tirhut' (Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1922) has incorporated the words of Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti and of Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstri without proper indication of his

having quoted from to these scholars (p. 69, and pp. 141-142).

In 1919 the University of Calcutta under the guidance of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee instituted the study of the Indian Vernaculars as a subject for the M. A. degree examination, and Maithilī, the language of some 10 millions of people in Bihar, with a long culture behind it and boasting of at least one great poet, namely, Vidyāpati, whose position is of the first rank in Indian literature, was recognised as an independent language and not as a mere *patois*,—although in its own homeland people speaking it regard it as a rustic speech, High Hindī and Urdū alone being recognised as the vernaculars of the land in the schools and the law-courts. Students in the University of Calcutta can now take up Maithilī either as their principal subject, or as subsidiary subject for the M. A. examination in Indian Vernaculars, in addition to offering it as a vernacular from Matriculation to the B. A. Maithilī literature is mostly in MS. The Maithilī characters are very similar to those of Bengali—the alphabets of both Maithilī and Bengali having developed out of the common script of Eastern India in the post-Gupta period. The fact that Maithilī types were never cast and no books were ever printed from Maithilī types is partly responsible for the language itself being in the shade. A Maithil boy of the upper classes is taught the Maithilī alphabet, and Maithilī Brahmans and others usually employ this alphabet in writing, but in printing Devanāgarī is ordinarily used. Some elementary school primers and some ritualistic literature in Sanskrit have been published in the Maithilī character, in lithograph only—the latter being in the orthodox *pothi* form. A little Maithilī literature has been printed in Devanāgarī, and two or three Maithilī journals regularly come out in Devanāgarī. The result of the influence of this literature printed in Devanāgarī, combined with the compulsory study of Hindī in the schools to the exclusion of the mother tongue and its

own script, has been that the knowledge of the native script is becoming more and more restricted. In fact the old script is falling into disuse, and a new generation of Maithils is growing up with the knowledge only of Devanāgarī. The bulk of the literature of Maithilī being in MS., to facilitate Maithilī studies, Sir Asutosh had copies of a number of Maithilī works made, to be edited and published under the auspices of the University. He even thought of having the first fount of Maithilī letters prepared for this purpose, but his sudden death in May 1924 prevented the maturing of this idea. The V. R. has been prescribed by the University of Calcutta as a text for Maithilī (as a principal language) for the M. A. examination. A transcript from the Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. was made with a view to its publication by the University, but the publication has been unavoidably delayed. In the year 1926, the first candidate who offered Maithilī as his principal subject was examined on the V. R., and he had to study the work from a MS. copy made from the University transcript. The University transcript was very carefully collated with the original MS. early in 1923, and the present writer took part in this collation. A press copy of the work was prepared by the late Paṇḍit Khuddī Jhā, Banailī Lecturer in Maithilī in the Department of Postgraduate Instruction in Arts in the University of Calcutta. A second text, and a complete one, is felt to be imperatively necessary to edit the work properly. The attempts of Paṇḍit Khuddī Jhā to trace another copy in Mithilā were so far unsuccessful, and the Asiatic Society MS. consequently continues to be the unique MS. and only source of this valuable work.

B. THE AUTHOR, HIS WORKS, HIS DATE AND HIS TIMES

The author of the V. R., Kaviśekharācārya Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura, fortunately for us, is quite a well-known figure in medieval or late Sanskrit literature. He is also the author of at least two Sanskrit

works which are well-known, the *prahasana* or farce called the 'Dhūrta-samāgama,' and the work on erotics called the 'Pañca-sāyaka.' A third work, also on erotics, called the 'Raṅga-śekhara' is mentioned by Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1915, p. 414, footnote), and this book is said to be extensively quoted in later Sanskrit literature, but I have not been able to see it.

The 'Pañca-sāyaka' or the Five Arrows (of the God of Love) is in five sections, and is in verse, describing the secret processes of love (the *aupanisada-prakaraṇa* of Vātsyāyana). After an invocation to Kāma-deva, the God of Love, the author introduces himself and his subject as follows (text as in a MS. in Bengali characters in my possession):

अस्मिन् प्रत्यहमर्थितामहरयः क्लृप्तैर्दृष्टागुरुः
 श्रीकण्ठाधर्षनतत्परो भुवि चतुःषष्टेः कलानां निधिः ।
 संगीतागमसत्प्रमेयरचनाचातुर्यैर्बुद्धामयिः
 ख्यातः श्लोकविशेखरापि तपदः श्रीज्योतिरीशः कविः ॥

इष्ट्वा मन्मथतन्त्रमीशवरहृतं वात्स्यायनीयं मतं
 गोपीपुत्रकमूलदेवरचितं बाभ्रव्यवाक्यामृतम् ।
 श्रीनन्दीशवररन्तिदेवरचितं चोपीन्द्रविद्यागमं
 तेनाकलयत पञ्च नायक इति प्रीतिप्रदः कामिनाम् ॥

It deals with the preparation of various aphrodisiacs and drugs, articles of toilet, and charms and philtres, and describes the different types of women; it has verses on the treatment of women in pregnancy, and describes the *bandhas*, and finishes by giving a brief account of the various types of *nāyikās*. The work is not a big one, and is said to have been printed several times, but I have not been able to see any of these printed editions. The author closes his work with this verse:

यावच्चन्द्रकलाकिरीटहृदये शैलात्मजा तिष्ठति
 यावद् वसति माधवस्य सकला सानन्दमादिश्यति ।

यावत् कामकलाधिवत्तचटुला क्षोणीतले सध्वदा
तावत् श्रीकविशेखरस्य कृतिना तावत्पदे दीन्यताम् ॥

The 'Pañca-sāyaka' has been noted in histories of Sanskrit literature (*e.g.*, M. Winternitz, 'Geschichte der indischen Litteratur' III, p. 541). Beyond the name of the author, and his title Kaviśekhara, and that he was well-read in the ancient treatises on erotics and knew well the art of music, we do not obtain any information about him from this work.

The 'Dhūrta-samāgama' is quite a popular work. There are a large number of MSS. of this farce, and besides it has been printed several times. Christian Lassen printed it for the first time in his 'Anthologia Sanscritica' (Bonn, 1838 : text, pp. 66—96, Latin annotations, pp. 116—130). C. Cappeller published it in lithograph in 1883 from Jena, together with the 'Hāsyārṇava,' another farce by Jagadīśvara. There are also Indian editions of it published from Bombay and Calcutta, but these I have not seen. All the European works on the Sanskrit drama have considered this work : Horace Hayman Wilson in his 'Theatre of the Hindus' (3rd ed., Vol. II, p. 408), Sylvain Lévi in his 'Théâtre indien' (Paris, 1890, p. 252), Sten Konow in his 'Indische Drama' (pp. 115—6), A. B. Keith in his 'Sanskrit Drama' (Oxford, 1924, p. 261), and M. Winternitz in his 'Geschichte der indischen Litteratur' (III, pp. 263—264). It is from this little work that we obtain some definite indications about the time of the poet. In the Prologue, we find the following :

नानायोधनिरुद्धनिर्जितसुरत्राणत्रसद्वाहिनी—
नृत्यङ्गीमकबन्धमेलकदलद्भूमिभ्रमद्भूधरः ।
अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेवनृपतिः कार्णाटचूडामणि-
हंप्यत्पायिवसार्थमौखिमुकुटन्यस्ताडप्रिपङ्केरुहः ॥
तस्योद्दण्डभुजप्रतापदहनज्वाला निरस्ता यदा
राजः सर्वगुणानुरागपदवी विद्योतनाचार्यकः ।

ये धीरेश्वरवंशमौलितिलको (Nepal MS.; -मुकुटो Lassen)
दातावदाताशयस्,

तस्य श्रीकविशेखरस्य कविता सञ्चितमालम्बते ॥

तदनेन सकलसंगीतविशेषविद्योतनाभिनवभरतेन (सकलसंगीतविद्यांशेश्वर-
विद्योतनाभिनवभरतेन Nepal MS.) पुरमथनपदारविन्दद्वन्द्ववन्दारुकरपल्लवेन
बिखिलभाषोपभाषाशुभंभावुकसरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणेन अनवरतसोमरसास्वादकशाय-
कण्ठकन्दलीनरीनृत्यमानमीमांसामहोत्सवेन रामेश्वरस्य पौत्रेण तत्रभवतः पवित्र-
कीर्तेश्वरेश्वरस्यात्मजेन महाशासनश्रेणीशिखरभ्रामत्यल्ली (श्रीमत्पल्लि Nepal)
जन्मभूमिना (-यक Nepal) कविशेखराचार्यज्योतिरीश्वरेण निजकुतूहलविरचितं
धूर्तसमागमं नाम नाटकम् (Nepal; प्रहसनं Lassen) अभिनेतुमादिष्टोऽस्मि ।

From the above we learn that Jyotirīśvara's father's name was Dhīrēśvara, of sacred memory, and his grandfather was Rāmēśvara; that he was a high court official, and a Vedic priest and scholar of philosophy also, one who in addition knew many languages, was a votary of Śiva, and an expert musician besides. He was in the court of a king of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty who defeated a Mohammedan in vader (Suratrāṇa = Sultān). The name of this king was Harasimha-deva, or Harisimha-deva. This name is read as *Narasimha-deva* in many of the MSS., and in the printed editions, the European ones as well as the Calcutta edition (see Manomohan Chakravarti's paper in the J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 411, foot note). The form *Harisimha* also is found, e.g., in the A.S.B. MS. No. 8224, in Devanāgarī characters, over 150 years old. Lassen, who had the reading *Narasimhadēva* in his MSS., regarded the author's patron as having been King Narasimha of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1487 to 1508 (pp. x, xi of the 'Anthologia Sanscritica'). But Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstrī who found a MS. of this work in the Nepal Durbar Library, which gives the reading *Harasimha-deva* (p. 66, 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal,' with a Historical Introduction by C. Bendall, Calcutta, 1905), regards the ruler as having been the king of Simraon in Mithilā, ruling c. 1324 A.C. (p. xxxvii of

the Catalogue). Harasim̐ha, or Harisim̐ha is said to have invaded Nepal (cf. p. 14, Bendall's Historical Introduction to Śāstrī's Nepal Catalogue; Manomohan Chakravarti in the J.A.S.B. for 1915, p. 411). The history of the kings of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty, beginning with the founder of the line, Nānya-deva (c. first half of the 12th century A.C.), down to the last kings who succeeded Harasim̐ha-deva (middle of the 14th century), has been reconstructed in a very important paper by Manomohan Chakravarti (in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1915, pp. 407—33, referred to before). That Harasim̐hadeva who ruled during the first quarter of the 14th century was the patron of our author there is no reasonable ground for doubting. In the latest work on the Sanskrit drama by A. B. Keith, Lassen's view, nearly a century old and now proved to be wrong, has unfortunately been given, that Jyotirīśvara belonged to the 15th-16th centuries and was the court-poet of a Vijayanagara king. The reading *Narasim̐hadeva* is palpably wrong, there is important evidence of the name properly being Harasim̐ha.

Harasim̐ha apparently fought with the Sultān of Delhi Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq (1320—4), who is said to have passed through Mithilā into Bengal. Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, the author of the 'Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī' (2nd half of the 14th century), has simply mentioned that the local chiefs of Tirahut paid tribute to the Sultān during his march into Bengal. But according to Farishtah (2nd quarter of the 17th century: translation by J. Briggs, 'History of the Rise of the Moham-medan Power in India till the year 1612', Vol. I, London, 1829, pp. 406-07: Farishtah's authority here is an earlier work called the 'Fatūhu-s-Salātīn,' which is regarded as being of little historical value), there was a fight between Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq and the Rājā of Tirahut in the hills of the country, and the Rājā was defeated, and he fled into the jungles, followed by the Mohammedan king, who besieged the Rājā

in his fort and captured him and his family with great booty, and Mālik Tabligha was left behind as governor of the newly conquered tract. There is thus a disagreement in the Mohammedan accounts. From the evidence of the Hindu writers Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura (J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 411) and Jyotīrīśvara, the account from the 'Fatūḥu-s-Salātīn' which has been quoted by Farishtah that there was hard fighting between the Maithils and the Mohammedan invaders from Delhi receives corroboration. It is clear that the Rājā of Mithilā got the worst of it in the fight, at least at the outset. He seems to have been forced to seek a refuge in the Nepal Tarai, and then into the mountains of Nepal (which country his minister Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura conquered for him, c. 1314 : cf. J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 411). A traditional *śloka* current in Mithilā makes a definite statement about this retreat :

बाणाग्नि-बाहु-शशि-सम्मित-शाकवर्षे

पौषस्य शुक्लदशमी-चित्सुनु-वारे ।

त्यक्त्वा स्व-पट्टन-पुरीं हरसिंहदेवो (हरसिंहदेवो ?)

दुर्ग-देशित-पथे गिरिमाविवेश ॥

(Quoted in the 'Mithilā-Darpan,' a Hindī account of Mithilā and its history, by Bābū Rāsbiḥārīlāl Dās, Vol. I, p. 64, Darbhanga, Union Press, 1915).

It was not a case of voluntary retirement, but it was directed by reverse of fortune that the king had to retreat into the mountains. The year mentioned in the above *śloka* is Śaka 1245, which corresponds to 1323 After Christ ; this roughly agrees with the time given by the Mohammedan historians for the invasion of Mithilā by Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq (1324). The retirement of the King of Mithilā into Nepal thus seems to be a fact ; but the story of his capture is probably a myth. For evidently Harasimha-deva was able to recover his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the Mohammedans, or after their voluntary retirement, that the 'Dhūrtta-samāgama' of

Jyotirīśvara and the 'Dāna-ratnākara' of Caṇḍēśvara, both of which mention the fight as having been brought to a successful termination by the Hindu king, were composed.

According to the traditions current in Mithilā, Harasimha-deva was the last ruler of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty in Mithilā (cf. 'Mithilā-Darpaṇ,' p. 65). But Manomohan Chakravarti found the names of at least two other kings of the same dynasty who ruled in Mithilā or over some part of it after Harasimha-deva (J.A.S.B., 1915, pp. 412-14). The Brahman ruling house of Kāmēśvara Ṭhakkura gradually established its power in Mithilā during the second half of the 14th century, and Vidyāpati, the greatest poet of Mithilā, flourished under the family of Kāmēśvara (c. 1400).

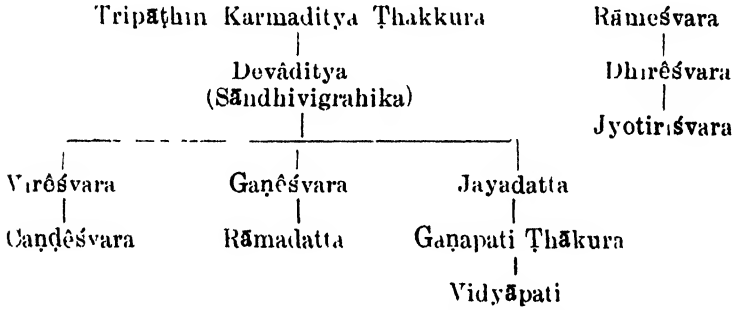
The name of the patron of Jyotirīśvara could not have been *Narasimha-deva*. There was a *Narasimha-deva* of the same Kārṇāṭa Dynasty who was third in descent from Nānya-deva, who founded the line in Mithilā: Nānya-deva (1st half of the 12th century) > Gaṅga-deva > *Narasimha-deva*. This *Narasimha* would be contemporaneous with the first Turkī invasion of Eastern India under the lieutenants of the Slave Kings of Delhi. His date, as given in the 'Mithilā-Darpaṇ' (p. 62), which partly relies on traditional evidence, is 1149-1201 A.C. An invasion of Mithilā by the Turks is in the probability of things during his rule, but the earliest Mohammedan authorities beginning with Minhājū-d-Dīn (second half of the 13th century) do not say anything about it, although they give enough details in their accounts of the fortunes of the Turks and Mohammedan arms in South Bihar, in Bengal, in Assam and in Orissa. Besides, the V. R. of Jyotirīśvara shows a number of naturalised Persian words (see *infra*, the section of the language of the V. R., § 60); and these from their nature could be adopted and popularised in the Maithilī speech only after a century's contact with the Mohammedans. From this, an earlier *Narasimha-deva* of whom we know the name only, with a

problematic conflict with the Turks about 1200 A. C., cannot be regarded as the patron of our poet, especially when we have the well-attested Harasiṃha-deva about whom we know through evidence from various quarters something fairly definite.

One bit of traditional information about Harasiṃha-deva we find from Vidyāpati's 'Puruṣa-parīkṣā,' which is a collection of short *contes édifiantes* in Sanskrit. In the section under the rubric अथ गीतविद्यकथा in Chapter III of the book, there is given the story of a singer from Mithilā (Tirabhukti) called Kalānidhi, who went to the court of king Udayasiṃha of Gorakṣa-nagara, and the latter was highly pleased with him and gave him much wealth : which made the local talents angry, and they challenged Kalānidhi to a contest in singing with the king as umpire. Kalānidhi refused this arbitration, and in excuse said that the only mortal who was a judge of music and singing after Śiva himself was Hariṃisha (Harasiṃha), evidently of his own land, Mithilā ; and now that Harasiṃha was no more, only Śiva could properly act as judge : इरो वा हरि (हर)-सिंहो वा गीतिविद्याविशारदौ । हरि (हर)-सिंहे गते स्वर्गं गीतिवित् केवलं हरः ॥ (I am indebted to Mr. Amaranātha Jhā of the University of Allahabad and to Paṇḍit Babuā Miśra of the University of Calcutta for the story and the quotation). This story gives a good sidelight into the accomplishments of Harasiṃha : that music and singing were well patronised in his court we can easily infer from the fact of Jyotirīśvara taking pains to vaunt his accomplishment in it in the 'Pañca-sāyaka' and the 'Dhūrta-samāgama,' and from the elaborate accounts of the musicians and singers with their cortèges which we find in the V. R.

Besides, Jyotirīśvara is not an isolated figure in the history of literary culture in Mithilā. According to a tradition current in Mithilā, which has been given by Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta in the Introduction to his edition of the Poems of Vidyāpati (published by the Vaṅgīyā Sāhityā Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1316, p. vi), Jyotirīśvara was a cousin of the grandfather of

Vidyāpati (c. 1400); so that the former could easily have flourished in the early part of the 14th century. He was evidently a member of a great family of Sanskrit scholars who flourished in Mithilā in the 13th and 14th centuries, and who are great names in the *smṛti* and other later Sanskrit literature. Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura, the greatest name in *smṛti* in Mithilā, was a scion of this family. He was a minister of Harasiṃha-deva, and conquered Nepal for him, and he was at the same time the author or compiler of a great digest, the 'Smṛti-ratnākara' in 7 sections. The family trees run as follows :



(cf. Manomohan Chakravarti in the J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 385; Nagendranath Gupta, Introduction to the Poems of Vidyāpati, pp. vi-vii; G. A. Grierson, 'Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan,' p. 9).

The exact relationship between Jyotirīśvara and the sons of Devāditya is not known. For one thing, Jyotirīśvara, it is said, has not been mentioned in the 'Pañjīs' or Genealogical Lists of the Mithilā Brahmans and members of the other high castes, and this 'Pañjīs' is stated to have started under the auspices of Harasiṃha-deva from the Śaka year 1232 (= 1311 After Christ) (cf. 'Mithilā-Darpan,' I, p. 206). This has induced one or two friends from Mithilā with whom I discussed this matter to think that Jyotirīśvara must have flourished before the establishment of the 'Pañjīs', and preferably during the reign of Narasiṃha-deva. But the evidence against that is

found in the work V.R. itself in its Persian words; and the absence of a positive statement in the 'Pañjīs,' the authority of which can be challenged, as in the case of the genealogical treatises of an uncritical epoch in all countries, should not outweigh other evidence in favour of the first quarter of the 14th century, for the date of Jyotirīśvara.

It is significant that the great *smṛti* work of Caṇḍēśvara is called a 'Ratnākara,' as also its component parts—the 'Kṛtya-ratnākara' the 'Dāna-ratnākara,' the 'Vivāda-,' 'Vyavahāra-,' 'Śuddhi-,' 'Gṛhastha-' and 'Pūjā-ratnākaras.' The 'Smṛti-ratnākara' with its seven component parts seems to have been compiled between 1315-30 After Cbrist (J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 386). The 'Varṇa-ratnākara' may be earlier than the 'Smṛti-ratnākara'; or by adopting *ratnākara* in the title of his vernacular work, did the author intend to pay a compliment to his great kinsman, Caṇḍēśvara, who was a statesman, scholar, jurist and possibly also a general at the same time?

The period during which Jyotirīśvara flourished was the golden age of Sanskrit studies in Mithilā of post-Mohammedan times. Barring the episode of the Moslem incursion, the normal life in the land of Mithilā seems to have been a peaceful and a happy one, when the scholars could carry on their literary activities without any hindrance. The 14th century was a very important one in the history of *smṛti* studies in Mithilā, under both the Kārṇāṭa kings and the kings of the family of Kāmēśvara. If it were a period of Mohammedan conquest, sweeping away the native dynasty, we could not have expected this flourishing state of Sanskrit studies in the land. The references to the fight with the Moslem invaders in both Caṇḍēśvara and Jyotirīśvara have a note of exultation, which shows that it did not permanently or seriously affect the normal life of the Hindu state, at least in its inner life.

The vernacular of the land was not neglected by the scholars of Mithilā: if the masses had their ballads about Lorik,

as at the present day, scholars seem to have found pleasure in compositions inspired by Sanskrit models and guided by the rules of Sanskrit poetics. Two generations after Jyotirīśvara came Vidyāpati, the greatest lyric poet of Eastern India, with only Caṇḍīdāsa of Bengal as his rival, till modern times. Mithilā was the resort of Sanskrit students from Bengal for some three hundred years after the conquest of the latter province by the Turks. She was the teacher and inspirer of Bengal in Sanskrit learning, in *smṛti* and specially in *nyāya*. Bengali scholars would come back home after finishing their studies in Mithilā not only with Sanskrit learning in their head, but also with Maithilī songs on their lips—songs by Vidyāpati, and also probably by his predecessors and his successors. These were adopted by the Bengali people, and they gave a new literary model and a new literary dialect, the *Brajabulī*, to Bengal. The Maithilī lyric similarly naturalised itself in Assam and in Orissa in the 15th century. At the head of this important Maithilī literature stands Jyotirīśvara Thākura. Considering the loving care shown by the scholars of early Mithilā for their mother tongue, it is sad to see the neglect of this highly cultured language among its present-day speakers, both scholars and others.

C. THE WORK, ITS SUBJECT MATTER, AND ITS GENERAL INTEREST

Paṇḍit Haraprasāda's note roughly indicates the subject-matter of the work. It is a sort of lexicon of vernacular and Sanskrit terms, a repository of literary similes and conventions dealing with the various things in the world and ideas which are usually treated in poetry. We have in it either bare lists of terms, or the similes and conventions are set in the frame-work of a number of 'descriptions.' The work is in prose. There were apparently more than seven chapters, probably there were eight. The chapters are suitably called *hallaḥ* or 'waves', as the work is a *ratnākara* or 'sea.' In

each *kallola* there are a number of these lists of terms and conventional similes : each of these lists, or descriptions, is preceded by the formula—अथ.....वर्णना. Each *kallola* has at its end its name together with the name of the author and the title of the work. In these colophons to the chapters, the name of the book has been consistently given as ' *Varṇa-ratnākara*,' thus, इति कविशेखराचार्यभोज्योतिरीश्वरविरचित-वर्णरत्नाकरे नगरवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः कल्लोलः ॥ Paṇḍit Haraprasāda, however, has always referred to the work as ' *Varṇana-ratnākara*.' The rubric *varṇanā* preceding each list or description certainly affords scope for this emendation, for *varṇa* might easily be a scribal error for *varṇana*. But it is better to keep [the name given regularly at the end of each *kallola* of the work. *Varṇa* of course does not mean *description*. But there is one sense of it found in medieval Sanskrit which would seem to apply in this case. Among other things, *varṇa* means, according to Hemacandra, Halāyudha and Mallinātha (cf. Böhtlingk and Roth's St. Petersburg Lexicon), *gīta-krama*, i.e., the order or arrangement of a song or a poem. The work, it would seem, is not so much an artistic composition in itself as a collection of *clichés*, ready-made material, to be utilised in an artistic composition. The purpose in writing the book is not to compose a descriptive poem in Maithilī : the *varṇanā* or *varṇana* of the various subjects in itself was not the aim. Rather the aim was to furnish lists of things one must mention in describing these subjects—of things in their proper order and proper setting (cf. the meaning *gīta-krama* for *varṇa*). The obligation to follow the accepted conventions was imposed upon the writer by the rules of rhetoric. The descriptions or the descriptive parts in the work are frequently very summary, and at times they are nothing but a mere string of comparisons. But the connected objects are fully enumerated, and the order of events in narrating a process is given in full. Frequently the author gives no description, but merely a number of

names of connected objects to which reference is expected to be made in fully describing something. Examples will be found below. The utility of such a work seems to have been that of a hand-book of poetical figures and a lexicon of connected topics and objects. It is a book of ready-made patter—often highly poetic no doubt—in the approved, orthodox Sanskrit style on a variety of topics, which would form the stock-in-trade of a Public Reciter—a *Kathaka*, as he is called in Bengal, or a *Vyāsa*, as he is called in Hindustān—who would cleverly bring it all in to embellish his narration of the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata, or the stories from the Purāṇas. An aspiring poet in Sanskrit or the vernacular might freely draw from this literary *vade mecum*. From a survey of the form and contents of the V. R., its author does not seem to have had any other aim than providing a book of 'order or arrangement' in describing things in a poem. The author was an accomplished Sanskrit scholar well-read in literature, and was a successful writer too in Sanskrit. If he wanted seriously to compose in Maithilī, we could expect something really artistic from him. But frequently the book is nothing but an enumeration of names, cyclopædic in character, no doubt, but a cyclopædia is not literature. The author's knowledge and reading were marvellous. Much of his material he got ready-made from Sanskrit books, *e.g.*, the names of the 18 Purāṇas, the 49 Winds, the 12 Ādityas, the 18 Chaste Wives of Legend, the 36 Weapons of War, the various movements in dancing, and so forth; but in other cases, in dealing with topics not found in the Sanskrit, and in making lists of vernacular terms, *e.g.* in enumerating the moves in gambling and in the game of chess, the passes in shampooing, the kinds of crocodiles, of trees, of flowers, in describing boat-gear,—the author undoubtedly had to go in for a considerable amount of personal research.

Such books of collections of terms and of aids in their profession for the professional reciter are not unknown in

other parts of India. In the sister province of Bengal, such *Kathaka's* hand-books have been found: and it would be interesting to compare their method and their contents with those of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' Rai Bahadur Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his 'History of Bengali Language and Literature' (Calcutta University, 1911, pp. 585-588) has given a brief account of the methods of the *Kathakas* of Bengal in narrating the Paurāṇik tales. He says: "there are formulæ which every *kathaka* has to get by heart,—set passages describing not only Çiva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Kriṣṇa, and other deities, but also describing a town, a battlefield, morning, noon and night, and many other subjects which incidentally occur in the course of the narration of a story. These set passages are composed in Sanskritic Bengali with a remarkable jingle of consonances the effect of which is quite extraordinary." Dr. Sen mentions a book of formulæ, supplied to him by a *Kathaka*, in which there are set passages on the following subjects: 1. A city. 2. Noon-day. 3. Morning. 4. Night. 5. A cloudy day. 6. Woman's beauty. 7. The Sage Nārada. 8. Viṣṇu. 9. Rāma. 10. Lakṣmaṇa. 11. Śiva. 12. Kālī. 13. Sarasvatī. 14. Lakṣmī. 15. A forest. 16. War. 17. Bhagavatī. It may be just mentioned here, that, except the descriptions of the deities, almost all these subjects have been treated in the V. R. Dr. Sen has given specimens of these set passages. They are rather more elaborate than what we find in the V. R., more finished and artistic. That is only natural, as the Bengali work is late, belonging apparently to the 19th century. The device has been perfected, but the spirit nevertheless is the same in both. Dr. Sen believes that the manner of delivering stories, with set formulæ and all, which is followed by the present-day *Kathakas*, is derived from the Vaiṣṇavas. But the V. R. is unquestionably a book of poetical conventions and of set formulæ going back to the 14th century, so that the pedigree of this style of literary narration, always

falling back upon set passages for aid, goes back to the times before the Vaiṣṇava revival in Bengal. Such aid-books for professional *kāthakas* are not unknown even at the present day; we find books in Bengali, called '*Kāthakatāśikṣā*,' actually to be advertised: evidently these are books of set formulæ and descriptions of the type of the MS. seen by Dr. Sen, and of the type of the V.R. Consequently the title '*Varṇa-ratnākara*,' being that of a work which gives the order or arrangement of a subject treated in a composition, orally delivered or written (generally orally delivered), is quite proper for it.

The titles of the seven *kallolas* are as follows: (1) नगर-वर्णन, p. 13a; (2) नायिका-वर्णन, p. 21b; (3) आस्थान-वर्णन, p. 33a; (4) शत्रु-वर्णन, p. 41a; (5) प्रयानक-वर्णन, p. 55a; (6) भट्टादि-वर्णन, p. 60b; and (7) श्मशान-वर्णन, p. 69b. The title of the eighth *kallola* is missing as that *kallola* is incomplete.

Owing to the loss of the first nine leaves, very little of the 1st *kallola* has been preserved. We have merely lists of some of the lower castes and classes (e.g., [५]नु कैसन देवू : नागल तेंगल तापसि तेंजि तांति तिवर तुरिआ तुलुक तुरुक टारुअ चेओल धाङ्गल धाकल धानुक धोआर धुनिआ धजिकार डोव डोव टारुअ खांगि पगार हाङ्कि ढाङ्कि भल चन्डार चमार गोंण्ट गोन्धि गोन्ति गोआर गाबर ओइ शुन्डिसार पञ्चवार पटनिआ परिगह चावि मुण्डरारि धीन्द कादव नागर प्रभृति मन्दजातीय तें वास, से कहसनाह जन । लहु लगल लोभी लवाल लयटोर लंड लङ्जिह लेषुट लहकालषद्वय लम्पाक एवम्भिष दशलकार संयुक्ताह), of some of the criminal classes (e.g., अवर कहसन देवू । चोर चञ्चल जुआर झिनार लगवार नेओवसाइड धलह पेटकट नाट कनकट नाकट मुण्डकोलुअ तडितोलुअ निषसन निसन्त निकावल निकिसान एक बिहार हवल्लुअ अनेक ये असदर्थ अनुचिचीतीत तकर आश्रय देवु), and also of various kinds of beggars and mendicants (आओर कहसन देवू । जगा योगी नगादि भरहर भडुआ चेङ्गा चतरिआ सुरतरीआ महीर गोरहआ बाहिकि परमा प्रभृति ये [= जे] अनेक भिषारि ते भरल). The noises and sounds of the city, through playing of all kinds of musical instruments, singing of ballads and songs connected with *Lorika*, and shouts of people crying "take!, give! break!

raise! give again! increase!" and all kinds of seemly and unseemly acts which would come to one's sight in a city with its motley crowd, are mentioned. Many of the vernacular terms, referring to society and life in medieval times in Mithilā, probably still exist in the country, possibly with slightly altered form and meaning. They can only be expected to have sought refuge with the pure Maithilī idiom of the lower castes, unaffected by Sanskrit or Hindī. A great many are probably obsolete.

It will not be possible to go through the entire lists here. Many of the vernacular terms remain obscure, and Maithilī scholars whom I so far consulted (including my colleague Paṇḍit Khuddī Jhā) expressed their inability to explain many of the old words; and meanings suggested in some cases do not appear to be convincing. To enable students of literature, society and culture in general in North-Eastern India in medieval times to utilise this work properly, explanations of these vernacular Maithilī words will be absolutely necessary. And this work can only be done with the help of the scholars of Mithilā. It is hoped that when the text as it is in the MS. is published the work will receive the attention it so richly deserves from proper quarters.

I shall only give the names of the various topics 'described' or listed in the following *kallolas*, mentioning noteworthy points of interest. At the end I shall quote *in extenso* a few passages by way of illustration of the general style and treatment of subjects in the work.

Kallola 2 begins with नायक-वर्णना. The *nāyaka* or hero is to be an expert in archery, skillful with the eight lesser attainments (*puasiddhis*, which are enumerated), and with the eight attainments relating to the world (*prākṛta-siddhi*, which also are named). He knows also the eight great attainments (*mahāsiddhis*, also named). He is practised in the use of the 36 kinds of weapons, the names of which are given. He knows the essence of the eighty-four kinds of kingly devoir

and polity (*rājanīti*), beginning with control of horses and elephants and ending in statecraft and decision at important junctures. He is endowed with mercy, charity, friendliness and all other qualities of the cultured folk. Besides, he is perfect, possessing all the thirteen qualities (names enumerated) of a lesser hero (*upanāyaka*). Then comes नायिका-वर्णन, The personal charms of the *nāyikā* or heroine are detailed forth, and also her mental and spiritual attainments. Her ornaments are named. Then follow some stock comparisons and figures—जनि काम देव संसार जिनि आयल तकरी पताका । जनि एकर रूप देव के इन्द्र सहस्राक्ष भेलाह ब्रह्माजे चतुर्मुख कएइलु । जनि एहि आलिङ्गण लागि एक कृष्ण चतुर्भुज भए गेलाह: “as if Kāmadeva came after conquering the world, and she is her banner; as if Indra became thousand-eyed to see her beauty, and Brahmā had made himself four-headed; as if for embracing her one Kṛṣṇa became four-armed.” The attendant and confidential friend (*sakhī*) of the *nāyikā* is then described—some four different descriptions enumerating the qualities and charms of the *sakhī* are given—*sakhīs* of the type (*jāti*) known as श्यामा, चित्रिणी, मोहिनी and भद्रा. (This सखी-वर्णना has been given in part below.) Not content with this beautiful description, our author gives the points in describing the smile of the heroine (नायिका-हास्य-वर्णना). Her smile is like all white and pure things known in Sanskrit literature—कुमुद, कुन्द, कदम्ब, कास, भास (cf. भासो हासः काञ्चिद्भासो विलासः), कैलास, कपूर, पीयूषक कान्ति; the smile ripples along like the waves on the ocean of milk moved by the southern breeze (शीर समुद्रक दक्षिणानिलें चालल तरङ्गक लहरी अइसन), etc., and the effect of the smile on the heart of poor young men who see it, is described. This finishes the second *kāṭhā*.

The third *kāṭhā* first gives an account of a royal court (स्थान-वर्णना) with the various officials and other people who throng in it. After an audience in the *darbār*, which is elaborately set forth, the king goes to his gymnasium and bath (*samara-hara*) where he is seated on an elaborate throne of wood, which is adequately described, and servants, some four shampooers (*maradaniā*)

named Sōndū, Gōndū, Kīratu and Kānlu, come with perfumed oil and the king has his body shampooed with oil, all the approved movements like छलकर, हयडोकर, एकहया, दोहया, मुहबल, etc.,—36 of them—are practised on him. Then follows the bath. Waters from the 12 holy rivers (all named) are placed in a 'copper-jar of gold' (सोनाक तमकुण्ड), the king sits on a sandal-wood stool, and has bath, and dries his person with a towel made of a costly cloth. He changes into dry garments, and a mirror is brought to him. Then comes देशोहरखि वर्णना—account of the temple into which the *nāyaka* goes to perform his worship. We have here an enumeration of the paraphernalia used in worship (*pūjā*). Then he goes to take his midday meal: the articles of food are described: it is a vegetarian dinner, milk and curd preparations predominating, and we have a list of all the delicacies of ancient Mithilā. Jyotirīśvara was a true Brahman in his long descriptions of feasts (नृत्यान्त भोजने विप्राः) There is another description also in this book, occurring at the end of the MS., and he gives a menu also in his 'Dhūrrta samāgama', in which meat and fish are included :

मांसं माषपटोलतक्रवडिकावास्तूकशकं वटः

सजीवन्यथ मत्स्यमुद्गविदलप्रायः प्रकारोत्करः ।

स्वादिवृत्तं च पयो घृतं दधि नव रम्भाफलं शर्करा

संक्षेपादिति साध्यतां सुबदने भिक्षा मदीया द्रुतम् ॥

(Act I.)

After his meal, the *nāyaka* must have betel-leaf, like a good Indian, and this gives the author occasion to enumerate the different kinds of limes and spices used in preparing the betel-leaf. Then we have शयन-वर्णना, with an elaborate account of the bedstead and the bed-clothes and the appurtenances of the bed-room. The hero goes to sleep, two expert barber-servants massaging his feet. He rises in the morning: and then follow the essential points to note in a series of descriptions of nature. We have a प्रभात-वर्णना, a मध्याह्न-वर्णना, a संध्या-

वर्णना, a रात्रि-वर्णना, with an appendage, an अन्धकार-वर्णना; then there is further a चन्द्रमा-वर्णना, and a मेघ-वर्णना. With this the third *kallola* finishes.

The fourth *kallola* is called 'the Description of the Seasons' (ऋतु-वर्णन), and consequently it begins with accounts of the six seasons वसन्त, ग्रीष्म, वर्षा, शरद्, हेमन्त and शिशिर, Spring, Summer, Rains, Autumn, Early Winter, and Winter. From nature, the author passes to art, and gives us a list of the 64 *kalās*. Then there is a list of the 16 great gifts (षोडशमहादान). We have further lists of gems (रत्न-वर्णना—18 kinds named), of lesser stones (उपमणि—32 kinds mentioned), of various kinds of clothes (वस्त्र—30 kinds), of various country stuffs (देशीय वस्त्र-वर्णना—over 20 sorts), of plain clothes (निर्मुषण वस्त्र—13 kinds), and of fine stuffs (नेत्र—14 kinds). A brief account of an *abhiṣeka* or installation ceremony follows, mentioning all articles pertaining thereto (अभिषेक-वर्णना). Various kinds of tents (वस्त्र-गृह) are then listed. Then comes an account of an astrologer (ज्योतिर्विद-वर्णना) with the names of treatises he has read, and the computations that he can make. This is followed by a rather long, and very interesting, though rather obscure, account of a gambling house (घूत वर्णना). From घूत-वर्णना he passes on to वेश्या-वर्णना (finishing with this statement, वसन्तसेना नामे वेश्या देषु) and कुट्टनी-वर्णना, which is, the description of an old woman acting as a go-between in love intrigues. The writer's sense of the grotesque and the humorous is well illustrated here. Paṇḍit Haraprasāda has given a sketch of this वर्णना. We may add that the account of the old woman (*Baḍāyī*), who is appointed to act as chaperone to Rādhā but really acts as the messenger of Kṛṣṇa, is described in the oldest Middle Bengali work that we have, the 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana' of Caṇḍīdāsa (second half the 14th century), in terms very like those we find in the V. R. for the *bruttanī*. We have after this, as the last item in the fourth *kallola*, कामावस्थान-वर्णना enumerating a number of erotic terms, the author's 'Pañca-sāyaka' attesting to the fact that he was

well-versed in the science of erotics (lists of the ten दशा s, the five arrows of कामदेव, the 8 सार्विक दशा s, the 4 kinds of कोमलाङ्गिन, the 7 kinds of कठिनाङ्गिन, the 10 kinds of सुम्बन, the 10 kinds of स्थान सुम्बन, the 5 types of नख-विन्यास, the 5 kinds of दशन-विन्यास, the 3 kinds of केशाकर्षण, and mention of the various आसन s and वन्ध s).

The subjects in the fifth *kallola* are on a different key. First comes a प्रयानक वर्णना, a fairly long account of a march of conquest of a king : the various kinds of horses, of elephants, and of troops in general—Rajputs of the 36 clans, among others ; the arms and accoutrements of the men and the animals ; and the sights and sounds on the march, and the general state of things as a consequence. Hunting is the image of war, and in this book also प्रयानक-वर्णना is naturally followed by आखेटक-वर्णना—description of the chase. Elephants of 8 kinds, horses of the 24 breeds, buffaloes (as draught cattle) of 8 kinds, and hunting dogs of 10 breeds—dogs and hounds which are described with their forms, their accoutrements and their training ; and the falcons with their hoods (सहचान, ता टोपर परिहृत्तोले) are also not forgotten. Beaters (*dhāwaka*), soldiers, horsemen, officers and courtiers join the hunt, and so great is the concourse, that with the sweat of the footmen the roads become muddy (पदातिक धर्म एन्हि वाट कादव भइ गर). The forest where the hunt takes place is described : and it is quite good a piece of वन-वर्णना. The forest is inhabited by wild tribes like the Kocas, Kirātas, Kols, Bhils, Khasas, Pulindas etc. (कोच किरात कोरह भिल एस पुलिन्द सवर छैरङ्ग मेर गोण्ट बोट नेट पइलिया पोष दीतवार सागर बान्तर प्रभृति अनेक जे म्लेच्छ जाति ताक निवासस्थान). There is mystery also in the forest—one finds not only the magic of the hunters to catch their quarry, but also one hears the song of the Kinnaras, and the airs sung by the Vidyādhara, celestial beings : the forest indeed is the abode of horror, and also of beauty (भीषणता रमणीयता दुइ दशा वनक देषु). After the forest follows an account of a cultivated garden (उपवनवर्णना). The various garden shrubs and plants,

birds, fruits, flowers, artificial fountains, and garden houses are mentioned. Here the author breaks off into poetry, and gives us a Sanskrit verse narrating the beauties of a garden. From the garden, we come to the **सरोवर** or lake. The water of the lake is described; the various kinds of lotuses that adorn it are named; also the various aquatic animals that live in it, and the animals that resort to it. Small tanks (**पोखरा = पुष्करिणी**) are then touched upon. We have after that **पर्वत-वर्णना**, with enumeration of trees and plants which grow on the mountain, and also of animals, birds and supernatural creatures that live in it. This *kallola* finally closes with an account of a sage's hermitage (**ऋष्याश्रम-वर्णना**): this is like a page out of any classical Sanskrit work, e.g. the *Kādambarī*.'

The sixth *kallola* concerns itself with the gentle arts of poetry, music and dancing. It first gives an elaborate description of a **Bhāṭa** or court bard, panegyrist and genealogist as well as emissary of kings. He was a high dignitary, and his costly dress was in keeping with his status. He was a scholar too, and a list is given of the works on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, rhetoric and prosody that he had to study, together with the languages (Prakritic) that he must know. His mental qualities are stated; and the kingly state in which he travels is described. Then comes **मल्लयुद्ध वर्णना**. In this account of wrestling, we have a number of the wrestler's terms, *tadbhava* words which are difficult to make out. The *Vidyāvanta*, a professional singer and music master, a person who is commonly known as a *Kalāwat* or *Kalāvanta* at the present day, is described, and his state and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more exalted *Bhāṭa*. In this connexion the names of the *rāgas*, of the *śrutis*, as well as the seven kinds of गायन दोष and the 14 kinds of गीत दोष are mentioned. After music comes dancing, and there are three sections describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing—**नृत्य-वर्णना**, **पात्र नृत्य-वर्णना** and **प्रेरणनृत्य-वर्णना**. The 10 qualifications of the drum-player (**सुरजि**). are mentioned: also the 12

kinds of drum music (*सुरज बाद्य*), the time beats (*ताल*), the 10 *rasas*, the 30 *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* or opposed sentiments, the 8 *sāttvika* or proper sentiments, and so forth. The *Pātra* is a dancing girl (at the present day in Hindustān she is called *paturiyā* or *pātura*—we are reminded at once of *Pravīṇa-rāi* *Paturiyā*, famous in Hindī poetry), who is well practised in the 32 kinds of movements, and in the 32 kinds of graces (all enumerated). The *Preraṇa* is a male dancer. The various kinds of dances they execute are described. Finally, there is a list of 27 kinds of *vīṇās* (*वीणा-वर्णना*).

The seventh *kallola* opens with a rather lurid and gruesome description of a cemetery and burning ground (*रमशान-वर्णना*), and this gives the title to this *kallola*. There is a great deal of the supernatural in the cemetery—8 kinds of Bhairavas, 8 kinds of Śaktis, the 64 Yoginīs, the 12 Vetālas—the latter with faces like the blazing furnaces of braziers (*कंसारिक भाल पजरल अइसन मुह*), with eyes like lamps lighting up a high pavilion (*ओबारी दीपले सल अइसनि आषि*), and hair like forest fire on the mountain (*परैत दावानल लागल अइसन केश*), etc. There are also *Kāpālikas*. The corpses, with their skulls, their hair, their entrails, fat, brains, blood, are burning with a shimmering noise inside the pyres; there are *rākṣasīs*, whose horrid physiognomy is described. The description is along conventional lines, but it has afforded Jyotirīśvara scope to express his sense of the terrible. There is a *śloka* at the end. Following the *रमशान-वर्णना* are *मदख्यल-वर्णना*, *समुद्र-वर्णना*, *लीर्य-वर्णना* (list of 70 names), *नदी-वर्णना* (31 names), *आषि-वर्णना* (68 names), and *परैत-वर्णना* (32 names). Then there is an incomplete list of the 84 Siddhas or Yogi saints, who belong to the late Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India, Nepal and Tibet, and partly to the revived Śaiva cult of the present day. Many of these Siddhas figure as composers of the Old Bengali Caryās, and Paṇḍit Haraprasāda has discussed this list in his Introduction to the 'Bauddha Gān O Dohā,' as noted before. Then

follows a further group of lists : of the 10 *Avatāras*, of the 8 forms of Śiva, the 9 Planets, the 8 Vasus, the 11 Rudras, the 10 Viśvedevās, the 15 Manus, the 12 Sādhyas, the 49 Winds (only 32 occur in the MS.), the 12 Ādityas, the 8 Elephants of the Quarters, the 18 Chaste Wives (*Pativrātā*), the 7 Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, the 18 Parvans of the Mahābhārata, the 8 Dikpālas, the 18 Purāṇas (only 15 names given), the 10 Upapurāṇas (these may be noted : 15 Purāṇas = लिङ्ग, विष्णु, देवी, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्माण्ड, स्कन्द, मत्स्य, कूर्म, वराह, वामन, वायु, आग्नेय, मार्कण्डेय, कालिका, आदित्य ; 10 Upapurāṇas : गरुड, नारदीय, भागवत, भविष्य, शास्त्र, हरिवंश, भविष्योत्तर, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर—8 names only occur), the 18 Smṛtis, and finally the Āgamas (रुद्रजामल, गौरीजामल, शिवधर्म, शिवरहस्य, शिवधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुधर्म, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, भूतडामर, कालोत्तर, प्रपञ्चसार, प्रज्ञापारमितासूत्रा, अष्टसाहस्रिका, नारायणी, मञ्जुवज्र, मञ्जुघोष, चतुःशतीय क्षणी कम्पि चतुरासन, उद्गीशा (?) सावारणी प्रभृति चवदह आगम). The seventh *kallola* closes with this.

We have next an enumeration of the Rajput clans (राजपुत्रकुलवर्णन) : 72 clans : in the list we find side by side with well-known names like Jādava, Pamāra, Baisawāra, Kachawāha, Cauhāna, Candela, Gohilanta, Bhaṭṭi, Paḍihāra, etc., names of countries like Mūrabhaṇja, Gomanta, Gāndhāra, Vardhana, and Khurasāna. Then follows a list of the 36 weapons, which already was given before in the account of the *nāyaka* in *kallola* 2. Then after the rubric देशवर्णना we have only 3 names, and then the MS. takes us in the midst of a list of works on medicine which evidently formed part of a वैद्यवर्णना. Some leaves or lines seem not to have been copied here—either through their absence in the original, or through the scribe's inadvertence. After the वैद्यवर्णना comes वहिन्नवर्णना, account of ships and river craft : and while the book is describing boats and their gear, it breaks off, with the colophon as noted above.

The portion which follows is from the Second Source MS., and it commences with the heading अथ राज्यवर्णना : it gives an account of women from various lands, and then passes on to a description of a *Vidyāvanta* again ; and while in the

midst of the account, there is sudden transition to the description of some ceremony. This is followed by an enumeration of the ceremonies connected with a wedding (अथ विवाहवर्णना). The next items are : द्वादशपुत्रवर्णना (list only) ; अष्टनायिका (enumeration only) ; वयिकपुत्रवर्णना, which is rather interesting, giving a list of articles sold by *baniyās*--sandal and other perfumes, spices of various kinds, metals, gems, clothes ; and commercial transactions are mentioned here. Then we have an unexpected चौरवर्णना, a string of similes, telling us that the thief is like such and such in his cleverness, his resourcefulness, his greed, his cruelty, his recklessness, etc., etc. Then comes a दुर्गवर्णना, an elaborate account of the surroundings of a fort. There is a further account of boats (नौकावर्णना), followed by an account of a physician (slightly different from the fragment occurring before) and an account of ships बोहितवर्णना which agrees with the बहित्रवर्णना occurring before. Finally comes an interesting descriptive account of a पुनर्भोजन—an evening meal (विभारी), and with this the MS. closes.

The above gives the general contents of the work. A few illustrative passages are quoted below.

अथ सखीवर्णना ॥ पृथिमा चान्द अमृत पुरल अहसन मुह । रवेत पङ्कज काँ
दल अमर बयिसल अहसन आँषि । काजरक कलोल अहसन भजुह । गयले फुले
नर्मदाक शलाका पूजल अहसन घोम्पा । पवराक पल्लव अहसन अघर । कनिष्पारक
करह अहसन नाक । सीन्दूर मेति लोटाएल अहसन दान्त । वेतक साट (माट ?)
अहसन बाँह । पारिजातक पल्लव आहसन हाथ । झोलन झोलल अहसन पयोधर etc.
(Page 18 a).

एकें अपूर्व विश्वकर्माणे निर्मरुद्धि जाक मुखक शोभा देखि पद्मे जलप्रवेश कएल
औषिक शोभा देखि हरिय वन गेल, केशक शोभा देखि चमरी पलायन कएल दूतक
शोभा देखि साखिवैं हृदय बीदीर्य कएल अघरक शोभा देखि प्रवाल द्विपान्तर गेल
कानक शोभा देखि बोद्ध ध्यानस्थित भेल कंडक शोभा देखि कशु सगुप्त प्रवेश कएल
खनक शोभा देखि चक्रशाक उच्छुद्ध भेल बाँहुँक शोभा देखि पञ्चक मृणाल पंक
विमल भेल...जंघयुगलक शोभा देखि स्थलकमलें निकुञ्ज आभय कएल । एवम्बिम्बर
रनालङ्कारयुक्त त्रिभुवनमोहिनी देख ॥ (Pages 20 a, 20 b.)

अथ प्रभातवर्णना । देवक आयतन पञ्चशब्द बाजु बाजें दण्ड पल घली जे प्र[भा]तज्ञान कराओल गजरार्जे शब्द कर वायसन्धि कोलाहल कर नचत्र तिरोहित भेल चान्द ग्लान भेलाह पूर्व दिश अरुणित भेल । भमर पुण्योद्देशें चलल वेदज्ञने वेदध्वनि आरहल कुलक्षी सलज भेलि घटरान्हि जलाशय आरहल बन्दीजनन्हि जयशब्द कर ओहदयिते ओहदा अवलोकल (Page 29 b) पथिक जने मार्गा-नुसन्धान कएल नायके इष्टदेवतास्मरण कर शुभोत्थान कर । (Page 30 a)

अथ भाटवर्णना ॥ मार (य ?) परिकली परिहले सारु सोनाक टाड चारि परिहले खड्गनीक पाग एक मथा बन्धले सोन सूचीक कराए एक देवगिरिआ पछेओला एक फाण्ड बन्धले तीथि चोथि बाङ्कि नीकि सोनाके परजे निङ्गवाली नोहक निर्म्मण्डलि सोनक डेर छुरी एक बाम क (55p) ह बन्धले । पुनु कहसन भाट । संस्कृत पराकृत अवहट्ट पैशाचिक सौरसेनी मागधी बहुभाषाक तत्त्वज्ञ शकारी आभिरी चाण्डाली सावली द्राविडी ओत्कलि विजातीय सातहु उपभाषाक कुशलह पानिवि चान्द्र कलाप दामोदर अर्द्धमान माहेन्द्र माहेश सारस्वत प्रभृति आठओ व्याकरण ताक पारग । धरणि विश्व व्यालि अमर नामलिङ्ग अजय पलूर शाश्वत रुद्रट उत्पत्तिनी मेदिनीकर हारावली प्रभृति ये अठारहओ कोष तँ व्युत्पन्न । ध्वनि वामन दण्डी महिमा काव्यप्रकाश दशरूपक रुद्रट शृङ्गारतिलक सरस्वतीकण्ठा भरणादि अनेक अलङ्कारक विश्व । शम्भु वृत्तरत्नाकर काव्यतिलक छन्दोविचिन्ति भारतीभूषण कविशेखर प्रभृति अनेक छन्दोग्रन्थ तँ कुशल । कादम्बरी चक्रवाल वावैस गद्यमाला अपूर्वखड्ग हरषचरित चम्पू वासवदत्ता शालभञ्जी कर्पूरमञ्ज (56a)री प्रभृति अपूर्व ग्रन्थ कृतान्यास । केवारी (वी ?) गोहरिआ साविक शुद्धमुख निरपेक्ष दाता कवि सातओ जे भट्टगुण ते' सम्पूर्ण ॥ स्वामिवर्णाङ्कित पीछकह मण्डलि छातीए धरओले भाट देषुग्रह तँका पछा केओ विछाखि चलल केओ पपरहि काहुका नाखिका छाती धएले काहुका पुत्र काहुका बहुआरि कर्मोनओ सुतह छाती धेरल जेओ बोलाओवतओ मन्द बोलत बलवड चरि चरि औषध षएले ओगला सेवानक अइसनि आषि कएले ओठ कुलकमाला एकहो परिहले मथापेनकगार से तन्हिक सिङ्गाल धारले थिरले अछु बाहे पे(षे ?)टे बाङ्गे बाह बोलह समथाह हथभोनके साप अइसनाह कात्तिक कल्याण करइतआह नगारि बिसतीस ते' परिवेष्टित भाट देषु ॥

• From the above account of the various subjects described or listed in this work, and from the extracts given above, its very great value as a compendium of life and culture in medieval India will be easily seen. The book would seem to stand worthily beside the 'Mānasōllāsa,' the Sanskrit cyclopædic

miscellany compiled during the reign of King Somēśvara III, Bhūlokamalla, the Cālukya king of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C. (published in part in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda). In the picture it presents of court-life and its surroundings, it reminds one of the "Aīn-i-Akbarī," which, with its lists and its detailed accounts, was written with an entirely different purpose—being a gazetteer with a conscious scientific and historical value which the V. R. as a literary lexicon is not. The atmosphere of the V. R. is purely Hindu, and pre-Mohammedan, although it was composed a little over a century after the establishment of the Mohammedan Turkī power in Northern India. The pre-Mohammedan atmosphere which the work breathes is a sufficient indication of its genuineness, although the MS. was copied some two centuries later. A few Persian words occur in it, which are given below, show the presence of Persian-using Turks in the land.

The all-embracing scope of the work is a noteworthy thing, and we are exceedingly thankful to the scholar and the poet who had the happy idea in his mind of preparing a book for the guidance of poets and narrators in the vernacular. Jyotirīśvara Thākura must have been a man with a wholesome all-round interest in life. He was not a simple Vedic priest whose mouth had frequently to taste the acrid *soma*-juice; and he was not a pedantic *littérateur* either. His 'Pañca-sāyaka' shows that he was a keen student of the *ars amoris* also. His catholic observation, like that of our *Kathakas*, who to drive a moral lesson home must largely draw upon their own observations in life, and must bring in verisimilitude in their narrations, did not consider any aspect of life with which he had to come in contact as too low or beneath his notice. He takes us through the city, and gives us a little glimpse into the ugliness that was in a medieval Hindu city, as in all cities of other ages and climes: he tells us what knaves and beggars we meet; what low and vulgar fellows

congregate and shout and jostle and move in dirt and filth ; he gives us romantic descriptions of noble heroes and beautiful heroines, perfect in their personal charms and accomplishments. He shows us round the court, and tells us who is who in the throng. He gives us little inside views of the intimate life of the princes and noblemen, shows us how they bathe and what they eat, and even lets us have a peep into their sleeping chamber. He is a poet by instinct, and this in addition to his powers of observation. The quiet dignity of his sweet Maithilī tongue gives him an additional charm. His little sketches of morning, noon, evening, and night with its darkness, of the various seasons, of the forest,—all these have the stamp of poetic genius. In spite of the conventional devices employed, the light of a broad intellectual sympathy shines through everything. His similes seem to come so naturally, although we know them to be the conventional phrases passing current as small change of literature in mediæval India. And how lightly does he step among all sorts and conditions of men, and their wares and their stock-in-trade ! He is our guide through a fashionable gambling house, and he bewilders us by his familiarity with the various games that are on, as well as by his knowledge of the ways of the men who gather there ; he is apparently a connoisseur knowing the various kinds of stuffs, and gems, and spices and perfumes, which the *baniyās* of the bazaar, and the drapers and gem-cutters and druggists sell. He stands to watch the troops on the march, or a royal cavalcade going out to hunt in the jungles of the Tarai : and he knows the Rajput soldiers riding past by their clans, and he knows what weapons they wield, and what horses they ride, or what dogs are led in the leash. The *Bhāṭa* or official bard of the court, who was often a sort of ambassador to his king, was a person of consequence, well-trained in all kinds of learning ; and he was apparently a person whom our scholar-author knew very well, and admired. He also knew very well the professional singer,

the *Vidyāvanta*; for Jyotirīśvara himself was by his own showing an accomplished musician and singer (in his 'Pañca-sāyaka' and in the 'Dhūrta-samāgama'). He recognises Gōndū, Sōndū, Kiratu and Kānhu, the four humble servants who come to massage their master, and he calls them by name. He had a fine sense of humour: certainly he was not a वेदाध्ययनजडमति; descriptions, like that of the old *Kuṭṭanī*, and, besides, his characterisations in the 'Dhūrta-samāgama,' with the decision of Asajjātimīśra as the final *dénouement*, show how heartily he can laugh at the oddities and the frailties of men. He was equally at home at a wrestling match and at a *nautch* party, and he takes a man of the world's delight in acquainting himself with the details in either kind of exercise of the human body. As a Brahman of the court, he gives us ample indication of his being an adept in the gastronomic art also. In fact, he gives us an epitome of the life in a Hindu court in the early part of the 14th century. Unfortunately, through the MS. being defective, we have no means of knowing whether his survey included life in the village as well. In the 'Dhūrta-samāgama,' he has given us just the kind of a little description of the house of a prosperous farmer which tempts us to believe that he did not neglect the life in the country side:

भगवं, पेक्ख पेक्ख, विहिद-भगवज्जण-मुण्ड-सरिच्छ-बहुअर-महिस्सी-खम्भ-सोहन्त-
चरस्सालं, इदो तदो संचरन्त-बाल-गोवच्छ-सोहिदं पीणुसुंगत्थालसपरिक्खलन्त-
मन्दसंचार-रमणिजावासपरिसर-संचरन्त-वेडिआसमूहं कस्सवि महाधणस्स
वासभगणं विलोईअदि (Act I).

As it is, his lists and his little descriptions give us a veritable 'Bihar Court Life' for the 14th century, and as this court was in intimate touch with the life of the commonalty, we get valuable hints as to the life of the common people also from it, if not actually of 'Bihar Peasant Life' in those days. Perhaps he did not feel so much attracted to the rustic folk and their ways as to the cultured people, Paṇḍits, musicians

and others, of the little provincial town of Sīmarāmapura (the present-day Simraon) which was the capital of his patron. The religion that he describes or hints at is the ordinary religion of the cultured Hindu of medieval times. He has an occasional mention of Buddha and of the Buddhists, for Nepal with its Buddhist Newari rulers was a neighbouring state, and Buddhism was not yet dead or transformed into the current Hindu cults on the plains of Eastern India, even in the 14th century. The Nātha or Yogī sect was strong, a sect which apparently had combined Śaiva Yoga practices with some of the notions and traditions of Tantrik Buddhism: and Jyotirīśvara, good Brahman though he was, thought it to be in the nature of things to include the 84 Siddhas of this sect which had established itself in popular favour by the preceding century, and apparently was ingratiating itself with the orthodox by its frank and open allegiance to Śiva and to the Yoga practices.

The kaleidoscopic view of life in North-Eastern India of the 14th century as presented in the V. R. affords a valuable commentary on the epigraphic and other literary records of the contemporary and earlier periods. The list of officers and courtiers given under **आस्थानवर्णेना**, for instance, is longer than similar lists found in earlier Bengal and other North-Eastern grants on copper plate, and these are mutually complementary. The gambling saloon described by Jyotirīśvara is apparently of the type known to the author of the 'Mṛcchakaṭika' as well. Jyotirīśvara calls a gambling house a *ṭeṇṭasāra*, i.e., *ṭeṇṭa-sālā*, and there used to be a temple of the Devī near by; he also knew the word *ṭeṇṭā-karālā* (p. 39 a), in what sense exactly we do not know, but apparently to mean a person who visited a gambling house; and over four centuries before him, Rājasekhara has used the word in the feminine form (*ṭeṇṭā-karālā*) as a term of abuse, in his 'Karppūra-mañjarī.' The names of the various objects of luxury, and other articles mentioned in the V.R., are explained by similar terms found

in the earlier Sanskrit literature, and *vice versa*. All this goes to make the work a document of first-rate importance in the study of culture in early and mid-medieval times in Northern India. The fact that the work is written in a vernacular speech, with *taubhava* or Prakritic forms of a great many of the Sanskrit words, renders its importance all the greater, as affording us a sure evidence of all or most of the items of this culture, material and intellectual, having become a part of the daily life of the people even when they did not know Sanskrit. Apart from its special importance for Mithilā and apart from its linguistic interest, the 'Varṇaratnākara' thus becomes a work valuable for the student of Hindu culture in general. Eastern India unfortunately does not possess any considerable literature going back to Early Modern Indo-Aryan times from which one could draw inferences about the life of the period. With its Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and Early Gujarātī (or Old Western Rājasthānī) literature, Gujarat and Rajputana are more fortunate in this respect. Hence the unique position of this old Maithilī work, giving a great deal of useful and exact information.

D. THE LANGUAGE OF THE 'VARṆA-RATNĀKARA.'

Very few *authentic* specimens of literature in a Modern Indo-Aryan language going back beyond the 15th century are available. We have the Old Bengali *Caryās* (their language is slightly tinged with Western Apabhraṃśa forms), which belong to the period 950 or 1000 A.C. to 1200 A.C., and after that, we have the 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana' of Caṇḍīdāsa, preserved in a contemporary MS. dating from the second half of the 14th century. The *Caryās* have been a fortunate find for the history of Bengali. As for Hindī, the literary traditions of Western Hindī go back to the 12th century, not considering the references to earlier works, or to

writers who certainly employed Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa, *e.g.*, poets like Puṣya-kavi of the early part of the 8th century, and Khumāṇa of the first half of the 9th : Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa had not as yet developed into a Modern Indo-Aryan speech, *i.e.* into Western Hindī. But the works attributed to the 12th century and 13th century authors, like Kedāra Kavi (c. 1150 A.C.), Ananya-deva (1148 A.C.), Candā Baradāi, and Nalha (author of the 'Bisūla-deva Rāsau', c. 1216 A.C.), are either unobtainable, or are late and spurious, so far as their reputed authorship is concerned. Authentic specimens of Western Hindī poetry belong only to the 15th century, and even then it is questionable how far the language of the time is preserved, as there are very few old and reliable MSS. A poem ascribed to Rūmānand (14th century) is preserved in the Sikh 'Ādi Granth': but the language is to some extent modernised, besides showing one or two forms which do not strictly belong to Western Hindī. Eastern Hindī remains are later still, first half of the 16th century, in the 'Padumāwat' of Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī. Present-day Gujārātī and Western Rājasthānī (Mārwarī) are derived from a common speech which has been called Old Western Rājasthānī, and which originating in the 13th century out of the Apabhraṁśa dialect current in W. Rajputana and Gujārat in the 11th and 12th centuries was current as a single and undivided speech up to the 16th century. Specimens of literature in this Old Western Rājasthānī speech are therefore equally Old Gujārātī and Old Mārwarī specimens, and these have been found dating from the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, but none earlier than the 14th century. Mārāṭhī, however, possesses a genuine old text dating from the last decade of the 13th century—the 'Jñānêśvari' of Jñānadeva, a verse commentary with translation of the 'Bhagavad-gītā.' Of the other Indo-Aryan languages. Oṛiyā is the fortunate possessor of one or two short inscriptions belonging to the second half of the 13th century; but the others—Panjābī, Lahnda, the Pahārī dialects, Sindhī—came

very late in the field to be preserved in literature which is still extant. Outside India, there is Elu, or Old Sinhalese, which in some of its extant remains goes back to the 10th century.

The importance of the V. R. as being one of a comparatively small number of authentic works in a modern Indo-Aryan language, which goes back to the 14th century, may well be realised in discussing the development of Modern Indo-Aryan. Its position is equally important with the 'Caryās' and the 'Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana' of Bengali, the 'Jñānēśvarī' of Marāṭhī, and the earlier Old Western Rājasthānī, Brajthākhā and Awadhī works.

Words and forms in the V. R. have their parallels in the other New Indo-Aryan languages, especially in Bengali, the sister speech of Maithilī, and to some extent also in its cousin and neighbour Awadhī. These parallel forms elucidate each other's history. A good many Early Bengali words, for instance, which could not be explained because of the great advance in their phonetic development, became clear as to their origin and meaning when the corresponding Early Maithilī forms as in the V. R. were found. I can mention two such words—Early Bengali *āhuṭha* (< *ardha-caturtha* = $3\frac{1}{4}$) and *mauhāri*, *mohāri* (= a kind of win dinstrument, Skt. *madhukarikā*). Above all, there is the supreme importance of the work in the study of Maithilī philology, as the oldest document in the language, antedating Vidyāpati by two generations. Its language is more archaic than anything we find in the current poems of Vidyāpati, which itself is archaic enough for Modern Maithilī. It is clear that the Maithilī speech was a far simpler idiom than what it is at the present day, especially when we consider its rather complicated conjugalional system.

The MS. of the work is two hundred years younger than the work. Consequently we must assume that some at least of the original 14th century forms have been altered to those

of the later period. This reservation is to be made first of all in considering the language; and we shall have to see how far the older, more genuine speech of the 14th century could be modified into the language current at the time of copying,—in pronunciation, in forms, in syntax and in vocabulary.

The peculiarities of the language are now discussed.

[1] ORTHOGRAPHY, PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY.

§ 1. The orthography of the MS., dating as it does from the beginning of the 16th century, cannot be expected to represent faithfully the pronunciation of the 14th. But the general indications regarding the phonetics of Early Maithili of the 14th—16th centuries are valuable. The orthography also throws some light on the mediæval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Mithilā.

(a) The Vowels.

§ 2. The simple vowels were \check{a} [= Λ , ∂], \bar{a} (=long and short), i (\bar{i}), u (\bar{u}), e (= \check{e} , \bar{e}), o (= \check{o} , \bar{o}), and probably also $\bar{\partial}$.

§ 3. The pronunciation of \check{a} seems to have been as in Modern Maithilī, *i. e.* an intermediate sound between the North Indian [Λ] (= u in South English *hut*) and [∂] (= o in South English *hot*), when it was stressed; and when unstressed, and in final positions, it had probably become [∂], the so-called neutral vowel, as early as the beginning of the 14th century. This final and unstressed $-\check{a}$ = [∂] was being dropped from pronunciation at time of the copying of the MS., if not earlier: witness orthographies like **पतलु(ले)ष** as in *pātālā aīsānā duhpraweśā, strī-kā caritrā aīsandurlakṣa* (= *aīsānā durlakṣa*) (31b); *kaisanāha* beside *kaisanā āha* (frequently); *tinu* beside *tināhu* (48b). The dropping of the final unaccented $-\check{a}$ seems to have

been established in spoken Maithilī by the beginning of the 16th century: in Bengali, it certainly did by the middle of the 15th.

§ 4. *ā* becomes weakened to *ǎ* in compounds and in some suffixed forms when it loses its stress: e.g., *kāna* 'ear,' but *kāna-kaṭa* 'ear-cutter' (10a); *chāḍae* 'leaves,' *chāḍāwia* is disjoined' (77a); *kāpala* 'cloth,' *kāpala-ghara* 'tent' (36b); *rājā*, but *rājāesa* < *rājādeśa* (47b); *dāta*, *dānta* 'tooth,' beside *dāta-chā* < *danta-ksata* -(60a); *bājana* *ḷājāia* 'music was played' (47a). Unaccented *ā* was probably pronounced short, as in Modern Maithilī (cf. Grierson, Maithilī Grammar, § 7): cf. the spellings *bidāñota* and *bidāñota* < *vidyāvanta-*; *marahāṭhī* (57a) and *marahāṭhanī* (71b) < *mahārāṣṭra-*; *āora*, *āora*, *āvara*, *āwara* 'and' < *apara*.

§ 5. There is no uniformity as to the use of *ĩ*, *ī* and *ũ*, *ū*, especially finally: e.g. *dīna* 'day' (30a), *deṣū* (= *dekhū*), beside *deṣū* (= *dekhū*), 'seen,' frequently; *bidīrṇa* = *vidīrṇa* (20b); *kumbhīra* (51b); *dharaṇī* (51b); *tinī* = *tīni* 'three' (57a). Generally, the short forms are preferred; and considering that in Modern Maithilī, these final short -*i*, -*u* are very short (almost indistinct) sounds, it is natural to expect this modification or weakening of them in the 16th century, and possibly even earlier.

§ 6. *e* and *o* were both long and short. They were short especially when they formed the second element of a diphthong. Examples: *bṛṭiā* 'girl' (76b), *kaṣṭe* 'done,' *bhaṣṭ gelāha* 'became,' *gōāra* < *gopāla* (29b), *āṭhaṣṭ* 'eight' beside *āṭhahu*, *calaṣṭe* 'gone,' *karaṣṭe* 'done,' etc. See Grierson, § § 11, 12, 13, 14. In the interior of words, *e* and *o* commonly stand for *yā* (*yē*) and *wā* (*wō*): e.g., *kaela* beside *kayala* 'done,' *āora* beside *āwara* 'and.' Cf. *āśraye* = *āśrae* = *āśraya* (30b). Conversely, *ya* (and *wa*) figure for *e* (and *o*): e.g., *rājaputraya* = *rājaputraṣṭ*, instrumental (22a); *gosāyīna* = *gosāyīyē* = *gosāwīṣṭ* < *gosvāmī* + *-ena* (13a).

§ 7. The sound of \bar{v} , long, seems also to have occurred : it was written \check{a} , and ao : e.g., a ($= \bar{v} < au$) 'and' (38a), also occurring as au (56a) and as u (38a) ; the post-position $-sañho$ ($= sañho$) 'with, from' figures also as $sā$ ($= s\check{a}$) at p. 75a : the present Maithilī equivalent is $s\check{a}$. Cf. *sarahara* ($= s\check{a}ra-$) beside *samarahara* (24b), *masaharī* 'mosquito net' (36b) beside *musari* = *musārī* (28b) ; *ath'* *onacāsa-bāyu barnāna*, where *onacāsa* = *onācāsā* $< unapañcāsā$.

§ 8. The diphthongs were *ai* and *au*. These are written *ai*, *aĩ*, *ayi* and *au*, *aĩ* : e.g., *baisala*, *baīsala*, *bayisala* 'sat' (the last occurring at p. 18a) ; *gaū* 'went, gone.' The disyllabic $a-ĩ$ (and $a-ū$) probably also occur, written *aĩ* or *ayired* : (and *aĩ*) e.g., *japuīte* beside *jarayite* (63b).

Other vowel combinations occurred, but it seems that they had a *y* or *w* glide in between, making two distinct syllables : thus *deite acha* 'is giving' (29b) beside *deyite* (77a) ; *hoite* 'to be' (29b), *koiri* 'a caste' (29b), *dhuniā* (10a), *dekhuaḥa* etc. The groups *ae*, *ao*, *ou*, *ia* may be regarded as diphthongal.

§ 9. Nasalisation of vowels. This is denoted by the *candra-bindu* sign, but in the case of \bar{r} , \bar{u} (or \bar{y} , \bar{i} , \bar{y}), we find the use of \bar{n} : e.g., *gosāññā* = *gosāyīyē* = *gosāwīrē* (13a), *māñusi* = *māñusi*, *māñusi* $< mātr̥svasr-$ (41a) ; *pañu* = *pañu* $< *pa(w)uñā < paduma < padma$ (20b) ; *sarāñi* = *sarāñi* = *sarāve* (77b) ; *bhañe* = *bhayē* 'through fear' (30b) ; *sañho* = *sañho* $< sama-$; *bidāñota* = *bidāñota* $< vidyāvanta-$ (57a) ; *bhañuḥa* = *bhañuḥa* = *bhrū* (18a).

There are cases of nasalisation through contact with a nasal in the word : e.g., *māñusi* $< māñi$ (41a), *bāñdhala* = *bāñdhala* 'bound' (20b), *kāñā* $< kāñā$ = *kārṇa* (20b), *munthā*, i.e., *māñthā* beside *mathā* $< mastaka-$ (56b), *kāñti* = *kāñti* (77a), *agañuñgi*, *pachañuñgi* $< agra-$, *pañcāt-* + *añga-* (75b). The above examples would demonstrate that the habit was to nasalise contiguous vowels if there was a nasal sound in the word, as is the way in Bengali.

Spontaneous nasalisation, of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) as well as Modern Indo-Aryan (Maithilī) origin, also is found: *e.g.*, *himsana* = *hṛsana* = *hreṣā* (47a); *bṛta* < **benta*, *betta* = *vētra* (74b); *dasanūdhī* = *daśa* + *āyudha-* (57b); *bāha*, *bāhū* = *bāhu*; *adhikāri* = *adhikāri*; *uṇca* = *ñca* = *ucca*; *sūsū* 'porpoise' (51b), cf. Pali *sumsumāra*, but *sūsūk* in Bengali.

Cases of loss of nasalisation are not absent: *e.g.*, the instrumental affix *-ē* < - *ena* also occurs as *-e*. See below, *passim*.

§10. The Sanskrit *r* was pronounced both as *ri* and as *ru* (*ru*). Thus, *triparva* = *triparva* (75a); and *prṇimā cānda* = *pūrṇimā cānda* (18a). The latter pronunciation (*ru*, *w*) is now found only in the Deccan and the South. Oṛiyā falls within the *ru* area now, but the *ri* pronunciation obtained in that language in the 13th century, as epigraphical records show.

Later Maithilī Umlaut is unknown. But Epenthesis seems to have come in: cf. § 52 (i) below.

(b) The Consonants.

§11. The sounds were the following, as in Common Modern Indo-Aryan:

<i>k</i> <i>kh</i> <i>g</i> <i>gh</i> (<i>ṅ</i>)	<i>c</i> <i>ch</i> <i>j</i> <i>jh</i> (<i>ñ</i>)
<i>ṭ</i> <i>ṭh</i> <i>ḍ</i> <i>ḍh</i> (<i>ṇ</i>)	<i>t</i> <i>th</i> <i>d</i> <i>dh</i> <i>n</i>
<i>p</i> <i>ph</i> <i>b</i> <i>bh</i> <i>m</i>	<i>y</i> <i>r</i> <i>l</i> <i>w</i> ś.s <i>h</i>

§12. The nasals *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ* occurred only before their corresponding stops and aspirates, never singly. Intervocal *ñ* means only the nasalisation of the contiguous vowels, accompanied by a glide *y* or *w* (see *supra*, § 9). *ṇ* occurs in *tatsamas* only; and in *tadbhavas*, as well as in *semi-tatsamas* and frequently also in *tatsamas*, *ṅ* and *n* are used indiscriminately, generally as *n* (or its substitute *l*): which shows that the cerebral *ṅ* sound was lost. Thus, *Cānura* = *Cāṇura* (25a), *pānī* = Pkt. *pāṇīya*, *Cauhāna* (44a) = *Cauhāṇa*, *Nārāyaṇī* = *Nārāyaṇī* (69b),

banika beside *baṇika* (73b). *Tadbhava* words as a rule have *n*. In Mithilā, at the present day, Paṇḍits pronounce *n̄* as a nasalised cerebral *ɳ*, $\frac{ॢ}{ॣ}$ i.e., \tilde{r} , in *tss.* and *stss.* In *tbh.* words, however, there is only *n* at the present day: which shows that the cerebral sound is not proper to Maithilī. The loss of the *n̄* sound in Maithilī took place undoubtedly at the time of the copying of the MS., but we are not sure whether the absence of it characterised Maithilī of the 14th century.

§13. The Modern Maithilī assimilation of a voiced stop or aspirate to a preceding nasal—*ṇg(h) > ṇ(h)*, *ṇj(h) > ṇ(h)*, *ṇḍ(h) > n(h)*, *ṇd(h) > n(h)*, *ṇb(h) > m(h)*—seems not to have been characteristic of the language of the V. R.; e.g., *sṇḡā* = *śṛṇga*- (10b), *agaṇṇgi*, *pachauṇgi* = *agra*-, *paścāt*- + *aṇga*- (75b), *daṇḍiā* = *daṇḍikā*- (28b), *dāṇḍa* = *daṇḍa* (39b), *caṇḍāra* = *caṇḍāla* (10a), *cāṇḍa* = *caṇḍra* (18a), *kumbhīra* (51b), *kāṇḍha* = *skandha* (57a), *khāṇḍa* = *khaṇḍa* 'sugar' (77a), *sīndūra* (18a), *bandhale* (55a), *śimbali* (49b), *sonḍha* = *sugandha*, *dālimba* (50a), *kambala* (28b), etc. The nasal in all the above instances was the 'reduced' nasal sound, a sort of half-way house between the full nasal of Middle Indo-Aryan and the nasalisation of the vowel of later New Indo-Aryan. The spellings *dānta* (beside *dāta*), *pāñca*, *cāṇḍa* (beside *cāda*) *śompā* = *khompā* (cf. Bengali *khōpā* 'done up hair of a woman'), *bāṇki* < *vakra*- (55a), *kāṇḍa* < *kaṇṭaka* (74b), clearly indicate the 'reduced nasal' pronunciation for the 14th century.

That the post-nasal stop (or aspirate) was fully pronounced (at least in the case of the gutturals) is evidenced from spellings like *pāṇga* = *pāṇka* < *paṇka* (51b), *aṇka-rakhaka* = *aṇga-rakṣaka* (23b), *kōṇgaṇa* = *koiṇaṇa* 'a country' (22a), and *ḍoṇkala* = *ḍoṇgara* 'hill' (53a), where we have interchange of *ṇg* and *ṇk*, the latter certainly indicating the preservation of the stop sound.

But already the assimilation was establishing itself in the language in the 16th century, and evidently it is due to the later

habit that we have forms like *Kāmoji* (44b) beside *Kamboja* (43a), *tamanlī*, *tamakunīḍa* < MIA. *tamba-*, *tāmra-* (25b), *dālīwa* < **dālīwa* < *dāḍimba* (18b) beside *dāḍimla* (50a), and *kamhābharaṇa* = *skandhābharaṇa* (72a), in which *mb* has become *m*, and *wlh*, *nh*.

§ 14. *Tatsama ks* was pronounced as (k)kh, perhaps as (k)khy, as in Bengali and Oriyā: e.g., *aṅga-rakhaka* (23b), *biyaṣ-khani* = *biṣakhhani* < *vicakṣaṇa-* (40b), *khyāra pradīpa* = *ksāra-* (76a), *khīrodaka* = *kṣīrōḍaka* (76b). Cf. the sts. name -*Lakhimā* = *Lakṣmī* at the time of Vidyāpati. In *tbhs.*, Old Indo-Aryan (Skt.) *ks* figures both as *kh* and as *ch*: e.g., *khīra* = *kṣīra*, *dākha* = *drākṣā* (50a), *data-chā* = *danta-kṣata-* (60a).

§ 15. As in other parts of North India (excepting Bengal) *ṣ* ष had the sound of *kh*, and ष is the letter commonly employed instead of the proper ख. This ष = 'kh is really a *semi-tatsama* pronunciation, in North Indian mediæval Sanskrit. The OIA. *s* had become *s* (or *ś*) in the *tbl.* element in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The OIA. *ś* was originally an *ich* sound (i.e., the sound of *ch* in German *ich*); and *ś*, with its tongue-tip properly curled up and touching the dome of the palate, gave rise to a hard *sh* sound which could be easily altered to a guttural spirant [x] (like the *ch* in German *ach*); and when the old articulation of *s* was lost in the vernacular Prakrits, but the tradition of a back, semi-guttural cerebral *ś* remained with the Sanskrit scholars, this *ś* > *s* > [x] (= *ch* in *ach*) could easily become altered to the familiar Indian guttural aspirate sound of *kh*. (See *infra*, § 21).

§ 16. *j* was indicated by both ज *j* and य *y*: which shows that pronunciation of य = *y* was as in Bengali, even in pronouncing Sanskrit words, viz., the letter य was *j* initially, and medially also in compounds. The forms *je*, *jā* are frequently written *ye*, *yā*; cf. *biyaṣkhanī* = *biṣakhhani* < *vicakṣaṇa-* (40b), *Dewajānī* (18a) = *Devayānī*; and *jantradhānuka* = *yantra-* (46b).

§ 17. *jñ* in *semi-tatsamas* had the mediaeval and modern North Indian value of *gy* or *gñ* : cf. the spelling *āṅgāpāla* (21b) for *āgyāpāla* = *ājñāpāla*.

§ 18. *y*, *w* were glide sounds, as much as in Modern Maithili. These never occurred initially. Medially, these glides were indicated by *y* and *w* (generally by *y*, —*w* and *b* being confused, and the letter for *w* being commonly used for both *w* and *b*) : thus—*jarayite* (63b), *suvara* = *suwara* = *sūkara* (52b), *guyā* = *gunā*, beside *guā*, < *gūvāka* (72b), *khelawāra* = *khelapāla* (38a), *awara* ‘and’, *kādava* < *kardama* (42b); or by *ñ*, when accompanied by a nasalised vowel (see *supra*, § 9); or by *e* and *o* (see *supra*, § 6). Sometimes the glides were left unindicated in writing : e.g., *pahaliā* = *pahaliyā* ‘hill folk’ (50a), *dhuniā* = *dhuniyā* ‘cotton-carder’ (10a), *Sauriā* ‘name of village’ (77b), *cādoā* = *cādownā* = *candrā-tapa-* (28b), *goāra* = *gowāra* < *gopāla* (29b), *musarōa* < *-rōā* < *-loman* (51b.)

Intervocal *w* could become nasalised, and represented by *m* : e.g., *Remanta* = *Revanta*, the God of Hunting, son of the Sun God (43a), *yamanikā* = *jañanikā* = *yavanikā* (59a). Conversely, we have denasalisation to *w* of *m* = *ñ* in *dālira* = *dālirā* < *dāḷimba* (18a), *kādava* < **kādāra* < *kardama* (42b).

Initially, *ts.* and *sts.* *r* (*r*) seems to have been pronounced as *b*, as now, in spite of the script of the MS. having two letters ङ = *b* and र = *w*. The letter for *w* is strictly used for the glide *w* sound in *tbhs.* and also for *ts.* and *sts.* intervocal *-v-* (*-w-*). The *anusvāra* seems to have changed *-r-* to *-b-* : e.g., एवम्बिध *ewamwidha* = *ewambūlha* for *ewam-rīdha* (50b) : cf. the Bengali spellings, *kimbā*, *sambād* etc.

§ 19. The र, *r* sound, as a modification of earlier intervocal *ḷ*, is as a rule written *l* in both *tbhs.* and *tss.* : e.g., *Byāli* = *Pyāḍi* (55b), *cūli* = *cūḷi* ‘bracelets’ (18a, 60a), *dālira* = *dāḷimba* (18b), *vriḷā* (20a), *Lāla*, *Cola* = *Lāḷa* (*Lāṭa*)

(*o*!a (22a), *Palihāra* = *Paḷihāra* = *Pratihāra* (22a), *ghaḷi* = *ghaḍi* (29b), *nivila* = *niviḷa* (31a, 31b), *kāpala* = *kāpaḷa* 'cloth' (71a), *ghola* = *ghoḷa* (37b), *Rāthana* = *Rāthanaḷa* < *Rāstrakūṭa* (44b), *ahelā* = *ahedā* = *ākhetu-* (4b), *baheli* = *baheḍi* (49b), *pahaliā* = *paḥaḍiyā* (50a), *pahāla* = *paḥāḷa* (53a), *Drāwili* = *Drāviḍi* (55b), *kolī* = *koḍi* 'score,' Bengali *kuṛi* (60a), *naukā-ghala* = *-ghaṭā* (75b), etc. *ḷ*, however, occurs in one or two cases: e.g., *pāḷari* (33b), *pāḷali* (49b) = *pāṭali*. Conversely, we find *ḷ* for *l* in some instances: *mṛṇāḷa* = *mṛṇāla* (36b), *kheḷa* = *kheḷā* (37b), cf. *kheḍi* 'play' in Middle Bengali. In Modern Maithilī, as in other Bihārī dialects, Māgadhī *l* (< *r*, *l* of OIA.) in *thhs.*, Sanskrit *r*, *l* in *tss.* and *stss.*, and original or derived *ḷ* > *r*, these three groups are all confused with each other, and genuine Bihārī prefers only *r*. The significance of *ḷ* > *r* being written *l* in the V.R., and also in other Early Maithilī texts (e.g., Vidyāpati), is not clear: more so when we find *r* for *l*, and *vice versa* — e.g., *sīṅkara* = *śīṅkala*, Bengali *śikal* (70b), *pāḷari* beside *pāḷali* = *pāṭali* (33b), *baurā* 'toe-knob of wooden clogs' = MIA. *baṅḷa-*, Skt. *mukula-*, Bengali *baulā* (76b), *tāru* = *tālū* (77a), *lewārī* = *nava-mallikā*, Middle Bengali *neyālī* (29a), *ḍīṅkala* = *ḍoṅgara* 'hill' (53a), *nārikera* (50a) *kaṭahara* = *kaṇṭaphala* 'jack fruit' (51a), *sorahiā* (75b) adj. from *solaha* = *soḷaśa* (55b), *ajagala* (50a), etc. Confusion between *r* and *l* is characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman Newārī — at least in Newārī MSS. of works in Indian languages: and Newārī is the northern neighbour of Maithilī. This want of uniformity in spelling in the V. R. is probably to be explained as being due to the *r* pronunciation (OIA. -*r*-, -*l*- > Māgadhī Pkt. -*l*- > Bihārī -*r*-) being established for intervocal *l* in Maithilī by the 14th century, but the influence of Sanskrit and old traditions in spelling kept or restored the *l* in many cases, and sometimes brought it in wrongly; and it substituted -*l*- also for -*r*- to which the earlier -*r*- from MIA. -*ḷ*- (< OIA.

-ṭ-, -ḷ-) and Skt. -ḷ- apparently had abutted, as in *kāpala* (<**kōpara* < *kāpara* < *kāpaḷa* < *kuppaḷa* < *karpaṭa*), *Drāwili* (<**Drāwiri* < *Drāwiḷi* < *Drāviḍi*). It is not likely that the *ḷ* for *ḷ* > *ṛ* stands for a cerebral *ḷ*: that sound, it is not impossible, obtained in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, but probably it was altered to *r* in Early Maithilī.

The letters for *n* and *l* resemble each other a great deal in the Maithilī script. It is likely, judging from dialectal Maithilī (and Bengali and Oriyā), and also from Middle Bengali, that initial *n*- and *l*- interchanged a great deal in Early Maithilī; it was probably a case of a tendency to change initial *l*- to *n*-. There is a notable form: *bīranī* (18b) 'pleat of hair,' for *bilani*? <**binanī*, cf. Bengali *binānī*, *binuni* (which seems to be from **varṇāpana*+*vinīyāsa*).

§ 20. *ṣ* occurs for *kh* in *tbh.* words as a device in spelling (see above, § 15): in *ts.* words, it was retained, but was pronounced as *kh*; e.g., *ḍōṣa*=*dokha* (58a), *mānuṣa-ka* (51b). In compound consonants, it certainly had an *sh*, may be an *s*, sound, as at present: e.g., *śiṣṭa*, *baṣiṣṭha*, *rāṣṭra*, *uṣṭa*, etc. OIA. *ṣ* became *s* (=dental? palatal?) in *tbh.* derivatives in Maithilī: *mahiṣa* (45a), *musa-rōa* (51b) *himsana*=*hreṣana* (47a), *solaha*=*ṣoḷaṣa* (60b).

§ 21. *ś* and *s* frequently interchange, both in *tbh.* and in *ts.* and *stss.* The dental letter is more common. Thus: *māṃśa*, (62b), *susruta* (75b), *raḷāśa*=*rājāśa* (47b), *niśāna*=*niḥsvāna* (47a), *śaciwa*=*saciva* (22b), *āraśi*=*ādarśikā*, *bāśi*=*vaṃśi*- (16b), *śaṃśaya* (16a), *śīsu* 'porpoise' cf. Skt. *śīsumāra* (51b), *baśala* < *upa-viś*, *pāsu* < *pra-viś*, etc. What was the pronunciation, since this interchange shows that there must have been one sound for the two letters? In Modern Maithilī, the dental sound only obtains. As a descendant of Māgadhī, we would expect only the *ś* sound to be inherited in Early Maithilī, as it is in Bengali. In current Maithilī writing, the interchange between the two letters is found commonly enough, and in the Kaithī alphabet

as employed in Bihar, $\text{श्र} = \text{ś}$ is the character for the sibilant sound. One sound obtained in Early Maithilī undoubtedly and it was probably a kind of *sy* sound, as in *Oṛiyā* which is to be taken as intermediate between *ś* and *s*. The use of *ch* for *ś* in *Dhanāchī* = *Dhanāśī*, *Dhanāsi* = *Dhanāśrī*, name of a *Rāgini* (58b), is noteworthy : similar change between *ch* and *c*, and the sibilant ($= \text{ś}$), is found in Bengali.

§ 22. *h* generally remains, and was in all likelihood a voiced sound as in Common Indo-Aryan. Intervocal *h* in the particle *hu* in the numerals was very unstable, and was probably dropped from pronunciation when the MS. was copied. (See *infra*, § 40.)

Some new aspirates developed in Maithilī, as in other New Indo-Aryan speeches : *nh*, *lh*, *mh*, *rh* : cf. *e.g.*, *Kānhu* = *Kṛṣṇa* (25a) ; the plural affix of the noun, *-nhi* ; *kānhā-bharāṇa* (72a), a secondary *nh* from *ndh* ; *kolha* = *kolla* = *Kol* (50a) ; *unhasaitē* = *ulhasaitē* < *ullas-* (63b). Instances of *mh* and *rh* do not occur, but doubtless they existed.

The *Phonology* of the language of the V.R., *i.e.* the history of the development of its sounds from MIA. and OIA., agrees closely with the general lines of development of most other New Indo-Aryan speeches, which are well-known. This could properly be studied in connexion with a systematic history of the origin and development of the Maithilī language.

[II] MORPHOLOGY.

(a) Declension of Nouns.

§ 23. STEMS. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. were reduced to a few vowel stems in second MIA. (Prakrit) ; and in the late MIA. (Apabhraṃśa) stage, through the further weakening of the final vowels, 3 stems only remained, *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*. The affixes of the *-ā* stem, *i.e.* what little remained of it from the elaborate declensional system of OIA., *e.g.*, a instrumental in *-ē* or *-e*, a genitive singular in *-aha* or *-āha*, a

locative in *-hṛ* or *-hi*, and a genitive plural in *-ṇa*, came to be added to the nouns of the other stems also, irrespective of their origin (either *tbh.* or *ts.*) or their final vowel *-ī* or *-ū* (which in the oblique forms tended to become *-ā*). The NIA. languages inherited these few forms from the Apabhraṁśa, and as necessity arose, built up new post-positional inflexions to indicate case relations. In their early stage consequently there was *one* system of declension only, with a few survivals of the other declensions.

§ 24. GENDER. The feminine affixes were, (i) the *tbh.* affix *-ī*, *-i* < *-ikā*; (ii) the *tbh.* *-nī*, *-ni* < **-inikā*, **-ānikā*; and (iii) the *ts.* affixes *-ā* and *-inī*, *-ānī* (in *ts.* words). Grammatical gender largely obtains. Adjectives, occasionally the genitive in *-kara* which is properly an adjective, and the past tense of the verb (really a passive participle adjectival form) take the feminine affix *-i* when they qualify or refer to feminine nouns. Thus: *takari patākā* 'his banner' (18a); *je āṭhao nāyikā athikaha, sehao mandi hōthi jakare rūpē* 'those 8 Nāyikās that are, even they become ugly (*mandi*) (by comparison) with whose beauty' (18b); *kaīsani nāyikā* (18b); *Biśvakarmāṇe nirmmauli...* *mukha-ka śobhā* 'beauty of face made by Viśvakarman' (20a); *trayodaśa-guṇa-saṁyukti nāyikā* (21a); *aīsani uṣ ṇi dharaṇī, aīsani santapti prṭhwi lhelī acha* (30a); *kājara-ka lhūti tele sicali aīsani rātrī* 'such a night as was like a wall of lamp-black moistened with oil' (31a); *Mārkkandā-ke sahodara jēṭhi bahini aīsani kuttani* (40b); *kula-strī salajja bhelī* (29b); *awasanni naṭinī* (34a); etc.

§ 25 NUMBER. The old plural affixes (OIA. > MIA.) were lost: e.g., OIA. *putrāḥ*—*putrāḥ* > MIA. *putto*, *putte*—*puttā* > Late MIA. (Apabhraṁśa) **puttu*, *putti*, *puttā*—*puttā* > Early NIA. *pūtu*, **pūti*, *pūtā*—*pūtā*. New devices had to be found out in NIA. to indicate the plural: but in the earlier stage of NIA. (as in the V.R.) the distinction between plural and singular was not indicated, and ordinarily was left to the context.

§ 26. In the Early Maithilī of the V. R., an affix *-āha* features commonly for the plural in the adjectives and passive particle (=past) forms: *e.g.*, *je aneka bāla ghola*, *se anuāha*; *se kaisanāha*, — *taruñāha*, *nonuñāha*, *baliāha*, *sūrāha*... *bāga bāga-sāṭa prabhṛti aneka aśwa-sīkṣā-prakāra*, *takā uttīr-ñāha* (42a) 'those numerous young horses, they were brought; what were they like? young, gentle, strong, brave; and the numerous methods of training horses, with the reins, with tightening of the reins, etc., they were passed in all that'; *daśao je āmanai-ka guṇa*, *tē samyuktāha je āmanai-kāha*, *se rājādeśe hakāri haluaha* (44b) 'those ten virtues of the servant (vassal), endowed with all of those the vassals (that were there), they raised a shout and marched at the order of the king'; *kaisanāha betālaha* = *kīdrśāḥ vetālāḥ* (61a); etc. But this plural affix *-āha* is frequently omitted with reference to plural nouns, and on the other hand, it has become an honorific affix for the singular as well: *e.g.*, *naksatra tirohita bhela*, *cānda mlāna bhelāha* (29b) 'the stars disappeared, the moon became pale'; *āditya...astācala gai apagata bhauāha* (30b) 'the sun went to the mountain of setting and passed away'; *Kṛṣṇa caturbhujā bhae gelāha* (18a) 'Kṛṣṇa became four-armed'; *nāyake paera pakhālala, suci bhae baīsalāha* (76b); *udgīta nigaraitāha, sāma gabaītāha, aneka ṛṣi-kumāra dekhuaḥa* (55a); cf. *je aneka rāṣṭrakīha, se kaisanāha* (fem. form, *rāṣṭrakī+āha*: 71b) *rājā dekhuaḥa* (23a) 'the king was seen; etc.; etc.

This *-āha* seems to be the Apabhraṃśa genitive singular affix (= *-asya* of OIA.), which was extended to form the plural. A similar use of the genitive singular for the nominative plural is not unknown in other New Indo-Aryan speeches: witness the origin of the Bengali *-erā*, *-(a)rā* < *-erā*, *-arā* of the genitive singular, witness the use of the forms *hamani-kā*, *tohani-kā* = 'we, you', lit. 'our, your' in Bhojpurīyā. This *-āha* affix gradually grew restricted in Modern Maithilī to form the honorific of the verb intransitive,

in the past tense: *e.g.*, *calalāh(a)* 'he (they) went': the intransitive past verb refers to the nominative, and retains its old participial and adjectival nature in this way.

§ 27. The instrumental plural has the affix *-nhi* (= a blend of the instrumental plural *-hi* of Apabhraṃśa, < *-bhiḥ* of OIA., and of the genitive plural affix *-ṇa* < *-ānām* of OIA.). The *-nhi* affix was used for the plural oblique base, to which the genitive *-ka* was added. Thus: *gaja-rājē śabḍa karu*, *bāyasanhi kolāhala karu* (29b) 'the royal elephant trumpeted, the crows cawed (lit. made noise)'; *jūwatīnhi (=yuvatī-) jala-keli ārahu* (30a) 'the young women began their sports in water'; *bhamaranhi padma tyajala* (30b) 'the bees left the lotuses'; *ulkā-mukhanhi-ka udyota* (62b); *khadyotanhi-ka taranga*, *jūwatīnhi-ka ulkanḥā* (30b); etc. This instrumental-oblique *-nhi* now occurs in Modern Maithilī as an honorific form referring to the *object* in a transitive verb: *e.g.*, *dekhala-thī-nhī* 'they (or he, honorific) saw them (or him, honorific)', = Māgadhī *dekhāl-thī-n*. The old instrumental-nominative use of *-nhi* lingers in the Modern Maithilī form *lokanī*, which is added as a noun of multitude to denote the plural.

§ 28. The Apabhraṃśa genitive plural affix *-ṇa* (< *-ṇa*, *-ṇam* < *-anam*) became rare in Early Maithilī: a solitary example is *jani kāñcana-giri-kā śṛṅga mayūraṇa caratṭe acha* (21a) 'as if peafowl were sporting on the peak of a mountain of gold.'

§ 29. Plural by agglutination of a noun of multitude appears to have begun. Thus we have *nāyī(kā)-jana* (21b) 'youthful women, heroines,' *jē brkṣa-samūha* (49b) 'all those trees'; but this sort of agglutination (cf. *loka*, *mānava māna* or *mana*, *sabhā*, *jana*, *sakala*, *saba*, etc. in other NIA. speeches) does not seem to have been popular in Maithilī. Generally, we find the word *aneka* preceding the noun to emphasise the plural notion: instances are exceedingly common in the work. A numeral also definitely indicates the plural number.

§ 30. CASE. The following are the affixes post-positions are given below) :

Nominative: No affix for the singular. For the plural *-na* seems to have been used, though it is very rare in the V. R. (see *supra*, § 28).

Accusative: No affix.

§ 31. *Instrumental*: Singular (also extended to the plural), *-ē*, *-e* (= *-ēna* of OIA., MIA. *-eṇa*, *-eṇam*, *-em*), contracted form as in *strī* < *strī-ē* (71a); *-hi*, e.g., *tāru jihvāhi bibādu* (77a), where it seems to be the old locative affix *-hi* = OIA. **-dhi*, or *-smin*, extended to the instrumental; *-nhi* for the plural (see *supra*, § 27). This *-ē* is still preserved in Maithilī.

§ 32. *Genitive*. For the genitive plural, there is the composite affix, *-nhi* + *-ka* (see *supra*, § 27). In a few instances, *-ā* (< *-ānām*) has been found: e.g., *banā-dewatā-kā āyatana* (50a) 'in the shrines of the wood-nymphs.' For the singular (also extended to the plural), the affix *-kura* is found, only with the pronoun; and *-ka*, which is *-k* in Modern Maithilī, found with the noun. A form *-kai* (rarely *-ke*) also features with the nominative. This *-ka* has three oblique forms, according as the noun qualified by the genitive is in the instrumental and locative, respectively *-kē* *-ke* and *-kā*: *kā* is also used in connexion with the instrumental. Connected with the genitive *-ka* is the dative affix (§ 33). Sometimes the simple *-ka* is found with the oblique. Thus : (nominative and accusative noun) *yā-ka* (= *jā-ka*) *mukha-ka śobhā* 'the beauty of whose face' (20a); *pāpa-ka sahodara* 'own brother of sin' (31b); *mānuṣa-ka muha-rava* 'shout or chatter of men' (47b); *āditya-ka kiraṇa* (49a); *go-ka saṅcāra* 'movement of cattle,' *caṭaka-ka kolāhala* 'chatter of small birds' (30b); *rātri-kai ksīnatā* (33a, b); *byādha-kai māyā*, *kinnara-kai gīta*, *bidyādhara-ka ālāpa* (50a); *nepathya-kai racanā*, *raṅgabhūmi-ka sthāpana*, *bādyabhāṇ-*

ḍa-ka biracanā (59a), *Mārkkandā-ke jēṭhi laḥini aīsani*, *lobha-ka beṭi aīsani* (41a), etc., etc.; (instrumental noun): *āditya-kē bhaṇe* (= *bhayē*) *nukāela andhakāra* 'darkness hidden through the fear of the sun' (30b); *tanhi-ke dānte aghātala śarala-brksa*, 'pine trees bruised with their tusks' (50a); *jakare rūpē* 'with whose beauty' (18b); *aneke prakāre* (76a); *pachewā-kā begē* 'with the force of the west wind' (31a); *pāñca-tīrtha-ka* (for *-kē*) *jale snāna karāola* 'made him bathe in the waters of the five holy places' (36a); (locative noun): *śwetapañkaja-kā dala* (loc.) *bhramara bayisala* 'the bee sat on the petals of the white lotus' (18a); *kāmadewa-kā ratha* (loc.) *cakra dui jolala aḥa* 'the two wheels were fixed on the chariot of the God of Love' (20b); *kāñcanagirikā śṛiṅga* (loc.) *mayūraṇa caraṇte aḥa* 'peafowl are wandering on the peaks of the Golden Mountain' (21a); *jala-sahita jhārī eka seja-kā samīpa* (loc.) *upagati kailī aḥa* 'a vase with water was brought near the bed' (20a); *siṃhāsana-kā upara* (36a), *dewī-kā sannidhāna* (37b); etc.

§ 33. *Dative*. The dative is formed with the affix *-kae*, *-kai*, *-kē*, which is only an inflected (locative) form of the genitive affix *-ka*: thus—*dekha-kē* 'to see, for seeing' (18a); *yōdha-ke* 'for the warriors' (47b); *hathahalā-kae pānī* 'water from or with a hand-vessel' (28a); *pāñce -kai mīṇitē aḥi* 'are uniting with five' (38a); *aṅgarāga-kē* 'for a toilet stuff for the body' (63b); *bidāñota-kē* (57b); *churi eka bāma-kai bandhale* 'fixing a dagger to the left' (55a); etc.

§ 34. The genitive affix *-ka* was thus itself inflected. This sort of putting a particular case-affix into the instrumental or locative case-form to give some other case affixes—the uninflected form being reserved for one particular case—is a common thing in NIA. Thus—

1. *Nominative*: *-ka*, *-kai* (with *-i* affix < Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa *-i* < Māgadhī Prakrit *-e* = Sanskrit *-ah*, *-am*), *-kai* > *-ke* = genitive with reference to the qualified noun in the nominative.

2. *Instrumental* : *-kē*, *-ke* = genitive with reference to the qualified noun in the instrumental.
3. *Locative* : (? see below § 35 [iv]) *-kā* = genitive with reference to the qualified noun in the locative as well as instrumental both plural and singular.
4. *Locative ? Instrumental ?* : *-kai*, *-kae*, *-ke*, *-kē* = dative case (as well as accusative).

The inflected forms (2, 3, 4) show that the *-ka* is in origin a nominal form, and the inflexions are derived from Apabhraṃśa. In Modern Maithilī, these inflected forms of the genitive affix *-ka* are no longer in use, the same *-ka* > *-k* being found whether the qualified noun is in the nominative (or accusative), instrumental, or locative. The use of the uninflected *-ka* with the instrumental and the locative, e.g. *pāñca-tīrtha-ka jale* above (§ 32) and *caṇḍana-ka caukā nāyuka baṁsu* below (§ 35), and other examples, show that the oblique forms were falling into disuse, at least at the time of the copying of the MS. Inflected form 4 still remains in Maithilī (in the form *-kē*) as a living form for the dative.

The source of the genitive affix *-ka* of Maithilī I have suggested to be the pleonastic affix *-ka* of Sanskrit, also adjectival, which seems to have been adopted into Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as a *sts.* form *-kka*. It has become *-k* in Modern Maithilī : clearly it cannot come from a form like *-krta* > *-kaa*, for in that case the two vowels of the word would not both have been lost in Modern Maithilī (cf. 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' p. 756). The form *-kai* is connected with the Magadhī genitive affix *-ke*, occurring side by side with the Maithilī *-ka* > *-k*.

§ 35. *Locative*. The following are the forms for the locative :

(i) the base form of the noun, without any affix : *Pāga eka mathā bandhale* 'with a turban tied round his head' (55a); *sīndūra mōti ṭoṭāela aṁsana dānta* 'teeth like

pearls scattered in vermillion' (18a); *candā(na)-ka cankā nāyaka baiṣu* 'the hero sat on a stool of sandal-wood' (25b) cf. *supra*, under § 32, locative oblique instances.

(ii) In a few words, we have *-i* : e.g., *susikṣita manai cāri kāchi* (= *kakse*) *rahū* 'four trained men remained near' (25a); *pāna . . . suvarṇa-ka sarāi kae agā dhaela* 'placed betel in front in a gold dish' (28b); *rūpāka śarāni kae pāna dela* 'gave betel in a silver dish' (77b) (*śarāi*, *śarāni* < *śarāve*).

(iii) *-hi* : exceedingly rare, e.g., *tāru-jihvāhi biwāda* 'quarrel between the palate and the tongue' (cf. § 31, under instrumental).

(iv) *-ā*, *-ā* : e.g., *pātrā* (77b), *sewā* (22a), *muraṣa* (59 a); *agā*, *pachā*; *jā*, *tā*, pronouns; and inflected genitive *-kā*, as before discussed, § 34; cf. also *ta-kā*, *ja-kā*, etc.

The OIA. affix for the locative *-e* became *-i* in Apabhraṃśa, and this *-i* has generally been lost to NIA., the result being that the locative became identical with the crude base : *gr̥he* > **garhe* > *ghare* > *ghari* > *gharə* = *gharā*. (i) above, without affix, is the locative in *-i* with the *-i* lost or assimilated, especially in connexion with a final vowel; and (ii) indicates the preservation of the *-i* as an archaic form. For (iii), see § 31. The origin of (iv), *-ā*, *-ā*, is obscure; it may be from Apabhraṃśa *-ahī*, which possibly became **-ahā* and then contracted to *-ā*, *-ā*; or is it the genitive plural *-ā* < *-ānām*, used also for that singular oblique-locative? None of the affixes for the locative, *-i* or *-hi* or *-ā* are preserved in Modern Maithilī, which has developed a post-position *-mē* < **-māhi* < **madhi* < *madhya-*, which has not been found in the V. R.

§ 36. *Post-positions*. In addition to the above inflexions, Early Maithilī of the V. R. developed some post-positions, as follows (the *-kai*, *-kae*, *-ke*, *-kē* of the dative has been noted before, § 33).

Instrumental: *saṅga* : *juāra-saṅga* 'with a games-ter' (38a); *saṅo*, *sā* (also ablative): *mṛtyu-saṅo kalakacha karañṭṭe acha* 'is wrangling (even) with Death' (41a).

Dative: *kāraṇa*: *sājana-kāraṇa* 'to arrange or prepare' (47b); *lāgi*, a verb form, conjunctive of *√lāg*: *ehi ālingae lāgi* 'to embrace her' (18b).

Ablative: *saṅo*, *sā* (< *samam*): *jani amṛta-ka saro-vara-saṅo pañka ulldhari ānala acha aīsana dudhi upanīta karu* (28a) 'fetched such curds as were like the silt-mud taken out from a lake of nectar.' This *saṅo* is fairly common in the V. R., and it lives in modern Maithilī as *-sā* (*-sā*). There is another affix, *-taha*, which is found in Vidyāpati also (*e.g.*, *saba-taha sunīa aīsana bewahārā* 'that such is his behaviour is heard from all'). Instances from the V.R. are: *baṭaī-ka naha-tuḥa* (read *taha*) *choṭa*, *suga-pākhi-taha moṭa* (76b) 'finer than the nails (claws) of a quail, and bigger than those of a parrot.' For the origin of this *-taha*, see below, § 38.

§ 37. There is an absolute case with the past participle and the present participle, which seems to have combined the old instrumental (*upalakṣaṇe trtīyā* of the Sanskrit grammarians) and the locative: *e.g.*, *ta-kā madhya . . . sarwāwasara kaele rājā dekhuaḥa* (23a) 'in their midst the king was seen to hold public audience'; *sāru sona-ka tāḍa cāri pariḥale* (55a) 'putting on four armlets of fine gold'; *ciulā upara sundarī dadhi dela*, *kaṭaitṭe kānti*, *ṭuṭaitṭe kapati*, *pātrā deyite thabhati* (77a) 'the fair lady served curds on the flattened rice: while cutting (the thick curds, there was) a beautiful sight; while (the curds are) detached, it would shake; and while serving on the plate, it would rest still (?)'. In the progressive tense with the present participle in *-ita*, we have this absolute case: *e.g.*, *caraitṭe acha*; see *infra*, under

Compound Tenses, § 50 : also *rasa prakāśayitē, trailokyao baśa karaitē nāyi(kā)-jana hāśya sañcārāitē dekhū* (21b) ; *jā-ke jāitē* 'on whose going' (45a.)

§ 38. The number of affixes in the declension of the noun is meagre in the language of the V. R., and as yet the necessary post-positions have not all come into being. Consequently, the speech is forced to take recourse to periphrasis with the help of the pronouns *je* 'who, that' and *se* 'he, she it, they.' Thus : *bidyullatā-ka taraṅga, tē patha-diśa-jñāna ho(i)te acha* (31a) 'the waves of the strings of lighting, through that idea as to the path and the directions is coming' : *madē je unmatta hāthi, tanhi-ke je dānte aghātala śarala-brkṣa, tā-śaṅ cyuta bhela je niryāsa, takara parimala, se kāsana akhalu? jani bana-devatā-kā āyatana dhūpa dela acha* (50a) 'the elephants that were maddened with ichoral flow, and the pine trees which were bruised by their tusks, from these the resin that exuded,—its scent: what was it like? as if incense was burnt in the shrines of the woodland deities' ; *padāti-ka gharma, enhi bāṭa kādawa bhāi gaū* (49a), 'the perspiration of the foot soldiers, with that the road became muddy,' etc. Perhaps in the above sort of periphrasis there was a conscious purpose, as the narrator would naturally bring in explanatory passages throughout, separately holding forth each detail in the picture sought to be evoked, to enable the listener to take in everything at leisure, and so visualise the scene better: but the persistent use of *je . . . te*, breaking up sentences into convenient bits—the paucity of inflexions and post-positions perhaps making long sentences unmanageable—is a noticeable fact; and at least one parallel we find in Marāṭhī, in the use of the near demonstrative pronoun to supply case affixes for honorific nouns: *e.g., Śivājī yācē caritra* = 'Śivājī, his life' = 'Śivājī's life'; *Cipluṅkar yānī lihīlē* = 'C., by him written' = 'written by C.' One form derived from this auxiliary third personal pronoun, *viz., taha*, an old genitive form

of the base *ta* (cf. Apabhraṃśa *tāha*, *tahō*), seems to have lost its separate pronominal existence and to have been reduced into an ablative affix (see *supra*, § 36).

(b) Adjective.

§ 39. Adjectives are declined, but not rigorously. The old system of the adjective agreeing with the qualified noun in gender, number and case is evidently passing away. The plural is frequently indicated (with the *-āha* affix), and the adjective qualifying a noun in the instrumental sometimes takes the instrumental affix: e.g., *aneke prakāre* (76a). Cf. also § 24, under *Gender*.

(c) Numerals.

§ 40. The *Cardinal Numerals* frequently take a pleonastic affix *-hu*, also featuring as *-u* and as *-o* (< *-khu*, *khalu*?). The following occur: 1 *eka*; 2 *dui* (20b, 25b), *duo* (13b); 3, *tini* (16b), *tinu* (48b), *tinuhu* (72a); 4, *cāri* (25a, 28b), *cāriu* (24b), *cāruhu* (72a); 5, *pāñca* (29b), *pāñcao* (21b); 6, *chahu* (16b), *chao* (18b); 7, *sāte* (42b); 8, *āṭhao*, *āṭhahu* (13b); 9, *nawe* (42b), *nawa* (24b); 10, *daśa* (29a); 11, *egāraha* (42b); 12, *bārahahu* (13a); 13, *terahao* (16a), *teraha* (77b), *teroha* (24b); 14, *caūdaha* (68b); 15, *patrahe* = *pandrahe* (42b); 16, *solaha* (55b), beside *sorahiā* adj. form (75b); 18, *aṭhāraha* (55b); 20, *bīsa* (56b), and *koṭi* = 'score' (60b); 22, *bāwisao* (57a); 24, *caūbīsao*, 30, *tīsa* (35b, 56b); 32, *battisao* (35b); 36, *chattisa* (16a), *chattisao* (25a), *chattisaṇo* (23b); 49, **unacāsa* (68a), see before, § 7; 64, *caūsatihi* (61a); 84, *corāsihu* (16a); 103, *sae tīni* (40b); 1,000, *hajāra*; 1,00,000, *lakṣa*; 10,000,000, *kroṭi* (39b).

§ 41. COMPOUNDS WITH NUMERALS: ADJECTIVES FROM NUMERALS. *Eka-hathā*, *do-hathā* (25a), *bara (ha)-hathī* (36a), *bisa-hathī* (75b); *dasāyī*, *bisāyī*, *saikā* (39b); *chakhī*, *naukhī* (38b); *āgara*, *dogara*, *tegara*, *caugara* (38b); and

descriptive numeral adjectives: *dosara* (ordinal), *barahiā*, *sorahiā*, *baīsā*, *pañcisā*, *aṭhaisā* (75b), *bahattari* (70a).

§ 42. FRACTIONALS: *adha-patharā* (63a); *ahutḥa* ($=3\frac{1}{2}$) *hātha dīrgha*, *aṭhāe* ($=2\frac{1}{2}$) *hātha phāṇḍa* (28b); *adha-teraha* $=12\frac{1}{2}$ (76b).

§ 43. MULTIPLICATIVES: *dūna*, *teguna* (38a).

§ 44. APPROXIMATIVES are formed by placing the numeral after a definitive word: e.g., *jana dui* (29b), *jana cāri maradaniā* (25a), *jana daśa* (29b). But the cardinal frequently comes after the noun, without any approximative force, when there is no definitive word: e.g., *pāga eka* (55a), *jhārī eka* (20a), *kaṭorā dui* (25a), *tāḷa cāri* (55a), *cakra dui* (20b).

(d) Pronouns.

§ 45. Only the bases *se—ta* (3rd Person), *je* (Relative), and *e, i* (21b, 71a) (Near Demonstrative) are found.

Nominative: *se* (sg. and pl.), *tā* (pl., 48b, 57b), *sehao* (plural, 18b); *tā* (neuter, appositional).

Instrumental: *tē*, *te* (sg. and pl.).

Genitive: *takara*, oblique *takarē* (28b), feminine *takari* (18a); singular and plural *tā-ka*, *tā-ka* (13b); *tā-kā madhya*, *bhūtara*; plural, and honorific singular *tanhi-ka*, oblique (instrumental) *tanhi-ke*.

Locative: *tā*, *tā-kā* (singular and plural).

Ablative: *tā-saño*.

Like *se—ta*, we have *je—ja*, though all the corresponding forms do not occur. There is an adjectival form, *jāhi sundarī-ka* (77a); *enhi* (49a) occurs as instrumental plural of *e*, and *ehi* (18a) as feminine accusative singular. *jā* occurs as both locative and neuter nominative.

§ 46. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES. Very common as *kaīsana*, fem. *kaīsani*, and *aīsana*, fem. *aīsani*. The *-h-* forms do not occur ($=ehan$, *kehan*, etc. of Modern Maithilī, and Middle Bengali *ehena*, *kehena* or *kenha*, whence Modern Bengali *hena*, *kena* etc.).

(c) Conjugation of the Verb.

Below are given some of the typical forms.

§ 47. SIMPLE PRESENT.

Third Person Singular: *karaï* (25a, 42b, 60b), *dharai* (46b), *chāḷae* (77b); besides *acha*, *achi*, *cha*, *hō*, *āha*, forms for the substantive verb, frequently enough.

Third Person Plural and Honorific: *athikaha* (18b, 25b, 48a); *achathi* (63a), *chathi* (63b); *hōthi* (18b), *hothi* (71a); *i thika* = 'these are' (71a).

The simple present forms of Maithilī offer difficulties in both the singular and the plural—in the substantive verb singular specially: **achai*, **āhai*, **hōai* should be the forms expected (cf. *karaï*, *dharai*, *chāḷae* = *chāḷai*). But quite early, the substantive verb was reduced to a dissyllabic or even a monosyllabic form—*achi*, *acha*, *cha*, *ho*, *āha*. The loss of the -i, which occurs side by side with the preservation of it, is inexplicable. In Modern Maithilī, *acha* regularly becomes *ach*, *ch* and *achi*, *achi*. The first personal form was a strong one apparently, cf. Modern Maithilī *chī*. The plural affix -*thi* is the Maithilī equivalent of OIA. and MIA. -*anti*: the nasal in *hōthi* is important. But the aspiration has not been satisfactorily explained. Is it a case of a pleonastic -*hi* particle, originally added for emphasis? In Modern Maithilī, the -*thi* forms are honorific only, and are found extended to the other tenses.

The form *athikaha* shows that the plural nominal -*āha* has invaded the domain of the verb, even of the present or radical tense, already in Early Maithilī.

§ 48. IMPERATIVE. Only these are found: *leha* (= *labhadhvam*), *deha* (= < *datta*), *toraha* (< *troṭayata*), *uṭhāwaha* (< *uṭṭhāva* - < **ut-sthāpayata*), *barāwaha* (< *vardhāpayata*; or, better, from **jvālāpayata* 'burn'). There is nothing special to note about them.

§ 49. SIMPLE PAST. Of this tense, there are two distinct types:

- (i) The *-u* past, practically unchanged for gender, and not otherwise modified, except by the addition (which is common enough) of the plural affix *-āha* when referring to a plural or honorific noun as its predicate. Thus: *paṭiā eka bitharu, gādi eka upanīta karu* (24b) 'a mat was spread, and a cushion was brought'; *jana cārī maraṭṭaniā upanīta bharu* (25a) 'some four shampooers arrived'; *baisnaha* 'sat' (25a); *canda(na)-ka caukū nāyaka baṛsu* (25b); *seja eka pālu(=pātita-)* 'a bed was spread' (28b); *āditya astācala gaṛ apagata bhaṇṇaha* (46a); *pātra praveśa dhiu* 'the dancing girl entered,' *pūjā nirbhahu* 'the worship was finished' (59b); *dekhū, dekhuaḥa; halu, haluaḥa* (47a) 'gone' = *calu* (frequent); etc., etc.
- (ii) The *-ala-* past with the optional *-āha* affix for the plural and honorific. This form takes feminine *-i* affix, when the subject is feminine in the case of an intransitive verb, and when the object is feminine in the case of a transitive verb. Thus: *bhamara puṣpoddeṣe calala, bedajña-jane beda-dhwani ārahala, kula-strīsalajja bheli* (29b); *pathikajane mārḡānusandhāna kacla, nāyake iṣṭa-devatā-smaraṇa karu* (30a); *rāja-dharma calala, rājājñā pasaru* (36b); *nāyake paera pakḥālalu, śuci bhae baisalāha* (76b); *mahiṣi bṛddha-gopa-ka duhali* (77a); *ekḥ apurbba Biṣwakarmāṇe nirmauli, jā-ka mukha-ke sobhā* (20b); *Indra sahasrākṣu bhelāha, Brahmāṇe caturmmukha kae halu, Kṛṣṇa caturbhujā bhae gelāhu* (18a); *kadaṭi biparīta gati kaili* (20b); etc., etc.

It would be seen that the two past forms, *-u* and *-ala-*, are used freely side by side in the same sentence. The *-u* past is now obsolete in Maithilī, but it was current at the time of Vidyāpati, who frequently uses it (‘Origin and Development of

the Bengali Language', pp. 954-55). The *-ala* form is the living past form in Maithilī of the present day.

Both these past bases are derived from the OIA. passive participle in *-ta*, *-ita*. The *-u* form is certainly non-Magadhan: it is a literary form borrowed from Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa in the formative period of Maithilī, and hence it seems never to have taken root in the language. Thus, *gataḥ* > *gato* > *gado* > *gao* > *gaii*. The *-ala*-form, with the characteristic *-l-* affix of the NIA. speeches of the East, is thus derived: *gataḥ*, *gata* > *gada* > *gaa* + *-alla*, *-illa* > **ga(y)alla*, **gaailla*, **gaiilla* > *gela*.

The *-ala*-form is also used as a past participle adjective, as in Modern Bihārī.

The construction with this passive participle (which is the basis of the past form) was along MIA. lines in Early Maithilī, as it is still in Western Hindī and other Western NIA. speeches: it was active when the verb was intransitive—the verb was really an adjective qualifying the subject which is regarded as the nominative of this adjective-verb (*karṭtari prayoga*); and it was passive when the verb was transitive, the subject being grammatically in the instrumental case, and the verb was an adjective qualifying the object (*karmanī prayoga*). The *-ala*-verbs took the feminine affix *-ī* or *-i*, following the subject or the object as the case might be. In Modern Maithilī, the construction has become active even for the transitive verb, and traces of the old adjectival nature of the past verb remain in a few poetic instances where we find the feminine *-i* affix with *-ala*-. (See 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' p. 937 ff.)

The affixes *-thi* (from the present third person plural) and *-nhi* (from the noun oblique) are not found with the past tense for the plural or honorific: only *-āha* figures (cf. Grierson, Maithilī Grammar², § 193). Neither are the pleonastic *-ka* and *-ai* affixes of Modern Maithilī verb forms found.

There are no instances of the *Future* or of the *Past Conditional* (or *Past Habitual*).

§ 50. COMPOUND TENSES. Already these are established in Early Maithili. Thus—

(i) *Present Progressive*: two forms, (i) oblique of present participle in *-ita* (*-itē*) + present tense of substantive root *ach* or *ah* 'to be': thus—*hoitē acha* (13a), *karaītē achathi*, *caraitē acha* etc. (very common, with ✓*ach*); *karaītē āha* (37b, 56a); and (ii) a verbal form in *-ai* + present tense of ✓*ach*: e.g., *bharaī acha* (28b), *karaī acha*.

In Modern Maithili both these forms occur—as *karaīt achī* and *karaīchī*. The explanation of (ii) is not clear: it seems to be a verbal noun in the oblique + the substantive root (cf. 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' pp. 1023 ff.). Cf. also *karaī ārahu* (60a) = 'began to do.'

(ii) *Present Perfect*: made up of the passive or past participle in *-ala* (fem. *-ali*) + present tense of ✓*ach*: e.g., *bhēla acha*, *bhela chathi* (52b), *bhae gela chathi* (honorific), *bhae gelicha* (< *geli* + *acha*), *gelacha* (< *gela* + *acha*) (30a), *kāīli acha* (28b), *baīsala chathi*, *calala achuthi*, *ānala acha*, etc.

(iii) *Past Progressive*: rare form. Present Participle in *-at-* (= *-ait-*?) + past tense in *-u* of ✓*bhū*: thus, *aneku padātika calata bhaūaha* (46b); also at p. 49a, twice. Probably there was a similar formation with *-at-* + *-ala-* past form of ✓*ach*, but there is no example of it.

PAST PERFECT: not found.

§ 51. CONJUNCTIVE INDECLINABLE. The ending is *-ī*: OIA. *-ya* (as in prefixed roots) > MIA. *-ia* > *-ī*, *-i*. Thus, *jini* (18a), *laī* (28b), *lipi* (52b), *bhaī* (47a), *se rājādeśe hakāri haluaha* (44b) 'they marched after shouting by the order of the king'; *karī*; *āni* (47b); *ānī* (25b); *uddhari* (26a); *sāwaśeṣi* (26a). In some cases, after a vowel, the *-i* is dropped: *pīḍhī eka thāma dharala*, *sewakē paṭā* (= *paṭāī*, *paṭāy*) *dela* (76b); 'the seat was put at a place, it was spread by the servant';

tā bidañota-kē duao sambāhikā ho bhañāha (57b) 'they were (lit. having been became) the two *masseuses* of the musician.' In a case like *śucī bhae baisalāha* (76b) 'became clean and sat,' *bhae* can be both the indeclinable (= *bhaī*) and the absolute case of the participle adjective (§37); so *nāyakē pāna lae mukha-suddhi kaela* (28b); *Brahmāñe caturmukha kae halu* (18a), lit. 'Brahma went making himself four-faced' (cf. *Kṛṣṇa caturmmukha bhae gelāha*). The earlier MIA. form with the final -a (-ia), is preserved in *aneka bājana bajāia haluha* (47a) 'they went playing on many musical instruments': this is an archaic survival.

§ 52. PARTICIPLES.

(i) *Present Participle*: the affix is -ait-, and it occurs in the absolute form in -ē, -e (-aitē). The vocalism of the affix possibly arose as follows: MIA. *calanta*, nominative (Māgadhi Prakrit) *calante*, Apabhrañśa **calanti*, whence Maithili *calaiti* by epenthesis: cf. the plural form *calata bhañāha* (46a) where *calata* = *caluntā*, with no epenthesis. Instances of the -aitē form are very common.

(ii) *Past or Passive Participle*: (see above, §49) -ala-, fem. -ali, very common. In causatives and denominatives, -āyala (-āela), -āwala (-āola, -aula); e.g., *kiṭāela kāla-sarppa* (46a), *nirmmauli* (20a).

§ 53. CAUSATIVES. Examples: *karāwae* (25a); *uṭhāwaha* (13a: imperative); *snāna karāu* (25b: past tense in -u); *prabhāta-jñāna karāola* (29b); *kumara baisaū, tadanantara jale snāna, karāola, devāṅga bastra parihāola* (36a); *calaole*, absolute form (57a); *añcāola, rukhāola* 'washed mouth after eating, dried' (77b); etc. The affix -āw-, from -āpaya-, is well known.

§ 54. PASSIVE. Very few instances: *āsthāna-bhitara itara loka-saño byābrtta rājā bujhiya jā āsthāna* (24a) 'distinguished from the rest of the people, within the court-hall the king is observed in that hall'; *tār chaḍāwia, jihwā na chāḍae* (77b)

'the palate is freed, but the tongue does not leave'; *se bolahi na pāriāi* 'that cannot be described' (58b). The affix is *-i-* (*-iya-*, *-ia-*), from OIA. *-yā-*, through the MIA. *-ia-* (cf. 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' pp. 909—920).

§ 55. COMPOUND VERBS. These are found, but there are not many, e.g., *paṭā delu* (76b); *bhar gelaha* (18a); *ā bhaū* (30b); *bhaū gaū* (33a), etc.

(f) Formative Affixes.

§ 56. The feminine affixes have been mentioned before, § 24.

The following are common :

- (i) *-āra* < *-kāra* : agentive, as in *juāra* (*dyūta-kāra*), *suāra* (*sūpa-kāra*); connective, as in *jeñonāra* 'feast, dinner' (**jamana-kāra*).
- (ii) *-wāra* *-āra* < *-pāla* : agentive : *sejurāra* (23b) = *śayyāpāla*; *chināra* (10a); *khela-wāra* 'player' (also *khela-pāla*); *kamarū-wāla* 'of Kāmarūpa' (36a).
- (iii) *-iā* < *-ikā* + *-āka* : connective, in names of professions : *dhūniā* 'cotton-carder'; *bajara-kaṇḍiā* 'thunder-bolt arrowed' (46a); *maradaniā* 'shampooer' (25a); *gohariā* 'petitioner' (56a); *mukhiā* 'chief' (23b); *paṭaniā* 'ferryman'; diminutive, as in *beṭiā* 'daughter' < *beṭi*.
- (iv) *-ī* or *-i* < *-ika* : connective : *bhaṇḍārī* (23b), *baraha-khuri mahisi* (76b), *barahathī* (36a), *marahathī*, *telaṅgī* (57a); abstract, < *-ikā* : *bāiti* (see below viii). It is to be noted that the abstract and diminutive *-ī* is really the feminine affix : e.g., *ghāṭī* = *ghaṇṭikā* (25b), etc.
- (v) *-ā* < *-āka* : pleonastic, honorific (also pejorative) : *bariṭhā* (23b) = *variṭha-*, *gholā* beside *ghola* = *ghoṭaka*, *agahara* (*agrahāra-*); adjectival : *do-hathā*.
- (vi) *-u*, *-ū* < *-uka* : pleonastic, pejorative : *Sondū*, *Gonlū*, *Kiratu* < *-tū*, *Kānhu* < *-nhū* (25a), *manau* (25a) = *mānava-*;
Extension : *-u-a* : *munḍa-pholua*, *naḍi-tolua* (10a).

(vii) *-hāra* < *-dhāra*: agentive: *bolanihāra*, *maiganihāra* (38b), *dhaonihāra* (46a).

(viii) *-āita* < *-āyant-* (present participle base of causatives and denominatives): *phariāita* (46a), *paḥhāita*, *ulathāita* (46a), *gawaītāha* (55a), *ohudāila* (< *ohda* < Perso-Arabic *وحد*) (29b).

Extension: *-āitī* < **-āyantikā*: *bāitī* 'playing' (*vādāyantika*). Occurs also as *-āitta* (< **-āpayanta-*): *khaṇḍāntī* = **khaṇḍāpayant-ika*.

There are some more, but these are found in Modern Maithili, and do not present any noteworthy features.

[III] SYNTAX.

§57. The syntax is that of the ordinary NIA. type. The language has not yet developed the complexities of the later Maithili, especially with regard to the verb. This gives it an archaic Apabhraṃśa aspect. Simple sentences are preferred, and periphrasis becomes necessary, the narration frequently halting by bringing in a noun, and then commencing the statement with a new sentence (cf. § 38, and the quotations). As usual, the order is nominative + object + predicate. The frequent use of the numeral *after* the qualified noun has been noted (§44). Compound verbs are also an established feature (§55).

§58. One feature of the *style* of the work is the fondness of the author for jingle and assonance. In places it is nothing but rimed prose. Thus—*paighe khure cākarē ure* (? *ḍare*) . . . *gāḍhī pithi aḷi ḍhūḥi: moṭai kandha atane bāndhe: choṭe kāna āha bāne* (44b), *kācane nayane sukhāsane gamane, hiye mīlala pākharaka bhītala, maṇa-ka bujhala jaghana-ka jujhala, taruṇe āge bujhalī bāge* (in a description of horses) (45a); *punu kaisana śmaśāna ? calaūtē rākṣasī, kinakinaitē betāla, japaṛte sādhaṅku, palariṭē gīdha karalaṭē kākā, jarayite* (64a) *citā, samcararite bhūta, sādharite ḍākinī, ebambidha bhayāwaha śmaśāna dekhu; aparāḥ*

*prakāraḥ ... yā śmaśāna, citā-ka udyota, calāṭe khadyota, śivā-ka phetkāra, ḍākinī-ka sañcāra, bhamaṭṭe preta-ka taraṅga, malā-ka kulāṅka, betāla-ka cāla, cora-ka kaṅkāla, kṣudhāṛṭṭa gīdha, samtusta sidha, siṅga-ka nāda, piśāca-ka biwāda, rākṣasa-ka hāka, kapāli-ka ḍāka, yoginī-ka cakra pākhaṇḍa-ka gaṇa-cakra, basā-ka gandha, sādha-ka pra-bandha, mahābhūta-ka kalakali, pecaka-ka capaci, rudhira-ka paṅka, kātura-ka mātāṅga—ewambidha bhayāwaha śmaśāna dekhū (64b); aḍi ḍiḥi raṅgo pūḥi, ghane lāle madhure jwāle (77a); etc. The above passages also demonstrate the purpose of the book—to supply *Kāthakas* with set *formulae* or passages.*

(IV) THE VOCABULARY.

§59. *Tatsama* words are found in plenty, also *semi-tatsamas*, and hybrids of these with *tadbhava* words and affixes. Yet the speech in the connected passages is not so Sanskrit-ridden as some forms of Bengali or Hindī: a great many *tbh.* words, some of them very precious relics of MIA., have been preserved in the work.

§60. A number of Persian (including, of course, Arabic, — and Turkī) words are found, and these are conclusive evidence for the work being composed at least a century after the Mohammedan conquest. The Persian words in the V. R. have been naturalised, and they take native suffixes, like any *tbh.* or *ts.* or *sts.* word. This is the list: *turuka* (10a) = تورك; *payājū* (10a) = پیاز; *sakalāta* (28b) ‘a costly stuff’ = سقالات; *tīra* ‘arrow’ (44b) = تیر; *tāji* (44b) ‘Arab horse’ = تازی; *mojā*, *sara-mojā* (45a) = سر موزه; *nāka*(?) (38a) = نیک; *hajāra* (39b) = هزار; *cini* ‘sugar’ (77a) = چینی; *makalā* ‘a kind of costly stuff’ = ? مکالمه ‘edged, bordered’; *tahasila* (39b) = تاحصیل ‘gain, acquirement, collection’; *nanobati* = نانبات (?); *ohadāita*, *ohadū* (29b) = عهد. Two Persian words are inherited from MIA., being early, pre-Mohammedan borrowings: *pāyika* (44a), and *asabāranhi* or

asawāranhi, instrumental plural (48a): *pāyika* is found at least as early as Rājasekhara in the form *pāikka*, and *asawāra* occurs in the Sanchi inscriptions, 2nd Cen. B.C., as *asuvāri* (< Old Persian *asabāri*- 'horsemen').

§61. I give below a number of interesting words.

Lorika nāco (10b): the song of the hero Lorik is still popular among the Goṛās of Mithilā and South Bihar. It thus goes back at least to the 14th century.

bahuta (16a): found as *bahutta* in the 'Dohā-koṣas.'

khompā (खोम्पा 18a): found in Old Bengali (12th century) = New Bengali *khōpā* 'done-up hair, hair tied in a knot.'

saeyāna (22a): 'clever,' 'grown up': cf. Marāṭhi *sahāṇā*. It occurs in most other New Indo-Aryan.

manau (25a): 'man, men.'

ghāla (28b, 56b): 'throw,' found in Old Bengali.

paera (29b): 'foot.'

megha-udumbara (35b): 'a kind of costly cloth, from which *sārīs* used to be made.' In Middle Bengali, the word commonly occurs as *mēgha-ḍumbura*. One form of the word reads as *meghāḍumbara*.

Silahatī (35b): of Sylhet? = a kind of cloth. But we have mention of *Silahatī rice* in a little verse by Ghāgh, the folk-poet of Bihar and Northern India.

teṇṭa (37a, 38b) in *teṇṭa-sāra* 'a gambling house,' and *teṇṭā-karāla*? 'a gambler,' which is found in Prakrit (e.g., in the 'Karpūra-mañjarī').

māri-gaṇjana (39b): cf. Bengali *gaṇjanā* 'abuse.'

✓*hal*, generally in the past form *halu*, pl. *haluaha*: 'walk, go': found in Vidyāpati, and occurs in Sindhī, not noticed elsewhere.

mahuarī (47a): 'a musical instrument, a flute': occurs in Early Middle Bengali as *mauhāri*, *mohārī* (< *madhukara*-).

nīsāna (47a): 'music' < *nīḥsvāna*; found in almost all New Indo-Aryan languages.

ambara (44b), 'a breed of horse.' The horse of Lāu-sena, the hero of the Middle Bengali epic tale the 'Dharma-maṅgala,' is called *Ambar Pākhur*.

amanaika (38a, 44b): 'attendant, officer, servant < member of a sect': a *sts.*, < *āmnāyika*, *āmnāyin*. This explains the obscure Middle Bengali word *āmani*, *āmini* 'an attendant at worship or in a temple, a devotee,' found in the 'Śūnya-purāṇa.'

ṭaṅganu (44b): 'A Bhutiya pony.' Is it really the Tibetan *rta-nān* (Hobson-Jobson)?

baṁjhi (49b): 'a plant,' probably the one known as *bacheṇet* in Old Bengali, and *batei*, *bœe* in New Bengali, with tiny acid fruit: Skt. *vikaṅka*.

ḍaḍh (62b): 'burn': found in Old Bengali.

unhasa (63b): = Skt. *ullasa*. The form with *-nh-* also occurs in Old Bengali.

akhalu (63b): 'was.' Source? Cf. Bhojpuriyā *khe* = 'is,' *naikhe* 'is not.'

ogara (76b): 'rice': cf. Bengali *ogrā bhāt* 'rice and pulses boiled together,' and *oggara bhattā* in the 'Prākṛta Paṅgala.'

cīni (77a): 'sugar.' It is curious that *sugar* should be so called (= 'of China'), and *sugar candy* should similarly be called *mīsrī* (میسری 'Egyptian') in India.

An annotated list of the words in the V.R. would certainly be of the highest value in all the domains of Indology, and specially in the domain of philology of the New Indo-Aryan tongues.

SECTION VIII
HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY

(1)

THE ORIGIN OF THE BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.
(*Calcutta University*).

The question that most naturally occurs to students of Indian Palæography is, "What is the origin of the Brāhmī Script?" There are two important schools of thought on this matter: (i) that which argues that Brāhmī is of foreign origin, and (ii) that which maintains that the script is indigenous.

Among those that think that the Brāhmī has been derived from foreign sources, there are again several distinct opinions advanced.

1. Dr. Wilson was the first to hazard the guess that "Aśoka's Buddhists derived their letters from Greek or Phœnician models." Some scholars took the first view, notably Prinsep and Otfried Müller. But the chronological and philological difficulties are very formidable, and have never been successfully answered.

2. There have also been people like Deecke who have argued for the Assyrian Cuneiform through the South Semitic as an intermediate step. This latter has also been put forward by itself as the parent of Brāhmī; and this theory will be considered at its proper place. But going back through the South Semitic to the Assyrian is too fanciful to be seriously considered.

3. A still more fanciful idea is that of Terrain de la Couperie¹ that the original source of the Brāhmī is to be sought in the Chinese picture-writing.

4. The only theories now seriously upheld are those that trace the Brāhmī to one of the ancient Semitic alphabets. And there are three separate sources indicated by various scholars, which, in fact, are the only three possible. These are: (a) Phœnician, (b) North Semitic through the the Aramaean of Babylon, and (c) South Semitic through the Sabaean of Yemen.

(a) As regards the Phœnician the greatest objection seems to be that practically all direct intercourse between Phœnicia and India ceased about B.C. 800. This would give at least 500 years for the elaboration of the Aśokan Brāhmī. Though, as we shall see later, the Proto-Phœnician letters (*i.e.*, the parent forms of the Phœnician letters) and the Prehistoric Script of India, discovered by Yazdani, are most probably closely connected, still there seems to be considerable difficulty, if it is not quite impossible, to connect up the earliest Phœnician with the Aśokan Brāhmī alphabet *as parent and child*. The ultimate connection between these two scripts seems to be more that of sisters, both derived from an earlier parent script.² There was another argument used at one time by scholars against this view, *viz.*, that if we allow as many as 500 years for the development of the Brāhmī, we might very reasonably expect to find not *one* but several

¹ Mentioned by Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II, p. 311, footnote.

² A word of warning must here be uttered against twisting the forms of letters anyhow to prove our preconceived notions. If the twisting is carried on far enough any alphabet may be derived from any other. I have seen charts deriving both the Roman and the Arabic scripts from the Nāgarī. And one of my colleagues in Calcutta has shown, as an example of *reductio ad absurdum* of such methods, how to derive the Brāhmī itself from the modern Roman script!

varieties of script developed in India at the date of Aśoka's Inscriptions, whereas in the recorded Inscriptions we have practically only one variety of the Brāhmī.¹ The answer to this argument is to be found in the nature of the script itself as well as of the Inscriptions. The script is admittedly monumental, while the Inscriptions were meant to serve an Imperial and a Religious purpose. Hence there is a unity in the script used for them. We find also today an almost universal use of the Roman capitals all the world over for monumental purposes, but we could not therefore argue that there is only one script used today and that there is no other variety of writing known.

¹ Taylor advances this argument against the indigenous origin of Brāhmī. He says that if it had been indigenous it would have needed centuries to have advanced to the perfection of the Aśokan alphabet, and hence we should have had a great variety of scripts in the days of Aśoka. But with curious inconsistency he is quite ready to accept that the Egyptian Hieratic is the parent of the early Phœnician, even though the two are separated by an interval of over 1,700 years, and even though there is no more variety observable in the early Phœnician Inscriptions than in the Brāhmī. This argument of the lack of variety in the forms of the letters has been dealt with later on in this paragraph. As far as India was concerned, the earlier scholars had a bias in favour of tracing all her culture to foreign sources. That bias is, fortunately, fast disappearing; but, just by way of a natural reaction, there has been of late a tendency among our Indian scholars to trace all the culture in the world to India. Truth must necessarily lie midway between these two extremes, and a new school of thought is rapidly growing, which tries to avoid all national or racial bias and tries to give each nation its due.

TABLE I.

Bühler's Derivation of the Kharoṣṭhī Alphabet.

(Adapted from the Table facing p. 114 in his book.)

Kharoṣṭhī.	Derivatives.	Original Semitic.	REMARKS.
𑀓 (a)	𑀓 (i); 𑀓 (u); 𑀓 (e); 𑀓 (o).	𐤀, 𐤁, 𐤂 (Aleph)	All vowels are derived from the simple vowel <i>a</i> . Combinations of vowels with consonants are made thus
𑀔 (k)	...	𐤃, 𐤄 (Kaph)	
𑀕 (kh)	...	𐤅, 𐤆 (Qoph)	𑀕 (kā), 𑀕 (kī),
𑀖 (g)	𑀖 (gh)	𐤇, 𐤈 (Gimel)	𑀖 (kū), 𑀖 (ke),
𑀗 (c)	𑀗 (ch)	𐤉, 𐤊 (Tsade)	𑀗 (ko).
𑀘, 𑀙 (j)	𑀘 (jh)	𐤋 (Zayin)	
𑀚 (t)	𑀚 (th); 𑀚, 𑀛 (ṭ)	𐤌, 𐤍 (Tau)	
	𑀜 (ṭh).		
𑀝, 𑀞 (d)	𑀝 (dh); 𑀞 (ḍ); 𑀞 (dh).	𐤎, 𐤏 (Daleth)	Note that the cerebrals are the derivatives.
𑀟 (n)	𑀟 (ṇ); 𑀟, 𑀠 (ṇ)	𐤐 (Nun)	
𑀡, 𑀢 (p)	𑀡 (ph)	𐤑, 𐤒 (Pe)	
𑀣 (b)	𑀣, 𑀤 (bh)	𐤓, 𐤔 (Beth)	
𑀥, 𑀦 (m)	𑀥 (mp)	𐤕 (Mem)	The derivative represents the <i>anusvāra</i> .
𑀧 (y)	...	𐤖, 𐤗 (Yod)	
𑀨 (r)	...	𐤘, 𐤙 (Resh)	
𑀩 (l)	...	𐤚 (Lamed)	Note that the original has been turned upside down.
𑀪 (v)	...	𐤛 (Vau)	
𑀫 (ś)	...	𐤜 (Cheth)	
𑀬 (ṣ)	...	𐤝 (Shin)	Turned upside down.
𑀭 (s)	...	𐤞 (Samekh)	
𑀮, 𑀯 (h)	...	𐤟 (He)	

N.B.—In the column of Original Semitic letters the second form is the cursive form from Papyri.

(b) As regards the North Semitic parentage, we definitely know that the Kharoṣṭhī was so derived. We also know the distinguishing characteristics of both these scripts ; and we know that both these are essentially different in all important points and actually opposed in some. The marked characteristics of Kharoṣṭhī may be enumerated as follows :

- (1) The letters are generally long, more or less slanting, with *appendages attached to their upper parts*. Appendages at the bottom are found only in two cases, the vowel *u* and the conjunct *r* when it follows another consonant. This dislike for upper appendages has led to two of the original Aramaic letters to be turned upside down in the case of the *l* and the *s* (see Table I).
- (2) The letters are very irregular in shape and size, and many forms are confusingly similar, the script being clearly cursive.
- (3) There are few looped forms.
- (4) The script always runs *from right to left*.

On the other hand Bühler has given the following as the chief characteristics of Brāhmī :

- (1) The letters are made up of regular lines and loops ;
- (2) The letters *hang down*, unlike Kharoṣṭhī which are top-heavy ;
- (3) Most vowel signs are added at the top in the shape of horizontal lines ;

To these we may also add :

- (4) The script is distinctly monumental and decorative, and so very probably it was specially developed for this purpose ;
- and (5) It has been written in and since the Aśoka Inscriptions *from left to right*.

From this it does not appear very probable that two such fundamentally different alphabets could have been derived

from the same source, especially when we bear in mind "the fact that they were both needed by the same people and for practically the same language. To overcome this difficulty it has been suggested that while Kharoṣṭhī came overland through Gāndhāra, Brāhmī came through Babylon *via* the Persian Gulf.¹ But surely one cannot explain the fundamental contrasts between the two scripts as arising merely from the effects of a sea-voyage !

The only striking point of unity between the two is the position of the medial vowels, and here it seems certain that the borrowing was on the side of Kharoṣṭhī.² Nor can the fact that one was "a clerk's alphabet" and that the other had been elaborated by Pandits be regarded as enough to explain away the differences. The records of both these scripts are found to be practically in the same language. The use to which these both had been put was practically identical; and even after making all due allowance for the facts, (1) that the one was cursive and the other was monumental, and (2) that the one was used by half educated clerks while the other was used by learned Brahmanas, we cannot satisfactorily explain all the differences between them. The few correspondences between the two can be proved to have been borrowed by the "less learned" script; but if the two had had the same origin, we would naturally have expected some *fundamental* resemblances. And this is just what has been lacking as far as our knowledge goes.

But this is not all. Bühler (whose name deserves the most respectful attention) derives Brāhmī from the North

¹ Burnell in his *South Indian Palaeography* upholds this view. The trade between Yemen and the Persian Gulf and the West coast of India had been flourishing from at least B.C. 1000. Hence, he argues, at some later period, writing, which is so very necessary to commerce, was carried to India along the same route. Burnell derives the ancient *Vatteluttu* script of South India also from a Semitic source, and the Tamil in its turn from this script.

² Bühler, *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 111.

Semitic. The accompanying Table (No. II), adapted from his book *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*,¹ clearly shows his point of view. In the column of original North Semitic forms I have enclosed within brackets *the hypothetical forms assumed by Bühler*.²

If we examine this Table a little more closely we shall find: (i) that no less than 10 letters, *i.e.*, nearly half the total have had to be given "intermediate" forms as Bühler calls them, in other words they are purely hypothetical; (ii) that *only one* Brāhmī letter (g) may be regarded as identical with its supposed prototype; and (iii) that of the rest only five (a, t, th, l, and ś) may be reasonably regarded as probable derivatives, and, of these even, the l has to come through an "intermediate form." When we contrast this with the Table given already for the Kharoṣṭhī (Table I) we find in the latter (i) that out of the twenty letters borrowed no less than eight are identical with the Semitic forms, *viz.*, c, d, n, p, b, r, v, and ś; (ii) that nine others (k, kh, g, j, m, y, l, s, and h) may be reasonably regarded as probably derived from the Semitic prototypes; and (iii) that there are no assumed "intermediate forms." The conclusion seems inevitable that there is no great reason for supposing that the origin of Brāhmī has to be sought in the North Semitic Alphabet.

What seems to me to be the most fatal objection to Bühler's theory is that while deriving both the alphabets from the same source, he has not been able to derive the same letter in both from the same original Semitic one. Surely the requirements of the same people, speaking practically the same language, would need only one alphabet. And even if two were needed (a cursive one for the trader and a learned and monumental one for the Pandit) the people would surely have

¹ Being the "Second Revised Edition" of his *Indian Studies*, No. III, 1898.

² The original Table is facing p. 90 of Bühler's book; in it he calls the assumed hypothetical forms "intermediate" ones.

Brāhmī.	Derivatives.	Original North Semitic.	REMARKS.
𑀅 (a)	𑀅 (ā)	𐤀 (Aleph, 1)	<p>The forms given for the Semitic are the oldest North Semitic forms from inscriptions. Those enclosed within brackets are the hypothetical "intermediate forms" assumed by Bühler. The number after each Semitic letter shows its position in the Semitic Alphabet.</p> <p>Combinations of vowels with consonants are made thus :</p>
𑀆, 𑀇 (e)	𑀆, 𑀇 (i); 𑀈 (ai)	𐤁, (𐤂) ('Ain, 16)	
𑀉 (k)	...	𐤃, 𐤄 (Kaph, 11)	
𑀊, 𑀋 (kh)	...	𐤅 (Qoph, 19)	
𑀌 (g)	...	𐤆 (Gimel, 3)	
𑀍, 𑀎 (gh)	...	𐤇, (𐤈) (Cheth, 8)	
𑀏, 𑀐 (c)	𑀑 (ch)	𐤉 (b) (Tsade, 18)	
𑀒, 𑀓 (j)	𑀔 (jb)	𐤊 (Zayin, 7)	
𑀕, 𑀖 (t)	...	𐤋, 𐤌, 𐤍 (Tau, 22)	
𑀗 (th)	𑀘 (t); 𑀙 (th)	𐤎, 𐤏 (Teth, 9)	
𑀚, 𑀛 (dh)	𑀜, 𑀝 (d); 𑀞 (ḍ); 𑀟 (ḍh); 𑀠 (ḍh); 𑀡 (ḍh); 𑀢 (ḍh); 𑀣 (ḍh); 𑀤 (ḍh); 𑀥 (ḍh); 𑀦 (ḍh); 𑀧 (ḍh); 𑀨 (ḍh); 𑀩 (ḍh); 𑀪 (ḍh); 𑀫 (ḍh); 𑀬 (ḍh); 𑀭 (ḍh); 𑀮 (ḍh); 𑀯 (ḍh); 𑀰 (ḍh); 𑀱 (ḍh); 𑀲 (ḍh); 𑀳 (ḍh); 𑀴 (ḍh); 𑀵 (ḍh); 𑀶 (ḍh); 𑀷 (ḍh); 𑀸 (ḍh); 𑀹 (ḍh); 𑀺 (ḍh); 𑀻 (ḍh); 𑀼 (ḍh); 𑀽 (ḍh); 𑀾 (ḍh); 𑀿 (ḍh); 𑁀 (ḍh); 𑁁 (ḍh); 𑁂 (ḍh); 𑁃 (ḍh); 𑁄 (ḍh); 𑁅 (ḍh); 𑁆 (ḍh); 𑁇 (ḍh); 𑁈 (ḍh); 𑁉 (ḍh); 𑁊 (ḍh); 𑁋 (ḍh); 𑁌 (ḍh); 𑁍 (ḍh); 𑁎 (ḍh); 𑁏 (ḍh); 𑁐 (ḍh); 𑁑 (ḍh); 𑁒 (ḍh); 𑁓 (ḍh); 𑁔 (ḍh); 𑁕 (ḍh); 𑁖 (ḍh); 𑁗 (ḍh); 𑁘 (ḍh); 𑁙 (ḍh); 𑁚 (ḍh); 𑁛 (ḍh); 𑁜 (ḍh); 𑁝 (ḍh); 𑁞 (ḍh); 𑁟 (ḍh); 𑁠 (ḍh); 𑁡 (ḍh); 𑁢 (ḍh); 𑁣 (ḍh); 𑁤 (ḍh); 𑁥 (ḍh); 𑁦 (ḍh); 𑁧 (ḍh); 𑁨 (ḍh); 𑁩 (ḍh); 𑁪 (ḍh); 𑁫 (ḍh); 𑁬 (ḍh); 𑁭 (ḍh); 𑁮 (ḍh); 𑁯 (ḍh); 𑁰 (ḍh); 𑁱 (ḍh); 𑁲 (ḍh); 𑁳 (ḍh); 𑁴 (ḍh); 𑁵 (ḍh); 𑁶 (ḍh); 𑁷 (ḍh); 𑁸 (ḍh); 𑁹 (ḍh); 𑁺 (ḍh); 𑁻 (ḍh); 𑁼 (ḍh); 𑁽 (ḍh); 𑁾 (ḍh); 𑁿 (ḍh); 𑂀 (ḍh); 𑂁 (ḍh); 𑂂 (ḍh); 𑂃 (ḍh); 𑂄 (ḍh); 𑂅 (ḍh); 𑂆 (ḍh); 𑂇 (ḍh); 𑂈 (ḍh); 𑂉 (ḍh); 𑂊 (ḍh); 𑂋 (ḍh); 𑂌 (ḍh); 𑂍 (ḍh); 𑂎 (ḍh); 𑂏 (ḍh); 𑂐 (ḍh); 𑂑 (ḍh); 𑂒 (ḍh); 𑂓 (ḍh); 𑂔 (ḍh); 𑂕 (ḍh); 𑂖 (ḍh); 𑂗 (ḍh); 𑂘 (ḍh); 𑂙 (ḍh); 𑂚 (ḍh); 𑂛 (ḍh); 𑂜 (ḍh); 𑂝 (ḍh); 𑂞 (ḍh); 𑂟 (ḍh); 𑂠 (ḍh); 𑂡 (ḍh); 𑂢 (ḍh); 𑂣 (ḍh); 𑂤 (ḍh); 𑂥 (ḍh); 𑂦 (ḍh); 𑂧 (ḍh); 𑂨 (ḍh); 𑂩 (ḍh); 𑂪 (ḍh); 𑂫 (ḍh); 𑂬 (ḍh); 𑂭 (ḍh); 𑂮 (ḍh); 𑂯 (ḍh); 𑂰 (ḍh); 𑂱 (ḍh); 𑂲 (ḍh); 𑂳 (ḍh); 𑂴 (ḍh); 𑂵 (ḍh); 𑂶 (ḍh); 𑂷 (ḍh); 𑂸 (ḍh); 𑂹 (ḍh); 𑂺 (ḍh); 𑂻 (ḍh); 𑂼 (ḍh); 𑂽 (ḍh); 𑂾 (ḍh); 𑂿 (ḍh); 𑃀 (ḍh); 𑃁 (ḍh); 𑃂 (ḍh); 𑃃 (ḍh); 𑃄 (ḍh); 𑃅 (ḍh); 𑃆 (ḍh); 𑃇 (ḍh); 𑃈 (ḍh); 𑃉 (ḍh); 𑃊 (ḍh); 𑃋 (ḍh); 𑃌 (ḍh); 𑃍 (ḍh); 𑃎 (ḍh); 𑃏 (ḍh); 𑃐 (ḍh); 𑃑 (ḍh); 𑃒 (ḍh); 𑃓 (ḍh); 𑃔 (ḍh); 𑃕 (ḍh); 𑃖 (ḍh); 𑃗 (ḍh); 𑃘 (ḍh); 𑃙 (ḍh); 𑃚 (ḍh); 𑃛 (ḍh); 𑃜 (ḍh); 𑃝 (ḍh); 𑃞 (ḍh); 𑃟 (ḍh); 𑃠 (ḍh); 𑃡 (ḍh); 𑃢 (ḍh); 𑃣 (ḍh); 𑃤 (ḍh); 𑃥 (ḍh); 𑃦 (ḍh); 𑃧 (ḍh); 𑃨 (ḍh); 𑃩 (ḍh); 𑃪 (ḍh); 𑃫 (ḍh); 𑃬 (ḍh); 𑃭 (ḍh); 𑃮 (ḍh); 𑃯 (ḍh); 𑃰 (ḍh); 𑃱 (ḍh); 𑃲 (ḍh); 𑃳 (ḍh); 𑃴 (ḍh); 𑃵 (ḍh); 𑃶 (ḍh); 𑃷 (ḍh); 𑃸 (ḍh); 𑃹 (ḍh); 𑃺 (ḍh); 𑃻 (ḍh); 𑃼 (ḍh); 𑃽 (ḍh); 𑃾 (ḍh); 𑃿 (ḍh); 𑄀 (ḍh); 𑄁 (ḍh); 𑄂 (ḍh); 𑄃 (ḍh); 𑄄 (ḍh); 𑄅 (ḍh); 𑄆 (ḍh); 𑄇 (ḍh); 𑄈 (ḍh); 𑄉 (ḍh); 𑄊 (ḍh); 𑄋 (ḍh); 𑄌 (ḍh); 𑄍 (ḍh); 𑄎 (ḍh); 𑄏 (ḍh); 𑄐 (ḍh); 𑄑 (ḍh); 𑄒 (ḍh); 𑄓 (ḍh); 𑄔 (ḍh); 𑄕 (ḍh); 𑄖 (ḍh); 𑄗 (ḍh); 𑄘 (ḍh); 𑄙 (ḍh); 𑄚 (ḍh); 𑄛 (ḍh); 𑄜 (ḍh); 𑄝 (ḍh); 𑄞 (ḍh); 𑄟 (ḍh); 𑄠 (ḍh); 𑄡 (ḍh); 𑄢 (ḍh); 𑄣 (ḍh); 𑄤 (ḍh); 𑄥 (ḍh); 𑄦 (ḍh); 𑄧 (ḍh); 𑄨 (ḍh); 𑄩 (ḍh); 𑄪 (ḍh); 𑄫 (ḍh); 𑄬 (ḍh); 𑄭 (ḍh); 𑄮 (ḍh); 𑄯 (ḍh); 𑄰 (ḍh); 𑄱 (ḍh); 𑄲 (ḍh); 𑄳 (ḍh); 𑄴 (ḍh); 𑄵 (ḍh); 𑄶 (ḍh); 𑄷 (ḍh); 𑄸 (ḍh); 𑄹 (ḍh); 𑄺 (ḍh); 𑄻 (ḍh); 𑄼 (ḍh); 𑄽 (ḍh); 𑄾 (ḍh); 𑄿 (ḍh); 𑅀 (ḍh); 𑅁 (ḍh); 𑅂 (ḍh); 𑅃 (ḍh); 𑅄 (ḍh); 𑅅 (ḍh); 𑅆 (ḍh); 𑅇 (ḍh); 𑅈 (ḍh); 𑅉 (ḍh); 𑅊 (ḍh); 𑅋 (ḍh); 𑅌 (ḍh); 𑅍 (ḍh); 𑅎 (ḍh); 𑅏 (ḍh); 𑅐 (ḍh); 𑅑 (ḍh); 𑅒 (ḍh); 𑅓 (ḍh); 𑅔 (ḍh); 𑅕 (ḍh); 𑅖 (ḍh); 𑅗 (ḍh); 𑅘 (ḍh); 𑅙 (ḍh); 𑅚 (ḍh); 𑅛 (ḍh); 𑅜 (ḍh); 𑅝 (ḍh); 𑅞 (ḍh); 𑅟 (ḍh); 𑅠 (ḍh); 𑅡 (ḍh); 𑅢 (ḍh); 𑅣 (ḍh); 𑅤 (ḍh); 𑅥 (ḍh); 𑅦 (ḍh); 𑅧 (ḍh); 𑅨 (ḍh); 𑅩 (ḍh); 𑅪 (ḍh); 𑅫 (ḍh); 𑅬 (ḍh); 𑅭 (ḍh); 𑅮 (ḍh); 𑅯 (ḍh); 𑅰 (ḍh); 𑅱 (ḍh); 𑅲 (ḍh); 𑅳 (ḍh); 𑅴 (ḍh); 𑅵 (ḍh); 𑅶 (ḍh); 𑅷 (ḍh); 𑅸 (ḍh); 𑅹 (ḍh); 𑅺 (ḍh); 𑅻 (ḍh); 𑅼 (ḍh); 𑅽 (ḍh); 𑅾 (ḍh); 𑅿 (ḍh); 𑆀 (ḍh); 𑆁 (ḍh); 𑆂 (ḍh); 𑆃 (ḍh); 𑆄 (ḍh); 𑆅 (ḍh); 𑆆 (ḍh); 𑆇 (ḍh); 𑆈 (ḍh); 𑆉 (ḍh); 𑆊 (ḍh); 𑆋 (ḍh); 𑆌 (ḍh); 𑆍 (ḍh); 𑆎 (ḍh); 𑆏 (ḍh); 𑆐 (ḍh); 𑆑 (ḍh); 𑆒 (ḍh); 𑆓 (ḍh); 𑆔 (ḍh); 𑆕 (ḍh); 𑆖 (ḍh); 𑆗 (ḍh); 𑆘 (ḍh); 𑆙 (ḍh); 𑆚 (ḍh); 𑆛 (ḍh); 𑆜 (ḍh); 𑆝 (ḍh); 𑆞 (ḍh); 𑆟 (ḍh); 𑆠 (ḍh); 𑆡 (ḍh); 𑆢 (ḍh); 𑆣 (ḍh); 𑆤 (ḍh); 𑆥 (ḍh); 𑆦 (ḍh); 𑆧 (ḍh); 𑆨 (ḍh); 𑆩 (ḍh); 𑆪 (ḍh); 𑆫 (ḍh); 𑆬 (ḍh); 𑆭 (ḍh); 𑆮 (ḍh); 𑆯 (ḍh); 𑆰 (ḍh); 𑆱 (ḍh); 𑆲 (ḍh); 𑆳 (ḍh); 𑆴 (ḍh); 𑆵 (ḍh); 𑆶 (ḍh); 𑆷 (ḍh); 𑆸 (ḍh); 𑆹 (ḍh); 𑆺 (ḍh); 𑆻 (ḍh); 𑆼 (ḍh); 𑆽 (ḍh); 𑆾 (ḍh); 𑆿 (ḍh); 𑇀 (ḍh); 𑇁 (ḍh); 𑇂 (ḍh); 𑇃 (ḍh); 𑇄 (ḍh); 𑇅 (ḍh); 𑇆 (ḍh); 𑇇 (ḍh); 𑇈 (ḍh); 𑇉 (ḍh); 𑇊 (ḍh); 𑇋 (ḍh); 𑇌 (ḍh); 𑇍 (ḍh); 𑇎 (ḍh); 𑇏 (ḍh); 𑇐 (ḍh); 𑇑 (ḍh); 𑇒 (ḍh); 𑇓 (ḍh); 𑇔 (ḍh); 𑇕 (ḍh); 𑇖 (ḍh); 𑇗 (ḍh); 𑇘 (ḍh); 𑇙 (ḍh); 𑇚 (ḍh); 𑇛 (ḍh); 𑇜 (ḍh); 𑇝 (ḍh); 𑇞 (ḍh); 𑇟 (ḍh); 𑇠 (ḍh); 𑇡 (ḍh); 𑇢 (ḍh); 𑇣 (ḍh); 𑇤 (ḍh); 𑇥 (ḍh); 𑇦 (ḍh); 𑇧 (ḍh); 𑇨 (ḍh); 𑇩 (ḍh); 𑇪 (ḍh); 𑇫 (ḍh); 𑇬 (ḍh); 𑇭 (ḍh); 𑇮 (ḍh); 𑇯 (ḍh); 𑇰 (ḍh); 𑇱 (ḍh); 𑇲 (ḍh); 𑇳 (ḍh); 𑇴 (ḍh); 𑇵 (ḍh); 𑇶 (ḍh); 𑇷 (ḍh); 𑇸 (ḍh); 𑇹 (ḍh); 𑇺 (ḍh); 𑇻 (ḍh); 𑇼 (ḍh); 𑇽 (ḍh); 𑇾 (ḍh); 𑇿 (ḍh); 𑈀 (ḍh); 𑈁 (ḍh); 𑈂 (ḍh); 𑈃 (ḍh); 𑈄 (ḍh); 𑈅 (ḍh); 𑈆 (ḍh); 𑈇 (ḍh); 𑈈 (ḍh); 𑈉 (ḍh); 𑈊 (ḍh); 𑈋 (ḍh); 𑈌 (ḍh); 𑈍 (ḍh); 𑈎 (ḍh); 𑈏 (ḍh); 𑈐 (ḍh); 𑈑 (ḍh); 𑈒 (ḍh); 𑈓 (ḍh); 𑈔 (ḍh); 𑈕 (ḍh); 𑈖 (ḍh); 𑈗 (ḍh); 𑈘 (ḍh); 𑈙 (ḍh); 𑈚 (ḍh); 𑈛 (ḍh); 𑈜 (ḍh); 𑈝 (ḍh); 𑈞 (ḍh); 𑈟 (ḍh); 𑈠 (ḍh); 𑈡 (ḍh); 𑈢 (ḍh); 𑈣 (ḍh); 𑈤 (ḍh); 𑈥 (ḍh); 𑈦 (ḍh); 𑈧 (ḍh); 𑈨 (ḍh); 𑈩 (ḍh); 𑈪 (ḍh); 𑈫 (ḍh); 𑈬 (ḍh); 𑈭 (ḍh); 𑈮 (ḍh); 𑈯 (ḍh); 𑈰 (ḍh); 𑈱 (ḍh); 𑈲 (ḍh); 𑈳 (ḍh); 𑈴 (ḍh); 𑈵 (ḍh); 𑈶 (ḍh); 𑈷 (ḍh); 𑈸 (ḍh); 𑈹 (ḍh); 𑈺 (ḍh); 𑈻 (ḍh); 𑈼 (ḍh); 𑈽 (ḍh); 𑈾 (ḍh); 𑈿 (ḍh); 𑉀 (ḍh); 𑉁 (ḍh); 𑉂 (ḍh); 𑉃 (ḍh); 𑉄 (ḍh); 𑉅 (ḍh); 𑉆 (ḍh); 𑉇 (ḍh); 𑉈 (ḍh); 𑉉 (ḍh); 𑉊 (ḍh); 𑉋 (ḍh); 𑉌 (ḍh); 𑉍 (ḍh); 𑉎 (ḍh); 𑉏 (ḍh); 𑉐 (ḍh); 𑉑 (ḍh); 𑉒 (ḍh); 𑉓 (ḍh); 𑉔 (ḍh); 𑉕 (ḍh); 𑉖 (ḍh); 𑉗 (ḍh); 𑉘 (ḍh); 𑉙 (ḍh); 𑉚 (ḍh); 𑉛 (ḍh); 𑉜 (ḍh); 𑉝 (ḍh); 𑉞 (ḍh); 𑉟 (ḍh); 𑉠 (ḍh); 𑉡 (ḍh); 𑉢 (ḍh); 𑉣 (ḍh); 𑉤 (ḍh); 𑉥 (ḍh); 𑉦 (ḍh); 𑉧 (ḍh); 𑉨 (ḍh); 𑉩 (ḍh); 𑉪 (ḍh); 𑉫 (ḍh); 𑉬 (ḍh); 𑉭 (ḍh); 𑉮 (ḍh); 𑉯 (ḍh); 𑉰 (ḍh); 𑉱 (ḍh); 𑉲 (ḍh); 𑉳 (ḍh); 𑉴 (ḍh); 𑉵 (ḍh); 𑉶 (ḍh); 𑉷 (ḍh); 𑉸 (ḍh); 𑉹 (ḍh); 𑉺 (ḍh); 𑉻 (ḍh); 𑉼 (ḍh); 𑉽 (ḍh); 𑉾 (ḍh); 𑉿 (ḍh); 𑊀 (ḍh); 𑊁 (ḍh); 𑊂 (ḍh); 𑊃 (ḍh); 𑊄 (ḍh); 𑊅 (ḍh); 𑊆 (ḍh); 𑊇 (ḍh); 𑊈 (ḍh); 𑊉 (ḍh); 𑊊 (ḍh); 𑊋 (ḍh); 𑊌 (ḍh); 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had the sense to have taken the earlier alphabet as the basis for deriving the later one. Of course the fact remains that, from whatever source they might have been derived, there are two alphabets found in the Inscriptions of the time of Aśoka. And the Kharoṣṭhī, which had been brought into the Punjab by the Persian conquest, would naturally have been adopted by the traders in order to win the goodwill and the custom of their conquerors, very much as the Kāyasthas (the scribes) and the traders of a later age adopted the Persian alphabet and just as the same people today have taken to English. Foreign rule was, therefore, the only reason for the introduction of the Kharoṣṭhī in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces of India. But we need not therefore take it for granted that the same source which gave the "clerks' alphabet" also gave the "Pandit alphabet."

The discrepancies in Bühler's derivations of these two may best be set forth in tabular form (Table III). From this table it would appear that the framers of the Kharoṣṭhī, though they were mere traders and clerks, were better phoneticians than the learned Sanskrit Pandits who arranged the Brāhmī. This in itself would be enough to cast a grave doubt upon Bühler's theories. It is in Bühler's derivations of the vowels that we get the worst discrepancies. In the Kharoṣṭhī the first letter of the Semitic alphabet (Aleph) gives the letter A; and all the other vowels are naturally derived from this one. Naturally we might also expect a similar degree of phonetic acumen from the Sanskrit-knowing Pandits, and, at the very least, some sort of consistency in the methods of their derivation. One may grant that they derived the *u*, *ū* and *o* from the *v* (Vau). But to say that the accurate and even 'pedantic' phoneticians of India (to use Bühler's own words) should have derived the *e* from the deep glottal Semitic 'Ain, leaves one dissatisfied. To this we may add some truly amazing derivations of some of the consonants, such as (*z*) that of the two unaspirated *t* and *d* (as well as the *ḍ*) from the corresponding

TABLE III.

Comparative Table of the Derivations of the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī Alphabets as given by Bühler.

Letters.	Derivation for <i>Kharoṣṭhī</i> .	Derivation for <i>Brāhmī</i> .
i, I	Derivative from Aleph (a) ...	Derivative from 'Ain (e)
u, ū	" " "	" " " Vau (o)
e	" " "	From 'Ain
ai	" " "	Derivative from 'Ain (e)
gh	" " Gimel (g)	From Cheth
t	" " Tau (t)	Derivative from Teth (th)
ṭh	" " "	" " "
ḍ	" " Daleth (d)	" " Daleth (dh)
ḍh	" " "	" " "
th	" " Tau (t)	From Teth
d	From Daleth	Derivative from Daleth (dh)
dh	Derivative from Daleth (dh)	From Daleth
ś	From Cheth	From Shin
ṣ	" Shin	" Samekh
s	" Samekh	Derivative from Samekh (ṣ)

aspirates *th* and *dh* while the original Semitic sounds Teth and Daleth are both unaspirates ; (ii) that of the *gh* from Semitic Cheth which was a spirant having phonetic value either of the spirant *ch* (as in the Scotch *loch*) or of the sibilant *ś* (like the South German *ch* in *ich*) ; and (iii) that of the dental *s*, from the cerebral *ṣ* which in its turn he derives from the Semitic Samekh which is itself dental ! When such examples are given to us surely we are justified in saying that Bühler makes a very large demand from our credulity. It is not that Bühler did not understand Sanskrit phonetics, he was indeed a profound Sanskritist, and was thoroughly well acquainted with the achievements of Sanskrit grammar. There is only one conclusion we can draw, *viz.*, that Bühler had made up his mind that the Brāhmī *must* be derived from the North Semitic, and when he sees reasonably similar forms he starts off to derive one from the other, and, forgetting for the time being all rules of Sanskrit phonetics, tries to

prove an *a priori* thesis. In fact the very opening sentence of the section of his book, dealing with "the Derivation of the Brāhmī"¹ he says : "As the literary evidence points to the common use of writing in India during the fifth and probably the sixth century B.C., and as the palaeographic evidence proves the Brāhmī *lipi* to be the oldest Indian alphabet and to be probably identical with the script referred to in the Buddhist Canon, *it is a matter of course that its source must be found in the more ancient Semitic characters.*"² As a piece of *a priori* argument this would be hard to beat.

(c) Now we come to Taylor's theory about the derivation of the Brāhmī from the South Semitic. He takes as his sources the ancient alphabets of Safa and Sabaea. He has given a table of derivations in the second volume of his great work on *The Alphabet* (p. 320), but he has merely betrayed his utter ignorance of Indo-Aryan phonetics. Among the most remarkable of his derivations may be mentioned that of *v* from the Semitic *y*-sound, of *gh* from Semitic *kh*, of *j* from *sh* and of *ch* from the deep glottal *Qaf*! Regarding these derivations Bühler makes the following comments : "As the Hindus are very particular, even pedantic in matters connected with phonetics, and as the framers of the Brāhmī *lipi* have been careful with regard to the formation of many derivative signs, duly deriving *ḍha* from *ḍa*, *pha* from *pa*, *bha* from *ba*, and so forth, it seems incredible that they should have no regard for phonetic affinities in utilising the signs they borrowed."³ The pity is that he himself, in the very next page, commits the phonetic atrocities we have already noted above.

Quite apart from the phonetic difficulties involved in Taylor's theories, there still remains the very real difficulty of pointing out the exact South Semitic script which could have been

¹ p. 53.

² Italics mine.

³ Op. cit., p. 54.

the parent of Brāhmī. Taylor seems to have appreciated this formidable and fundamental difficulty, for he says, "In comparing the Indian and the Sabaeen forms it must be borne in mind that no South Semitic inscriptions have yet been discovered of a date sufficiently remote to supply the absolute prototype of the Aśoka letters. Of the inscriptions which *accident* has preserved, none probably are older than the middle of the second century B.C., *a period later by about a century than the earliest Indian inscriptions.*"¹ Hence the Sabaeen forms would also be naturally later by several centuries than the assumed prototype of which the Aśokan script is the descendant. Taylor too, seems to have recognized this, because he adds that "it must therefore be remembered that it is only possible to compare sister alphabets from a common but unknown source."² Needless to say that he gives no scrap of evidence for assuming that the Sabaeen and the Aśoka alphabets are derived "from a common but unknown source."

This is indeed a clever bit of special pleading. Of course there may be undiscovered inscriptions of earlier date in South Arabia, but in order to give full time for the development of the Brāhmī of Aśokan age we must put back this prototype to at least the 7th century B.C., for all epigraphists are agreed on demanding from 400 to 600 years for the growth of the Aśokan from its earliest parent. The Semitic inscriptions extant of that age show a script more akin to the Phœnician, and hence to the North Semitic. Probably it was this consideration which led Bühler to postulate his North Semitic theory. And this would lead us again into the phonetic and other difficulties we have already considered.

If we compare the three alphabets given in his Table by Taylor—the Brāhmī and the alphabets of Safa and of Sabaea

¹ Italics mine. Note also the saving word "*accident.*" By assuming that Taylor has very cleverly managed to escape the inevitable conclusion.

² Op. cit., p. 321.

—and if we remember that the latter two are actually later in date than the former, may we not argue with equal (if not with greater) plausibility that the Semites of Yemen borrowed their letters from the Hindus? The phonetic discrepancies such as are found in Taylor's table could be explained much more easily as being due to the admittedly lesser grammatical acumen of the Yemenite people. Of the two peoples the Hindus at that period had doubtless the higher culture, and besides Yemen was more in the nature of an intermediary between India and the great emporia of the West, than of a manufacturing and an importing country itself.

Remembering the essential characteristics of Brāhmī enumerated above, we may say that if we attribute its origin to any foreign source, specially the Semitic, we must allow at least half a millennium for the development to the scientific perfection of Aśokan Brāhmī. When any foreign alphabet is taken over, it is first adopted wholesale, and then only gradually the special sounds of the language get worked into it. Only after several generations of constant use the form best suited to express a particular sound comes to be finally determined by a process very similar to that by which the fittest survives in the plant and the animal worlds. The very perfection of the Brāhmī alphabet in the days of Aśoka is an argument against any theory of Semitic or other foreign origin. In the Semitic, at any rate, there is no known script of an age sufficiently remote (except the Phœnician) to make such borrowing at all possible. It goes without saying that it would be quite impossible to borrow simultaneously from several foreign sources, and it is equally impossible to go on borrowing from one source over a long interval and at the same time to go on making additions and alterations in the material already borrowed.

Besides these arguments against the Semitic origin of Brāhmī there are still two other reasons, which go against this theory. They are not in themselves weighty enough to

overturn an otherwise valid theory, but when added to the other arguments already set forth they strengthen the case against the acceptance of any foreign origin of the Aśokan script. These are : (i) the order of the letters, and (ii) their numerical values. As regards the first nothing special need be said. The order of the sounds in Sanskrit had been arranged thoroughly scientifically at a very early period, certainly in the days of the *Prātiśākhya* treatises. And these are certainly pre-Aśokan. As regards the second, all the principal alphabets which have been derived through the Semitic have more or less retained the ancient numerical values of the letters. The first ten bear the values from 1 to 10, and then by tens up to 100, and the last three letters take on the values by hundreds up to 400. The Arabs added six more letters and brought up the letter-numerals up to 1000 (see Table IV).¹ In Arabic and Persian these letter-numerals are used chiefly to record the dates of events. The numerical values of Indian letters are entirely different just because their order is so very different. Indian letters have these numerical values attached to them according to various systems. In the Brāhmī there is a very complex system of numerical values attached to the letters and these are, moreover, not only simple letters but often combinations of one or more consonants with various vowels. This system was called the *akṣara-palli*, and its origin is not yet clearly understood. Then there is another system also, very largely used in mathematical and astronomical works (which necessarily deal with large numbers), of representing figures by words. The first ten numbers (as well as several other larger ones) had special *words* to indicate them. And by means of these large numbers could be expressed digit by digit, beginning with the unit's place. The true letter-numerals were, however, mainly confined to South India ; and here, too, there are more

¹ In Arabic the numerical values of the letters are given by the famous mnemonic, *abjad*, etc.,

TABLE IV.
The Numerical Value of Semitic Letters and of
Sanskrit Letters.

Original Semitic.	Value.	Arabic.	Sanskrit.	REMARKS.
1. Aleph ...	1	ا	क, ट, प य,	It will be seen that in the Sanskrit there are several letters for the values from 1 to 10. Any of these could be used and each would express only one digit, beginning with the unit's place. Of course the letters for 10 represent zero. This is the "consonantal system" of letter-numeration, used chiefly in old South Indian books.
2. Beth ...	2	ب	ख, ठ, फ, र,	
3. Gimel ...	3	ج	ग, ङ, ब, ल,	
4. Daleth ...	4	د	घ, ढ, भ, व,	
5. He ...	5	ه	ङ, ण, म, श,	
6. Vau ...	6	و	च, त, ष,	
7. Zayin ...	7	ز	छ, थ, स,	
8. Oheth ...	8	ح	ज, द, ढ,	
9. Teth ...	9	ط	झ, ध, ङ,	
10. Yod ...	10	ي	ञ, न(=0)	
11. Kaph ...	20	ك		Another system of letter-numerals has also been noted in India. Here the letters used are consonant <i>plus</i> vowel. The 12 vowels and 34 consonants are arranged in groups of 12 or of 34 each. Thus, according to the first method, <i>ka</i> , <i>kā</i> ... <i>ko</i> , <i>kau</i> would have the values 1—12; then would come <i>kha</i> ... <i>khan</i> with values of 13—24; and so on through the whole alphabet. According to the second method, <i>ka</i> , <i>kha</i> , <i>ga</i> ... <i>sa</i> , <i>ha</i> , would be 1—34; after that <i>kā</i> , <i>khā</i> , <i>gā</i> ... <i>sā</i> , <i>hā</i> , would be 35—68; and so on to the end.
12. Lamed ...	30	ل		
13. Mem ...	40	م		
14. Nun ...	50	ن		
15. Samekh ...	60	ס		
16. 'Ain ...	70	ע		
17. Pe ...	80	פ		
18. Tsade ...	90	צ		
19. Qoph ...	100	ק		
20. Resh ...	200	ר		
21. Shin ...	300	ש		
22. Tau ...	400	ת		
	500	ת		
	600	ת		
	700	ת		
	800	ת		
	900	ת		
	1000	ת		

systems than one. Two such may be mentioned here. The first is confined to consonants only. In this a number may be expressed by a word where each consonant represents a digit (the first representing the digit in the unit's place) and the vowels are to be discarded. This system is sufficiently clearly indicated in Table IV. The second system takes account of vowels as well as of consonants. The 12 vowels and the 34 consonants are taken two and two together. This has two varieties. In the first the first consonant combined with each of the vowels in turn gives the first twelve numbers, then comes the second consonant similarly combined giving the numbers from 13 up to 24, and so on through the whole alphabet. In the second variety each of the 34 consonants is taken as combined with the first vowel, giving the numbers 1 to 34; then with the second vowel, giving 35 to 68 and so forth. From all this it is self-evident that the numerical values assigned to Indian letters do not correspond to the original Semitic values at all.

To sum up, it seems to me that no satisfactory case has been made out for either the Northern or the Southern variety of Semitic as the parent of Brāhmī. And no other foreign origin besides Semitic has ever been seriously suggested. In spite of the formidable array of names in favour of the various theories about the Semitic origin of Brāhmī (Bühler's name alone is a host in itself), I would venture to assert that these theories have not been proved beyond all reasonable doubt, because to my mind they lack two essential conditions—consistency and phonetics.

This leaves us only the one remaining alternative, *viz.*, that Brāhmī was of indigenous growth. This theory was first suggested by Lassen and was strongly upheld by Cunningham and other scholars and epigraphists.¹ In the early days,

¹ Among them is Dowson, who has an article on the subject in the *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII (1881), pp. 102ff., which, I must confess, has failed to convince me.

however, the upholders of this view advanced singularly feeble arguments in its support. Cunningham, for example, argued that the Brāhmī *v* (𑀓) might have been originally a hieroglyph for *vīṇā* (lute), or *vāhu* (arm), or *vinḍu* (drop); and that the letter *t* (𑀕) might have represented *tan* (to spread), or *tāla* (the palm-tree), or *tarāṅga* (wave), or *tri* (three). "Such an elastic method," Taylor very rightly remarks, "may establish anything, or—nothing." It was mainly owing to such crude attempts, combined with the absence of all positive evidence in the shape of pre-Aśokan inscriptions, that lent weight to the Semitic theory. The supporters of the latter theory have made a good deal out of the point that at that time, and until quite recently, the Aśoka Brāhmī was practically the oldest-known writing in India, and consequently, they argued, if the Indian script were indigenious, there would have been found in India some older records of writing. Here it will be enough to state that *older writing has been discovered in India*.¹

In the first place there are the Harappa seals discovered long ago in the Panjab, which show some kind of hieroglyphic signs and which are probably connected with the recently discovered inscriptions from Mohenjo-Daro. Then there are several pre-Aśokan Brāhmī inscriptions also discovered which show practically the same script but the direction there is the reverse, *right to left*. We shall consider the import of these later on. Finally, there is the important discovery made in 1917 by Yazdani, of the Hyderabad Archæological Department, of a large number of pieces of prehistoric pottery inscribed with

¹ I may just here state that the recent discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro would hardly in the present state of our knowledge affect any of the arguments advanced in this paper. These inscriptions are clearly connected with the ancient Shumerian script, and they may or may not succeed in connecting early Indian culture with Shumer. But I feel that we would hardly be justified in connecting these hieroglyphic signs with the Brāhmī script, for assuredly the writing discovered by Yazdani on prehistoric pottery seems much more akin to this script and is very likely its parent.

written signs which are probably alphabetic in value.¹ The real signification of Yazdani's discovery will be seen at the proper place. All these discoveries are mentioned here merely to remove the main objection raised against the indigenous theory in the earlier days. Incidentally we may take these as instances of the danger of arguing from negative premises—the absence of certain links in a chain of argument.

We may now examine in detail the objections raised by the upholders of the Semitic theory against the indigenous origin of Brāhmī script. These have been forcibly put by Taylor² and we shall consider them in order :

(i) The first objection raised by the older scholars is that a fully developed and an almost perfect alphabet like the Brāhmī is impossible without long preceding years of growth. As no earlier monuments were known in those days and as none were discovered until comparatively recently this objection seemed to have great weight at that time. But we have already seen how this has been removed.

(ii) The practical uniformity of Brāhmī and the absence of variety in the script of the Aśoka inscriptions used to be brought forward as another objection. It was urged that if the script had been indigenous, its origins must be taken back to quite a hoary antiquity, and in that case we might naturally expect quite a large variety of scripts in India in Aśoka's days. But, if on the other hand, the script had been borrowed, say a couple of centuries (or even four or five centuries) before that period, it would be sufficient to account for the perfection of the Aśokan script as well as for the absence of any appreciable variety in it.

The answer to this objection lies in the very nature of the inscriptions themselves. They served a religious and an

¹ See *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, pp. 57 ff. See also article on "The Origin of the Indian Alphabet" by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III (Orientalia), 1, pp. 493ff.

² Op. cit., ii, pp. 306 ff.

imperial purpose. The Religion of the Buddha and the Empire of the Mauryas typified a unity which was sought to be outwardly expressed by the uniformity in the script and even in the language of many of the Edicts of Aśoka. It does not follow that there was no other script, any more than that there was no other language in India at that time. In fact, we do find local variations in the letters of the inscriptions even at that period; Bühler, for instance, gives no less than eight different variations of the letter α ; and some experts are even of the opinion that the subsequent twofold division of the Brāhmī script into the Northern and the Southern varieties, is traceable even in the inscriptions of Aśoka. All this warrants us in assuming that local scripts did exist in those days as has indeed been asserted by tradition and by various Buddhist works. The Aśoka script was definitely a monumental one and just like the Roman Capitals of modern days it was used for such purposes. The very regularity of the Brāhmī letters, which is their most marked characteristic, gave them an artistic effect, which the engravers of the inscriptions seem to have appreciated and to have taken advantage of. In fact the artistic Brāhmī script was but one aspect of the reawakening of Indian national life under the first Mauryas.

(iii) A third objection is that the Brāhmī contains letters which have been obviously derived from others, so that the letters fall into definite groups. It is therefore argued that the derived letters represent sounds unknown in the Semitic, and that consequently they had been formed by slight variations from the nearest Semitic equivalents.

In answer to this objection, we may examine what these connected groups might have been. The accompanying table (Table V) is an attempt to arrange the letters into such groups based upon some consistent phonetic principles. This grouping is merely a tentative suggestion, which I would leave to be worked out by the expert especially in connection with the pre-historic signs of Yazdani. I am myself not a palæographer

TABLE V.

Suggested Grouping of the Letters of the Brāhmī Alphabet.

N.B. i. In this table some of the variant forms actually found in the inscriptions are shown in brackets if they illustrate the points of connection better.

ii. The one guiding rule seems to be that no addition of a loop or a stroke should be such as would cause the resulting letter to be confounded with another. Neither should it in any way violate the general characteristics of the alphabet as have already been laid down above.



iii. Forms which are post-Aśoka are preceded by an asterisk (*). Hypothetical forms are preceded by a cross (x).

1. > (a), > (ā).
2. ∴ (i), ∴ (ī); ∴ (i medial), ∴ (ī medial); ◁ (e),
* ∴ (ai); ∴ (y).
3. L (u), * L (ū); L (o), x L (au) · ∴ (* ∴) (v).
4. † (k), ∴ (g, * ∴ (?), * ∴) (kh).
5. ˆ (g), ˆ, ˆ, (* ˆ) (gh); ˆ (h).
6. d, d (c), d, d (ch); ˆ, (* ˆ) (ś).
7. E, E (* E) (j), ˆ (jh).
8. C (t), O (tḥ); ˆ (ˆ) (t), O (tḥ).
9. C (d), d (dh); ˆ (d), D (dh).
10. ⊥ (n), I (ṇ), ˆ (ṇ), ˆ (?ṇ).
11. ˆ (p), ˆ (ph).
12. □ (b), ˆ (bh).
13. { , { (ṇ), ˆ (* ˆ) (l). Connection doubtful.
14. ˆ, (* ˆ, * ˆ) (ś), ˆ, ˆ (s).
15. ˆ, ˆ, * ˆ. This seems unconnected: With b?

REMARKS.

From the suggested arrangement of this Table the following points may be deduced :

1. The short and the long vowels are obviously connected.
2. The *guna*-vowels *e* and *o* from the corresponding simple vowels by the addition of an extra stroke.

3. The *vr̥ddhi*-vowels *ai* and *au* are derivable from the *guṇa*-vowels just as the long are derived from the short. The *au* form is hypothetical. Compare the later *o* (o) and *ṣ* (au).
4. The semivowels are derivable from the simple vowels by the addition of a loop or a curved stroke below the corresponding simple short vowel; thus the *v* and *y* might have come through forms like ×  and × .
5. The aspirated forms of consonants are derivable from the corresponding unaspirated ones by the addition of a loop. In the case of *b* and *bh* the loop has become angular and the bottom stroke of the *b* has been elided for obvious reasons.
6. The cerebrals and dentals also seem to be connected, the latter adding an extra loop or stroke (with the exception of only the nasal, where the cerebral is the fuller form). In the case of *ṭh* and *ṭḥ* the only addition possible is the dot in the centre of the latter. This would seem to imply that the cerebral form was the original one. Very probably this is true, as the original home of the Brāhmī seems to have been South India; probably it was first adapted to the use of the Dravidian languages, and thence it passed on to the Aryan Sanskrit. The discovery of the pre-historic script (by Yazdani) in the South seems also to support this idea.
7. The nasals are all obviously connected.
8. Of the sibilants the cerebral *ṣ* and the dental *s* are connected as pointed out above. The palatal *ṣ*, however, shows some connection with the *ch*; in the Prakrits there is often a confusion between these two sounds.
9. The two liquids also might be connected, but the connection is not at all clear.
10. The *h* connects up with *gh*, as it so often does in Sanskrit phonetics.
11. The only unconnected letter seems to be the *m*; though it may be connected with the *b* (?).

and it is quite possible that this table and my remarks upon it might seem to the expert akin to the great scientific discovery in the *Pickwick Papers*. Still I venture to make the suggestions I have made, basing them on principles of Sanskrit phonetics. I think that the Brahmana Pandits who arranged the order of the letters of a prehistoric Proto-Indian script, must have given due weight to similar phonetic considerations. The question is one essentially for the expert authorities in Indian Palæography. I only offer this table as a suggestion as to the lines along which future research might be profitably directed. From such a table we see that the groups thus arranged are exactly what one may expect from the precise phonetic analysis of Sanskrit made in the *Prātisākhya*s of the Vedas, centuries before the date of Aśoka.¹

And is it not too much to expect us to believe that a people who could produce such masterly analysis of their language about B.C. 1000, should have had to borrow the symbols for these same sounds several centuries later from a people whose script was so obviously imperfect? Should we expect a master-musician to borrow a broken instrument to play his choicest music? The letters recognised by scholars as "derived" are precisely those which we may expect to have been secondary forms in an alphabet representing sounds which have been thoroughly scientifically investigated.

Then again the treatment of the medial vowels is thoroughly accurate and simple. The very fact that Bühler was constrained to derive the simple *e*-sound from the glottal 'Ain of the Semitic is in itself enough to make any impartial person cast a doubt upon the Semitic theory.

(iv) The structural parallelisms between Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī have been brought forward as a proof of the Semitic origin of the latter, because the former is admittedly of that

¹ The actual texts of these works, as they have come down to us, are probably later. But there is no doubt that the phonetic analysis made in these works was made at a very early period.

origin. The parallelisms, indeed, do exist, but the conclusions sought to be drawn therefrom do not necessarily follow. If the resemblances had been indeed due to a common origin, it would be impossible to explain the marked differences between the initial vowels. Being derived from the vowel-less Semitic the Kharoṣṭhī naturally derives *all* its vowels from the Aleph, whereas in the Brāhmī the vowels fall into the three natural phonetic groups of the *a*, the *i* and the *u*. Only indigenous growth and conformity with the rules of Sanskrit phonetics could satisfactorily explain this peculiarity of Brāhmī.

So much by way of answers to the objections raised against the theory of indigenous growth. And now we may state some of the positive evidence in support of this theory. There are five main considerations:

- (1) Indian tradition itself, which speaks of alphabets and of the art of writing as existing in India from a very early date.
- (2) Foreign writers also refer to the art of writing being of great antiquity in the land.
- (3) A consideration of the history of Sanskrit literature must also lead us to the conclusion that writing in India was of indigenous growth, and that it was well known quite early in the Classical (*i.e.*, post-Vedic) period.
- (4) Palæographic evidence of the Aśoka inscriptions themselves, as well as the recent discoveries seem to point in the same direction.
- (5) Phonetic and other considerations also support the same contention.

We will now consider these in some detail.

(1) Indian tradition assigns the invention of the art of writing to Brahmā, the Creator. Whatever that may imply, it certainly shows that the Hindus regarded writing as of native origin and growth, and that the origin of it had been lost in the mists of a hoary past. The sister-nation of the Iranian

Aryans had to borrow their writing from the Semites, which fact they have faithfully acknowledged and embodied in the legend, mentioned in their national epic, the *Shāh-Nāmeḥ*, that King Tahmurasp learnt the art of writing from the *Divs* or Demons, *i.e.*, foreigners. There are very many references in ancient Sanskrit literature to the art of writing; and both in Sanskrit and in Pali there are references to the varieties of script. The Jaina *Suttas* speak of about eighteen varieties, the *Mahāvastu* enumerates thirty, whereas the *Lalita-vistara* mentions no less than sixty-four different kinds of writing. The last-named work mentions among these varieties both the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī by name, and also *Yavanānī* or foreign script. The number of letters mentioned for both the ancient Indian scripts agrees completely with what is known to us from the inscriptions themselves. This truth and accuracy in one part of the narrative raises the presumption that the number of the scripts mentioned is also substantially accurate and that it is not due to a mere flight of the poet's imagination. Besides it is worth noting that no important word having reference to writing, such as book, letter, pen, ink, writing material (leaves, bark, etc.) shows any trace of having been borrowed from a foreign source.¹

(2) Among foreign writers the earliest are the Greeks, some of whom had resided long years in the country and had observed all the conditions of the people very closely. The most important among these was Megasthenes, who was

¹ There are a few exceptions, but these words are not in common use. Besides the word *lipi* (which is found in the Kharoṣṭhī and borrowed from the Persian *dīpt*) there are two other words connected with writing that are from a foreign language. They are *melā* (ink) from the Greek *melas* (black) and the word *melāndhuka* (inkpot) which is obviously a transcription of the Greek name, *μελανδοκος*, for the same object. The usual words in Sanskrit for these two are *masī* and *masīpātra*. In modern vernaculars we get *kalam* (the reed-pen) and *siāhī* (ink), both borrowed from the Persian; and during the 19th century quite a number of English words relating to writing, *e.g.*, *pen*, *blotting*, *pencil*, etc., have become naturalised in the vernaculars.

the ambassador from Seleukos Nikator at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Aśoka. Megasthenes himself coming as he did from the court at Babylon, would assuredly have known if the Brāhmī script had been borrowed from the Aramaean or an allied Semitic script. But he gives no hint whatever of the script having been borrowed, though he does mention writing and kindred matters. Greek writers have mentioned that specially prepared cloth was used in India to write upon and ink is also mentioned as being in use as early as B.C. 400. And they all mention the great antiquity of the art of writing in India but give no hint of any foreign origin. Neither have the Chinese travellers given any such hint, and they were very accurate in their information. And Albiruni, the Arab traveller, has also mentioned the art of writing as being commonly practised in India from a remote antiquity. He was not like our modern "globe-trotters," who stay in the country for three weeks, mostly in European hotels, and then write "authoritative books" on everything relating to the land and its people. He stayed in India for many years, acquired the language and the learning of the country, and being possessed of a critical and a very inquiring mind, he made careful inquiries so as to be quite sure of everything he wrote down. Assuredly Albiruni, an Arab himself and full of Semitic sympathies, would never have missed the chance of mentioning the Semitic origin of Indian writing if he had got even the slightest hint about it. Nay, he goes even further, and mentions that the art of writing was invented in India itself.

(3) In considering the history of Sanskrit literature, we know that the Vedas were transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth alone, and, indeed, they are still so transmitted. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* were also similarly treated. The *Sūtras*, comprising very short mnemonic formulae, were purposely composed for oral transmission, and for facility in remembering. But when we come

to later literature, the need of writing grows apace as literature grows in volume. Then again, the grammatical and especially the phonetical works could scarcely have been properly understood without symbols of some sort to represent the sounds of the spoken language. And from the Epic period onwards, and in the *Dharmaśāstras* (the *Smṛtis*, or Law-books) writing is constantly mentioned. So also in Pali literature there are numerous references to writing, the oldest being in a work dated B.C. 450. It is quite certain that at the time of the collection of the Pali Canon (5th century B.C.) writing was known and was practised extensively in India. We actually get the mention of a children's game, called the *akkharikā*, in which one child traced out with its finger some letters in the air, which were to be guessed by the other children. To have given rise to a game for children means that writing had not only been known in India many centuries previous to Aśoka, but that also it had been a very common accomplishment since very early times.

(4) The internal evidence of the Inscriptions of Aśoka shows that there was quite an appreciable number of variant forms even in the monumental Brāhmī of the Edicts. In fact, only seven letters in the whole alphabet are without any variant forms; these are *u*, *jh*, *ṇ*, *ṭh*, *ṇ*, *th* and *n*. Of these two (*jh* and *ṇ*) are letters used comparatively rarely, while the rest are such as cannot without confusion undergo an appreciable variation in form. In other words the Brāhmī letters do show variations wherever it is possible. These variations undoubtedly imply the existence of a number of scripts and not merely of a single one, as the upholders of the Semitic theory would have us believe.

The other Palæographic evidence refers to the discoveries of pre-Aśokan writing during the past three decades and more. These may ultimately prove to be links connecting the Aśoka-script with the prehistoric writing of India and ultimately with the parent Proto-Indian script in the dim distant past. These have been already discussed above in some detail

and these should be carefully arranged and compared by experts.

(5) We have already mentioned that a full and perfectly scientific analysis of the sounds in the Sanskrit language (together with many local variants) had been made and recorded in the *Prātiśākhya*s at a fairly early date. It was at this period also that the order of the Sanskrit sounds was fixed scientifically according to the various groups and classes. This order is absolutely different from the comparatively haphazard and unscientific jumble found in the Semitic alphabets.¹ The distinction between a "pure consonant" (a *halanta*) and one which has the vowel *a* inherent in it had been made quite early and this is a point which can be clearly expressed only in writing.² This point, though a small one, tends also to support the view that writing developed independently in India, and that only gradually it attained the full stature of Brāhmī, and that it was specially adapted and moulded to the needs of the phoneticians who had analysed the Sanskrit sound-system.

There still remains another point to be considered, which has been made by the upholders of the Semitic theory into an important argument. It concerns the direction of the script. The earlier, or pre-Aśoka inscriptions discovered are written *right to left* like the Semitic. Aśoka Brāhmī, of course, runs from left to right, like all the later Indian Alphabets. Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie* gives only one example of the reverse direction in the Brāhmī, which apparently was the only one known at that time. This was the legend on the Eran coin, and at first it was believed to have been due to

¹ This statement requires some modification, though it is true in the main. Taylor (Op. cit., i, pp. 192 ff.) and others have shown that the Semitic alphabet may be divided into three clearly marked groups, each following a definite order. Still, compared to the absolute precision of the Sanskrit arrangement, the Semitic alphabet must be called "a jumble."

² The Bhattiprolu Inscription makes this distinction quite clearly.

a mistake of the die-sinker. But later finds of Brāhmī inscriptions running in the reverse direction seem to indicate that there was no mistake in the case of the Eran coin, but that Brāhmī in the earlier stages did have the reverse direction. And this was taken as an additional proof of Semitic origin.

Yet it is a remarkable fact that all great systems of writing have run from right to left in the beginning, and many have kept up that direction even to the present day. It is quite easy to determine the direction of any script, known or unknown at sight. And this fact that all have in the beginning run from right to left deserves some careful consideration. As in many other cases concerning human institutions here also we may learn much from the observation of children. It is noted that, when they begin to write, children have a marked tendency to start their writing from the *right* side of the paper or the slate, and in reading too they have the same tendency. Thus many children write the letters reversed, thus : \mathcal{Z} , \mathcal{V} , \mathcal{P} , \mathcal{B} , or when reading read "on" for "no" or "saw" for "was." Among grown-ups also this tendency is to be noted, especially among the uneducated, as may be seen often, for instance in the arrangement of books upon a shelf, where the first volume is put to the *right* of the second. From these facts we may be justified in concluding that *right to left is the natural normal direction of writing for human beings*, at any rate for the vast majority who are right-handed. The natural tendency of the human hand is to move from outwards inwards, towards the median plane which bisects at right angles the line joining the two eyes. Hence if the pen is grasped in the right hand, the hand of the man, who first tried to write, would naturally tend to move from right to left.¹ Exactly the same thing

¹ In all these remarks I have to express my acknowledgments to my colleague, Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, Ph.D. (Harvard), Head of the Department of Experimental Psychology in the University of Calcutta, who very kindly undertook some experiments to prove my notions. His opinion was that the case is substantially as I have tried to put down here. Special tests, however, should be

happens when the child is asked to draw the figure of a man or an animal. The animal is generally drawn *facing right*. With grown up people, who habitually write from left to right and are right-handed, such a figure, if drawn without deliberate thought, would face left.¹

The Chinese script also shows this same tendency: the page begins at the top corner of the right-hand side and the lines run from top to bottom, the lines themselves being arranged from right to left. And so the Chinese books begin (as with Persian or Arabic) where our books end.

All Semitic scripts today show the right to left direction, *i.e.*, the primitive direction. Some of the scripts derived from Semitic sources and those belonging to the Greek and the Indian branches have changed their direction, after having first passed through an intermediate stage of "boustrophedon."² The main reason for the change of direction seems to be that the pen being held in the right hand, writing running in the primitive direction is hidden by the hand itself. Moreover, if ink is used, there is fear of the finger smudging what has been written. The Chinese way of upright lines avoids this danger, but in the actual writing of each character the strokes go left to right, as with us. Besides, the correct way for holding the Chinese brush while writing is not to have any of the fingers touching any part of the paper. With scripts written in horizontal lines the only way of avoiding

devised for children at all stages of growth as also with grown up people, both literate and illiterate, in order to finally prove or to refute this view. It would also be worth while inquiring how far left-handedness would affect the result.

¹ Of course to a trained artist it is equally easy to make figures and animals face either way. Still I have an impression that among Mughal artists, used to the Persian script, the men and animals in the majority of cases face right.

² Greek records in the "boustrophedon" style, *i.e.*, where the lines go alternately right to left and left to right (like the oxen following successive furrows in a field) are well known. But as far as I am aware such record has not yet been discovered in India.

these drawbacks is to change the direction. To the primitive mind the boustrophedon way comes naturally, and it was perhaps this way that suggested the advantages of changing the direction. Doubtless the spread of literacy, and the greater use of paper and ink (especially the latter) were powerful contributory factors. The chief reason why the Semitic peoples have still kept up their primitive direction lies probably in their being yet in the nomadic stage. And though in Persia and in Arabia a higher level of culture was attained the people have still clung to the older direction. This is very probably due to the influence of Islam, the script being the script of the *Qurān*.

On the whole, therefore, it seems that indigenous growth is a much better explanation of the Brāhmī alphabet than borrowing from the Semitic. Now we may briefly consider the lines along which writing in India may have developed in the main. The discovery of Yazdani has undoubtedly opened up an entirely new field of research for Indian Epigraphy. Without venturing to read any of these prehistoric signs (as some have tried to do) we may content ourselves with two observations: (i) that these marks are undoubtedly writing of some sort, and (ii) that they are decidedly older than any other writing yet discovered in India.¹ Whether they are really neolithic as D. R. Bhandarkar thinks they are, or whether they are much younger in age, we are safe in assuming that they are probably the oldest alphabetic signs discovered in India.

¹ Some writers have claimed for these a date as early as the Neolithic period. But although these bits of pottery were discovered near a bed of neolithic remains, their exact position with regard to these was unfortunately not carefully noted before their removal. It was not even noted whether they were *in situ* or had been thrown there at some later time. This unfortunate omission has cast a great deal of doubt (and quite rightly) upon the question of their being really as old as they are claimed to be. Still no one has seriously suggested that they are not the oldest specimens of alphabetical writing in India. For a good discussion of this aspect of the question see H. C. Das Gupta's paper in the *JASB.*, Vol. XVII (N.S.) 1921, No. 2.

TABLE VI

Comparison of Signs Discovered in Ancient India and
in other Mediterranean Lands.

India.	Other countries.	Phonetic value.	REMARKS.
1.	Late Prehis- toric Egypt	?	The phonetic values are those given by Flinders Petrie. They are probably correct for the land concerned, but it does not necessarily follow that the same value is true for the Indian sign.
2.	Nabathaea ...	th	
3.	Egypt, XII Dynasty.	b	
4.	Nabathaea ...	g	
5.	Roman Egypt	?	
6.	Thamudite...	m	
7.	Cyprus ...	t	
8.	Lydia ...	ts	
9.	Egypt, XVIII Dynasty.	r	
10.	Crete ...	b	
11.	Pelasgio Italy	p	
12.	Egypt, XII Dynasty.	?	
13.	Prehistoric Egypt.	g	
14.	North Spain	i	
15.	Crete ...	f	
16.	South Spain	b	
17.	Runes (Scan- dinavia).	g	
18.	Egypt, XII Dynasty.	s	

N.B.—In the above table the Indian letters are taken from the article of Bhandarkar already mentioned in this paper and from a paper by Panchanan Mitra on "Prehistoric Writing in India and Europe" in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVII (N. S.), No. 4 (1915). The signs from other lands have been taken from the tables given at the end of Flinders Petrie's book.

These signs are quite simple in outline and Yazdani has classified and enumerated no less than 131 such. They bear a most remarkable resemblance to the marks on pottery and on celts discovered in Egypt and in various other parts of the world. Table VI shows the close resemblances between the Indian signs and those from foreign lands.

This close resemblance between signs from lands so far apart has entirely changed the whole outlook regarding the origin and development of scripts. The old theory of De Rougé about deriving the earliest Phœnician from the Egyptian Hieratic and all the rest of the alphabets of the world from the Phœnician, is now seen to be fundamentally wrong. Flinders Petrie in his *Formation of the Alphabet* has shown by very clear arguments that, though very plausible and cleverly worked out, the theory of De Rougé is untenable, because in the first place alphabetic signs have been found in Egypt itself side by side with the hieroglyphs as far back as we can go. In fact the earliest hieroglyphic inscription of Egypt shows these alphabetic signs as well mixed up with the pictures. And going further back in time we find in Egypt no hieroglyphic signs at all but only alphabetic signs. In other words, *the alphabet in Egypt is earlier than the picture-writing*. The same signs are found in fairly large numbers in the lands round the Mediterranean and in the adjacent lands. It is not at all surprising therefore if similar signs are discoverable further east, and similar signs have in fact been discovered in India. All these signs show a close family resemblance to the earliest signs of the Phœnician as seen on the Moabite Stone.

From these wide-spread resemblances Flinders Petrie draws some very important conclusions:¹

(i) That a body of signs had been brought into use in prehistoric times for various purposes.

¹ Op. cit., p. 2.

(ii) That these signs were spread from land to land in course of trading expeditions and thus the less known and the less useful signs got weeded out in course of time.

(iii) That consequently about two dozen such signs triumphed and survived and these became the common property of a group of trading communities.

Let us now consider for a moment the origin of these signs. We find among primitive peoples that hunters leave bent twigs and other marks on trees to indicate the way they have gone. Next would come the property sign, the personal mark of the man, to indicate that a certain object or animal belonged to him.¹

In every land "*signs rather than pictures* are the primitive system of writing." This is the central idea in Flinders Petrie's book on *The Formation of the Alphabet*. What the earlier writers used to say about "the four stages of writing" and about the hieroglyphic pictures becoming in course of time a conventionalised set of lines and curves, still holds good; but, of course, after the hieroglyphs have once been started. But even before picture-writing came into use, these property and other signs had been very widely employed. Thus in Egypt there are two distinct groups of signs each with a definite set of meanings, one of which could be traced to the hieroglyphic pictures but the other is prehistoric and of independent origin. These latter were almost forgotten by the time the hieroglyphs had attained their full development in Egypt. Crete also had a set of linear marks without any preceding hieroglyphs at all. And similar (at least with our present knowledge) seems to have been the case with India also. From these examples we can say that the old idea, that the

¹ Bhandarkar in the article referred to above cites Pāṇini (vi. 3. 115) to show that property marks on cattle were well known in India and were extensively used. Other uses may also arise in course of time, and probably the signs would get more complex to denote more complex things and ideas.

picture stage must inevitably precede the alphabetical sign, is not always true.

We have very little to guide us with regard to the origin of these signs. Their beginnings go back to a very remote period of antiquity, indeed, far beyond what are called historical ages. In order therefore to understand what the "child humanity" of those days did, it would be of advantage to see what children do around us everyday. If a child who is too small to have learnt to write or even to have a clear notion of what writing means, is given a piece of paper and a pencil, it will promptly begin to put down dots and scratches all over the paper. And according to its whim at the moment it would call one scratch a man, another an elephant, a third a bird and so forth. To the child the line or dot or scratch is a *symbol* of what happens to be uppermost in its mind at that moment, and the shape of the line has nothing whatever to do with the object represented. In short the sign made by the child is not a drawing or a picture, but it is a symbol. Just similarly the primitive sign for an object is a mere arbitrary sign, not bearing any relationship to the object represented, nor, indeed, to any other. Thus there grew up a group of arbitrary signs which in course of ages became conventionalised by long usage and acquired a definite meaning. In the early days we find these signs arranged anyhow with no sense whatever of direction.¹ It is only later that we hit a definite type of arrangement as well as a definite direction.

The development of these signs may therefore be arranged roughly in the following order :

(1) First of all there would be *the sign of the hunter*, to show the way he has gone.

¹ This want of direction is also very strikingly seen in the prehistoric cave-paintings as well as in the cave-paintings of modern Bushmen and Australians. In these all sorts of animals as well as human beings are depicted sometimes with extraordinary accuracy and power, but there is no arrangement whatever and they seem to have been the works of many hands jumbled up without any reference to one another.

(2) Next would be the *personal or property sign*. This would be very much of the nature of the signs used even today by washermen for instance, to mark the linen of different customers. These would finally result in a group of signs to each of which the name of an individual would be attached. To this stage would also belong cattle marks as well as the earlier types of mason's marks.

(3) Next these signs would attach themselves not to persons but to *objects*, and thus there would be a reshuffling of these signs. Thus, suppose there was a potter well known for the finish and the designs of his pots; then naturally there would be a demand for his pots, which would be distinguished by bearing his "mark." This mark would at first stand for the name of the master-potter. But in course of time (especially after the man was dead), this sign would, by a very natural transition, come to mean, first "a well-made pot" and then "a pot" in general.¹ Probably at this stage the earlier and easier hieroglyphs would also come in, as a sort of determinative or "key-word" to indicate that the pot and not the man was meant. These hieroglyphs would then run their normal course.

(4) Then gradually would come the *phonetic* stage, and these linear symbols would now stand not for the object but for the mere sound of its name.

(5) From this it is a small step to *syllabaries*. And finally,

(6) Another small step would make the syllables a full-fledged *alphabet*. In the case of the last three steps one original sign would necessarily acquire very different values according to the languages the different people spoke.

All these considerations set forth by Flinders Petrie give an entirely new turn to the question of the origin of

¹ A similar transition of meaning is seen in words like *Wadgewood-ware*, *Alphonso* (mangoes), etc.

writing. We see that the prehistoric script found in lands stretching from Spain, through Egypt and Arabia, up to India are surprisingly similar, and that the earliest Phœnician forms also show a close family resemblance. This clearly points to a common origin, undoubtedly from some even earlier script, of which perhaps the marks on the pebbles found at Mas d'Azil are representatives. Moreover, there seem to have been various centres of development where the art of writing developed independently according to the environment and to the "genius" of the people who used it. The extensive spreading of the script need not at all cause surprise, when we remember that trade relations even at that early period existed between peoples far apart and to a far greater extent than we commonly believe possible. Probably also these peoples were all branches of the same great Southern Race which seems to have played such an important part in the cultural history of the world.¹

These signs, once the common property of a certain type of culture, seem to have become concentrated at certain centres. We can trace at least five such, and probably there were several others as well. These five were : (1) the Egyptian, (2) the Phœnician (or North Semitic), (3) the Thamudite (or South

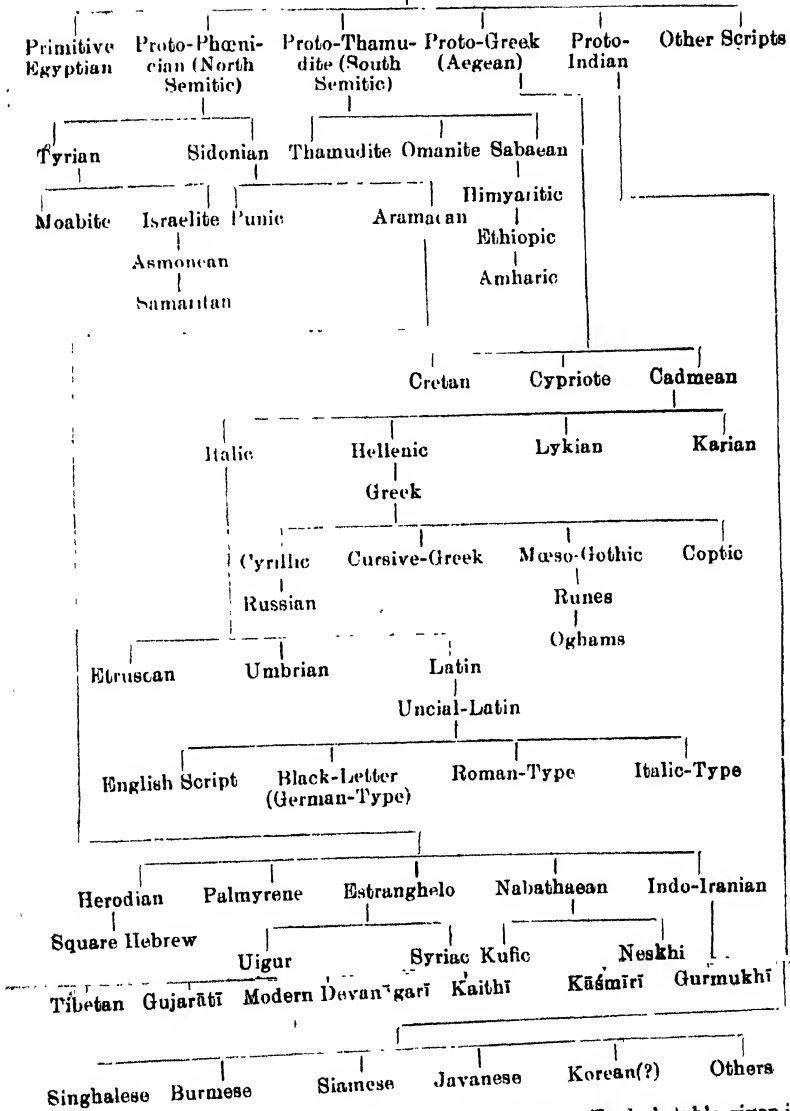
¹ One thing we must not forget in this connection is that at the remote period which we are considering here, although the configuration of the earth was on the whole (*i.e.*, as regards the main continental masses and the greater ocean basins) substantially the same as today, still as regards the details of any one particular locality there were considerable changes. Hence we must expect variations in climate and fertility and consequently in the habitability of the various lands. The land and sea routes would also be appreciably different, hence the routes by which the various symbols migrated in those days would not be the same as we might expect by looking at our modern maps. Some hints of this Southern Race and of the spread of its culture can be gathered from the fascinating *Outlines of History* by H. G. Wells. It is quite possible that we may ultimately be able to connect up the cultures of three such widely separated localities as Crete, Shumer and India (Dravidian). That the last named had spread further east up to Australia and the basin of the Pacific is now fairly generally accepted.

Semitic), (4) the Ægean (or Greek), and (5) the Indian. Table VII shows these and the various important scripts that developed from each of them.

To sum up, it seems to me very probable that India very early became a centre of development for the prehistoric linear signs and that the prehistoric writing discovered by Yazdani represents the same signs at a later stage of development. The same signs developing in the course of ages, long after the Aryan conquest of India, got adapted to the needs of Sanskrit and ultimately they developed into the fine letters of the Brāhmī alphabet.

TABLE VII
Table of Alphabets

Primitive Script



[Part of the above table has been adapted from Taylor's table given in Vol. I (p. 81) of his book.]

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE AŚOKAN EDICTS.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.,
Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.

It is possible to trace a chronological sequence or relationship among the inscriptions of Aśoka from the data they themselves furnish. These data have not been subjected to a critical examination from the chronological standpoint. They may be indicated as follows:—

(1) *Appointment of Mahāmātras*: This subject is referred to in (a) the separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, (b) Rock Edict III, (c) Rock Edict V, and (d) Pillar Edict VII. The matter and manner of the reference to the same subject in these several edicts betray their chronological connexion.

In (a), Aśoka announces his intention to appoint Mahāmātras for a particular purpose. It is that they may inspect the work of the officers called Nagala-viyohālaka (=Nagara-vyāvahāraka) in the Dhauli text and Mahāmāta-nagalaka [cf. Kauṭilya's Paura-vyāvahārika, I 12, and Nāgarika-mahāmātra in IV. 5] in the Jaugada text, l. 10, *i.e.*, the judicial officers or city-magistrates, so as to prevent 'undeserved imprisonment and undeserved torture' ('akasmā palibodhe va akasmā palikilese va'). Thus Aśoka thinks of appointing a special class ('vagam' in l. 24 of Dhauli) of Mahāmātras to check the abuses of his judicial officers. He also thinks that for this purpose he *should* send out ('nikhāmayisāmi') every five years on tour ('anūsayānam') these judicial inspectors of his.

This rule about this quinquennial deputation and circuit of these special officers is, however, relaxed in the case of the governors of Ujjayinī, and of Taxila, who could make it triennial.

In (b), Aśoka's intentions seem to have materialised into a standing order or a regular decree of the king who ordains as follows: " Everywhere within my dominions or conquered territory (' vijite '), the ' Yuktas,' the Rājūka, and the Prādeśika, shall, every five years, go out on tour by turns (*anusamyānam niyātu*, Girnar; *nikhamantu*, Kalsi, and *nikramatu*, Shah.) as well for other business, too, as for this purpose, *viz.*, for the following religious instruction." It will be observed that Aśoka's ideas and intentions on the subject which were merely adumbrated or indicated in general terms in (a) have here attained to a much greater degree of definiteness and prevision necessary to a Government Order on the subject. That (b) has thus developed out of (a) is further evident from the element common to them, *viz.*, the rule about making the administrative tours quinquennial. This rule seems to be made absolute now and does not refer to the departure or relaxation permitted in (a). Probably the exception did not work well and was withdrawn in the final Government Order. Further, while (a) merely refers to the need felt by the king for sending out on periodical inspection of the judicial administration officers of the status of Mahāmātras, in (b) these Mahāmātras are more particularised and specified. Lastly, while (b) confines the scope of the Deputation to the judicial branch of the administration, (a) extends the scope so as to include the preaching of the Dharma by the king's superior administrative officers.

In (c) and (d) is to be seen a further development. Whereas (b) saddles the administrative officers with the duty of moral instruction, in (c) the duty of moral instruction is very properly thrown upon a special class of officers

created for the first time by Aśoka, *viz.*, the Dharma-mahāmātras whose duties and responsibilities in this regard are conceived and defined on a generous scale, showing the progress the king's ideas had made since they first dawned on him when he spoke in (a). It may be noted that the checking by the Mahāmātras of injustices such as undeserved imprisonment ('palibodhe') and torture ('pali-kilesa') as mentioned in (a) is also included in the comprehensive definition of the duties of the Dharma-mahāmātras as enumerated in (c), for they are employed to secure to deserving citizens ('dhamma-yutānām') freedom from molestation ('apalibodhāye,' *aparigodhāya* in Girnar), remedies against imprisonment ('baṁdhana-badhasa patividhānāya') and release ('mokhāye').

The final stage of the development is, indeed, registered in (d) which makes some additions to the duties of the Dharma-mahāmātras under (c). It is distinctly stated in l. 25 of Pillar Edict VII that these Dharma-mahāmātras were to be 'occupied also with all sects' ('sava-pāsaṁdesu pi cha viyāpatāse'), such as 'the Buddhist Saṅgha, the Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas, and others, different Mahāmātras thus working for different congregations.' This edict, indeed, unfolds fully the scheme of Aśoka under which each class of functions pertaining to the propagation of his Dharma was administered by its own class of functionaries called by the general name of Dharma-mahāmātras. Aśoka's Ministry of Morals was made up of a large variety of officers in accordance with the variety of subjects and interests to be administered by them. Thus while (c) refers to the Dharma-mahāmātras as a class of officers, (d) refers to the different classes under them to deal with such different interests as those of ascetics, householders, religious sects, the benefactions of the king and of his queens, of the king's sons and of other queens' sons and the like.

Thus the internal evidence of the edicts (a), (b), (c) and (d) shows that they follow the chronological order.

That the Kalinga separate edicts are the earliest of these four is also indicated by the place of their incision on the rocks. For instance, on the Dhauli Rock, they appear separately, one on the left column of the inscribed surface and the other below R.E. XIV. Of course, the time of the actual incision of the edicts might have been the same, but not that of their drafting and proclamation by the king. We are here concerned with the chronological sequence of the contents and ideas of the edicts.

(2) *Appointment of Strī-adhyakṣa-mahāmātras*: This is referred to in R.E. XII. It will be observed that in R.E. V, there is mention of the employment of the Dharmamahāmātras to look after the different harems of the king, his brothers and sisters, and of his other relatives at Pāṭali-putra and in all the outlying provincial towns. The king's ideas on the subject show a further development in R.E. XII where he institutes a new and special class of officers called the Strī-adhyakṣa-mahāmātras to deal with women and the delicate task of looking after their morals.

(3) *The Saṅghas and Mahāmātras*: The Bhabru or the Calcutta-Bairat Rock-Inscription is addressed by the 'Māgadha King Priyadarśin' directly to the Saṅgha, but the king's messages to the Saṅgha are addressed to the Mahāmātras in charge at Sāñchi, Sārnāth and Kauśāmbī. The reason is that the king's appointment of Mahāmātras to take charge of the Saṅgha and other religious sects, which we find first mentioned in R.E. V, and repeated in P.E. VII, was subsequent to the time of the issue of his Bhabru Edict. Thus the P. E. of Sāñchi, Sārnāth and Kauśāmbī are addressed to the Mahāmātras in charge of the Saṅghas of those places in pursuance of the arrangements mentioned in R.E. V, and are therefore much later in time than either Bhabru or this edict.

(4) *Appointment of Anta-mahāmātras*: Aśoka's solicitude for the welfare of his Antas or frontagers is expressed in several of his edicts, viz., M.R.E. I, K.R.E. I (separate), R.E. II, V and XIII, but the administrative machinery for the systematic promotion of their welfare is not thought of till P.E. I, which is the only edict that tells of the appointment of a special class of officers called the Anta-mahāmātras to deal with the Antas. Thus P.E. I must be subsequent to the Rock Edicts mentioned.

(5) *Protection of lower life*: Non-violence towards all living beings as a principle is preached in several edicts, e.g., M.R.E. II, R.E. III, IV, IX and XI. But administrative action to secure the observance of this principle is first seen in R.E. I, and is fully developed in P.E. V, which may be regarded as the Protection of Animals Act of Aśoka. It may be noted further that while in R.E. I, Aśoka contemplates the abolition of the slaughter of peacocks for the royal kitchen in the near future, P.E. V, which unfolds the full extent of Aśoka's administrative measures on the subject, omits to protect the peacock. But the deer are protected in both the edicts.

(6) *The Puruṣas*: This term, applied to government servants of all ranks, high, low, or middle, is not used in any of the Rock Edicts, but is used in several Pillar Edicts, e.g., P.E. I, IV, VII.

(7) *The Rājūkas*: They are merely mentioned in R.E. III, but their functions are defined in P.E. IV, which indicates Aśoka's administrative innovations in this regard whereby some of the powers in respect of Law and Justice which are given to the Dharma-mahāmātras under R.E. V are now transferred to these Rājūkas. Thus P.E. IV must be later than the Rock Edicts aforesaid.

(8) *The position of P.E. VII*: Some scholars have recently gone against the received opinion by holding P.E. VII as being prior to the Rock Edicts. They base their

view chiefly on the ground that R.E. II, V and XIII mention one of the most important innovations of Aśoka, *viz.*, his organisation of welfare work and moral propagandism not only in the countries on his frontiers but also in some remote western countries, while P.E. VII knows nothing of it. That this view is not tenable and the usual view is the correct view, will appear from the following considerations :

- (a) Arguments from omission or silence are notoriously unreliable, and in the present case they seem to be specially so. It is assumed that P.E. VII was meant to give an exhaustive account of all that Aśoka had done as a ruler. It is a mere assumption or inference from the contents of the edict, which itself reveals nothing about the scope of its contents. The contents would rather support the assumption that the edict, which was issued by Aśoka for the benefit of his own people, was naturally meant to be a résumé of the various domestic measures he had adopted for the moral uplift of his own people, and not of what he had done for foreign peoples. A reference to the sovereign's foreign policy and measures would be clearly out of place here.
- (b) Accordingly, all the domestic measures mentioned in the various Rock Edicts are mentioned in P.E. VII with a degree of elaboration and generalisation that can come only after those measures had been fully in operation. This will be evident from the following examples : (i) the chief officers mentioned in the Rock Edicts, *viz.*, the Rājūkas, Ma-

hāmātras and Dharma mahāmātras are also mentioned in P.E. VII; (ii) the functions of these newly created Dharma-mahāmātras, which are detailed in R. E. V, are summarised in P.E. VII; (iii) the public works of utility and comfort for both man and beast, as indicated in R.E. II, are fully mentioned in P.E. VII; as instances of generalisation and references in the P.E. VII to the R.E. may be mentioned (iv) the statement that for the spread of the Dharma, Aśoka has had religious messages (' dhamma-sāvanāni ') proclaimed (' sāvāpitāni '), various religious injunctions (' dhammānusathini vividhāni ') ordained (' ānapitāni '), officers called Puruṣas and Lajūkas set to exhort the people to morality, pillars of piety set up, Dharma-mahāmātras appointed, and religious messages composed (' Kaṭe '); (v) the statement that the progress of the people in Dharma may be accomplished in two ways, by ' dhamma-niyama,' by regulation, and by ' niḥhati,' by reflection or inner meditation.

- (c) Above all, arguments from the inclusion or omission of certain matters in the two classes of edicts cannot be conclusive as regards their chronological relationship. Does not Aśoka himself address an emphatic warning on the subject?—' Na cha sarvaṃ sarvatra ghaṭitaṃ,' ' all is not suitable in all places.'

(9) *The position of M.R.E. I*: I agree with Hultzsch and many other scholars in thinking that this edict is Aśoka's earliest. As pointed out by Hultzsch [*Corpus*, p. xliv], the Rupnāth and Śahasrām versions of this

edict (a) "speak of inscriptions on rock and pillar as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli* ('lākhāpetavaya'); (b) contain, along with the Mysore records, the first elements of Aśoka's Dharma which we find more fully (and variously) developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts." As regards (a), Dr. B. M. Barua has recently taken the objection that Aśoka's intention of inscription of his messages on rock and pillar is also expressed in a passage of his so-called last edict, the P.E. VII, which is—'Iyaṁ dhamma-libi ata athi śilā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviya,' 'this rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are available,' and, therefore, no chronological conclusion can be based on such a passage unless it be that P.E. VII is itself an earlier edict presaging both the Rock- and Pillar-Edicts like the M.R.E. I. Against this objection it may be noted that the chronological position of P.E. VII has been established already on other grounds, while so far as this particular passage is concerned, there is a difference between it and the corresponding passage in M.R.E. I. In the former what is to be inscribed on pillar or slab of stone is the particular Edict—'iyaṁ dhamma-libi,' whereas in the latter what is to be inscribed is not the particular edict but, as Hultzsch points out [*Corpus*, p. 168 n.], 'the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz., the Buddhist propaganda'—'iya cha aṭhe,' instead of the usual 'iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhitā.' The other point of difference is the direct reference to the inscription of the king's message on *rocks* (pavatisu) in M.R.E. I, and not on slabs of stone (silā-phalaka) as mentioned in P.E. VII. Perhaps a difference of meaning was intended in these two expressions: a slab of stone might be found as much on a pillar as on a rock, and in that case the passage in question in P.E. VII might refer only to the Pillar Edicts,

There are other passages in the M.R.E. which are of great significance for the entire Aśokan chronology. The significance will be realised by equating these passages with certain other passages occurring in R.E. XIII. These two sets of passages are given below :

- (1) M.R.E. I : Adhikāni adhātiyāni vasāni ya
hakam upāsake no tu kho bādham pra-
kamte husam,
ekam savachharam sātireke tu kho samvachha-
ram,
yam mayā saṅghe upayīte bādham cha me
pakamte [ll. 1—3, Brahmagiri text].
- (2) R.E. XIII : L. 1—Aṭṭha-vaṣa-abhisitasa Deva-
napriasa Priadraśisa raño kaliga vijita...
L. 2—Tato pacha adhuna ladheṣu kaligeṣu
tivre dhrama-śilana dhrama-kamata dhra-
manuśasti cha Devanapriyasa.

In (1) Aśoka states : “ For more than two years and a half that I had been an Upāsaka, lay-worshipper, I had not exerted myself well. But a year—indeed, for more than a year—that I approached the Saṅgha I exerted myself greatly.”

In (2) Aśoka states : “ In the eighth year of his coronation the king conquered the country of the Kalingas . . . Thereafter, now that the Kalingas were conquered, the king’s cultivation of Dharma, love of Dharma and preaching of the Dharma became intense (‘ tīvra ’).”

The passage referring to the intensity of the king’s zeal for the Dharma in (2) should be equated and considered along with the passage in (1) referring to his great exertions (‘ bādham cha me pakamte ’) on behalf of the Dharma. In both (1) and (2), again, there is a reference to a stage in Aśoka’s life which was marked by a want of exertion and zeal for the Dharma.

i.e., the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them." I suggest the following further and more probable interpretations :

(1) Within this interval in Jambudvīpa men who were ' unmingled with gods ' (*i.e.*, had no gods or no religion) came to be ' mingled with gods ' (*i.e.*, became religious, or worshippers of gods).

By Aśoka's missionary activities following a closer contact with the Saṅgha, the cause of religion had made a considerable advance among the peoples of India.

(2) Within this interval, in Jambudvīpa, men whose gods were disunited had become men whose gods were united.

In other words, within this interval of time, the strife of gods and their worshippers (*i.e.*, of the jarring sects) had largely ceased in the country. In other edicts, Aśoka inculcates religious toleration, and respect for Brāhmaṇas as well as Śramaṇas; here he states that as the consequence of religious discipline he reached the stage of which he perceived that the diverse religions and the various gods worshipped by different sects could be (and ought to be) harmonised. The harmony of religions now became to him a conscious pursuit.

Of these two interpretations, the first is inapplicable to the Rūpnāth and Maski inscriptions which speak only of the union of gods previously disunited, and have no reference to men or to the progress of religion or godliness among men. The Rūpnāth Inscription definitely states that the gods were disunited before and are now united, *i.e.*, religious strife, the war of sects, had largely ceased; the Maski Inscription is equally clear in its reference to the harmonisation of gods and religions.

The only remaining inscription which has preserved this passage intact is that at Brahmagiri and it mentions both men and gods. And it can be interpreted in

either of the two ways, (1) and (2). 'Misa devehi,' if construed as 'mingled with the gods,' would give the same meaning as (1); if rendered as 'united along with their gods,' or 'united by or through their gods,' it would give the same meaning as (2). Indeed, 'amisā samānā munisā' can hardly mean 'disunited with the gods,' as it must under the interpretation (1); the natural meaning is 'disunited among themselves,' which agrees with (2).

Accordingly, (2) which suits all the readings must be the correct rendering.

Aśoka then proceeds to point out that the promotion of religious unity among the sects is not the monopoly or special privilege of princes or other highly placed men; amity, and toleration in religion, can be equally promoted by other men, however low their station in life. Every one can, and ought to practise this virtue.

After dilating on a man's obligation in relation to the followers of other religions, this edict teaches a man's duties in other relations of life, *e.g.*, towards parents, preceptors, kinsmen, neighbours, animals, etc. The theme of the edict is a man's duties towards his fellow-men or fellow-creatures in different relations of life.

Besides the above two interpretations, a third interpretation may also be suggested as a very plausible one from the context of the passage. It would appear from the context that Aśoka says in effect: "By a little more than a year's exertion lo! I have made such progress ('bāḍhaṃ me pakamṃte—pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale'): it is, indeed, the men in Jambudvīpa (the best country, according to our sacred texts, for spiritual life) who could thus have 'commerce with the gods' in such a short time. But let it not be understood that such progress is only for the great like me. 'It is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven.' Great or small, all must exert themselves. Then alone

will the Pilgrims' Progress (' prakrama ') lead to the Promised Land (vipula sarga)." In this interpretation, the exertion and its results are personal to the king and are not objective in their reference. Aśoka is here making an appeal to his people for the moral life on the strength of his own experience, the success of his personal self-exertions. The other interpretations would assume that Aśoka by a year's propagandist work had made the entire people godlike, or the wilder tribes acquainted with the gods, or had harmonised the warring creeds. Therefore the subjective reference of the passage would make a better sense. As regards the superior spiritual potentialities of the people of Jambudvīpa on which the Indian sacred works are fond of dwelling, we may refer to Manu's definition of Brahmāvarta as ' the land created by the gods ' or to a typical passage in the Viṣṇupurāṇa where it is stated that birth in India is the final felicity rewarding spiritual merit accumulated in a thousand lives, that those born in India can surpass even the gods in spiritual progress and that, accordingly, the gods themselves seek birth in this holy land. This sentiment we find first expressed in the Atharvaveda.

The following passage in the Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka is one of the notorious cruxes of Aśokan Inscriptions and can be best explained on the basis of a comparative study of its different readings, *viz.*,

Br. ' Iyaṁ cha sāvaṇe sāvāpīte vyūthena 200 50 6.'

Ru. ' Vyūthenā sāvane kaṭe 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta.'

Sa. ' Iyaṁ cha savane vivuthena duve sapamṇā-lāti satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.'

(1) From the above readings it is evident that ' vyūthena ' or ' vyūthenā ' and ' vivuthena ' may be equated,

as also 'vivuthā' and 'vivāsā.' Here 'vivutha' is also common to the two equations: therefore the words 'vyūtha,' 'vyuṭha,' 'vivutha,' and 'vivāsa' are cognate. Now 'vivāsa' means literally 'dwelling out (or away from home).' It may apply to a tour, or a mission, and the days of such a tour (or mission) may be numbered as so many 'vivāsas.' And 'vyūtha' or 'vyutha' [= Sans. 'vyuṣṭe' or 'vyuṣṭa,' absent from home, or 'one who has passed (*e.g.*, *rātrim*, a night)' (Monier Williams' Dictionary)] may mean one who is on tour or mission. No doubt we have other uses of 'vyuṣṭa' in the Kauṭīliya [II 6 and 7] in the sense of 'the regnal year, month, fortnight and day'; in the Varāha Śrauta Sūtra [Akula-pada, khaṇḍa III] in the sense of the fourth 'Yāma' or last part of night time; or in the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra [IV. 5, 30] in the sense of 'having spent the night (in prayer)'; but in these inscriptions of Aśoka, 'Vyūtha' or 'Vyuṭha' has to be derived from 'Vivāsa' and must be connected with a tour or mission, away from home or headquarters.

(2) Next consider the numerals 200 50 6.

The Rūpnāth reading '200 50 6 sata vivāsata' (or *ti* as proposed by Hultzsch) and the Sahasram 'duve saparīnā lāti satā vivuthā ti' both show that this is the number of 'vivāsas' or 'vivuthas.'

If 'vivāsa' or 'vivutha' stands for days away from headquarters, then we have 256 such days.

If 'vivāsa' or 'vivutha,' like 'vyūtha,' means 'officer or a mission or expedition,' or 'officer despatched,' then we have 256 officers (by whom the proclamation is despatched to as many quarters). In the South Indian inscription of Brahmagiri the figures 200 50 6 immediately following 'sāvāpīte vyūthena' indicate customary particulars about the proclamation and from the Rūpnāth and Sahasram inscriptions we find that these particulars relate

either to the date or the method of despatch. They tell of all the methods by which Aśoka sought to give publicity to his proclamations. He would first have them inscribed ('lekhāpetavālata') on rock ('pavatisu') and pillar ('silāṭhaṁbhasi'), fixed and permanent; he would also have them circulated in different local areas by despatching his Publicity Officers, or *copies* of his Proclamations. Indeed, we must find a difference of meaning in 'Sāvane Sāvāpīte' of Brahmagiri text and 'Sāvane Kaṭe' of Rūpnāth. For while 'sāvāpīte' refers to the *hearing* of the proclamation, 'kaṭe' = 'kṛita' refers to the *drafting* of the proclamation, according to Pāṇini's rules 'Adhikṛitya kṛite granthe' and 'Kṛite granthe' [IV. 3, 89. 116].

(3) In the Sahasram Inscription, 'duve sampamṇālāti satā' gives in words the meaning of the figures '200 50 6.' Here 'lāti' cannot stand for 'rāti' (night), because in that case we have 'two (fifty-six nights) hundred' or 'two fifty-six (nights hundred),' meaning 'nights two hundred fifty-six,' but for this to mean 256, we must have the place-value, if not the full decimal scale of notation. Before the device of place-value came to be in vogue, 'fifty-six (added to) two hundred' would be necessary, i.e., there must be 'ati' or 'adhika' between fifty-six and two hundred to express 256. Hence 'lāti' contains 'ati.' It cannot possibly stand for 'rāti,' 'rātri.' It is true that the place-value is mentioned in Vasubandhu and the Vyāsa-bhāṣya as in common use, and this may take us back on the most favourable supposition to the second century A.D. as the era of its introduction, but as regards the Aśokan Inscriptions the very figures 200 50 6 show that the device of the place-value was not yet in existence. Nor can it be said that 'duve sampamṇālāti satā' simply reads in words the figures 200 50 6; this cannot explain 'sāpamṇā' for 50 6, nor the intervention of 'sāpamṇā' between 'duve' and 'satā.'

Turning to the question, what is *la* in *lāti*? we have two possible interpretations :

(i) 'Sapaṁnālāti' = 'sapaṁnā sāti' = 'Sapaṁnā-sa-ati' = fifty-six (added to).

Here *la* must be taken to be the scribe's mistake for *sa* or *śa* or 'paṁnāla' is a dialectical variant of 'paṁnāśa,' (though not phonetically sound).

(ii) (Originally) 'sapaṁnā' + 'ati' = 'sapaṁnā-yati,' (or 'sapaṁnāyāti') = 'sapaṁnālāti.'

Now in the Rūpnāth Inscription itself, we find *la* for *ya*, either by the scribe's mistake, or (though this is a phonetic heresy) by a dialectic variant, as in the expression 'pavatisu lekhāpetavā~~l~~ata,' l. 4, which must be 'pavatisu lekhāpetavāyata,' as we find by comparison with 'silā-ṭhambhasi lākhapetavayata' of l. 5. We may note that in Rūpnāth we have both the forms 'vāya' and 'vaya,' e.g., 'vivasetavāyati' of l. 5.

(4) 'Sata' in Rūpnāth and 'satā' in Sahasram appear at first sight to mean the same thing, but this is not so. In '200 50 6 sata vivāsā' (Rūpnāth), 'sata' cannot mean hundred, for it would give 2 5 6 00; and 'sata' in 'duve sapaṁnālāti satā' must mean 'hundred' as otherwise we do not get 256. In 'sata vivāsā,' therefore, 'sata' stands for 'santaḥ.'

In the light of the above explanations (1), (2) and (3), the following interpretations of the text are possible :

(i) 'The proclamation has been issued by (me) on tour, when 256 days had been spent.'

Naturally a diary of the tour would be kept, and this proclamation was dated the 256th 'vivāsa' or day of absence on tour.

(ii) Taking 'vivuthā,' 'vivāsā' = missionaries (for despatch) [cf. 'vivasetavāya' of Rūpnāth], 'the pro-

clamation has been issued (by me) on tour and 256 officers have been despatched (to as many districts or quarters) with the proclamations.'

It may be noted in passing that $256 = 16 \times 16$ or $4 \times 8 \times 8$. It may be an auspicious number, or may stand for 32 sub-divisions of 8 quarters, or for the number of districts in the particular administrative area.

(4)

AGE OF THE STŪPA OF BARHUT.

B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.Lit.,
Professor of Pali, Calcutta University.

The inscription on the Eastern Gateway of the Stūpa of Barhut clearly records that this stone-structure with its ornamental finish was set up by King Dhanabhūti in the dominion of the Śuṅgas. King Dhanabhūti himself is represented as the son of 'Āgaraju' and grandson of King Viśvadeva. This inscription can be constructed as meaning that when King Dhanabhūti erected this gateway, the Śuṅgas wielded their suzerain power over an extensive empire in Āryāvarta. The fragments of two other inscriptions also go to show that two other gateways or their ornamental arches were erected by the same king. It cannot be definitely maintained, as has been done by Dr. Bühler, and other scholars like Dr. Hultzsch, that King Dhanabhūti, the royal donor of the gateways, was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. Dhanabhūti seems to have been a king of the Mathurā region, and it has yet to be ascertained whether this region was then included in the Śuṅga empire or not. What is apparent from these inscriptions is that King Dhanabhūti was an ally of the Śuṅgas, if not exactly a feudatory. On the evidence of his inscriptions Dr. Bühler suggested 150 B.C. as the probable date of the Barhut Gateways, and indirectly that of the Barhut Inner Railing. Sir Alexander Cunningham who at first presumed an earlier date, going back to the reign of Aśoka, authorised later Dr. J. Anderson to record his opinion in favour of the date suggested by Dr. Bühler.

One of the votive labels records a rail-bar, included in the inner railing, to be a gift of Prince Vṛddhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti. Another label records another such rail-bar to be a gift of Queen Nāgarakṣitā, probably the wife of the same king. There can be no doubt that these two rail-bars were contemporaneous with the gateways that were erected by Dhanabhūti. But we do not understand how 150 B.C. can be definitely fixed as a date, or how this date can be regarded as the only date of the whole of the Barhut Inner Railing with its quadrants and returns, and with its inscriptions and sculptures. Dhanabhūti's inscriptions enable one to understand that the gateways were erected by him 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas,' and infer that the rail-bars recorded to be gifts of his wife and son were put in at the same time. The expression 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas' is rather vague from the point of chronology, seeing that the Śuṅga-reign covered about 112 years, from *circa* 184 to 72 B.C. The real point at issue is whether the date ascertainable from Dhanabhūti's inscriptions and records of gifts of his wife and son represents the beginning or close of the Śuṅga-reign, and the commencement or the consummation of the Barhut Gate Railing. Dr. Waddell rightly contends that the whole railing does not belong to one period, since this gateway does not appear to be an original investing structure at all.¹ But his interest is not so much to fix the lower limit as the upper. Without raising any question as to 150 B.C. being the lower limit, he seems concerned to push back the upper limit to the Mauryan Age, if not precisely to the time of Aśoka, thus tending to confirm in the main the views of Cunningham as he had expressed them in his 'Stūpa of Bharhut.' M. Foucher expresses his opinion in a non-

¹ J. R. A. S., 1914, pp. 138 foll.

contentious, less committal and apparently more accurate form, and says : “ On one of the jambs of the eastern gate, found *in situ*, we read, in a somewhat later script, a mention of the ephemeral suzerain dynasty of the Śuṅgas, which succeeded the Mauryas towards the year 180 B.C.; it relates to the erection of the gate, or, to be more exact, the replacement of an old wooden model by a stone-work; and thus we feel certain that towards the end of the second century the final touch must have been given to the decoration of the Stūpa, commenced no doubt, during the third.”²

Dr. Waddell’s contention for an earlier beginning is quite reasonable, but his grounds are faulty. M. Foucher’s opinion has the merit of extending the range of chronology and placing it between the third century B.C. and the end of the second century, but it is vague as it relates to the chronological position of the whole sanctuary, beginning with the Stūpa and ending with the Torana. The real questions of importance are : (1) when was the Stūpa built and by whom? and (2) what is the relative chronology of successive stages in the growth of the inner railing from its rude beginning to its final form?

As to the date and builder of the Stūpa, we find Barhut is not one of the eight places where ten mounds were built by Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, and others—eight for the bodily remains, one for the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and one for the embers of the funeral pyre of the Buddha, immediately after his demise Rājagaha, Vesālī, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Veṭhadīpa. Pāvā, Kusinārā and Pippalivana are the places where these mounds were made. A few verses forming the epilogue of the Mahāparinibbānasutta and added, according to Buddhaghosa, by the Theras in Ceylon, seem to refer to

² The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 34.

redistribution of the relics, which took place later on, and enshrinement of the same in such places as Gāndhāra and Kāliṅga.³ The corresponding verses in the Buddhavaṃsa, evidently interpolated by the same agency, hint at the same fact, one of the MSS. also mentioning Siṃhala (Ceylon) among the countries where the mounds were built in later times. These verses had been added before the Pāli canon was finally rehearsed and committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the king of Ceylon, towards the end of the first century B.C. Later traditions in the Pāli Chronicles and Commentaries, as well as in the Sanskrit Avadānas, associate the work of redistribution of the relics with Aśoka. These traditions also record that a tope was built by and during the reign of King Ajātaśatru to deposit in one place relics collected by the venerable Mahākāśyapa from all the mounds except one in Rāmagrāma. It is King Aśoka who after a careful search was able to locate the Ajātaśatru tope, and succeeded in reopening it and redistributing the remains deposited there. Thus the building of the Stūpa at Barhut, if it enshrined the remains of the Buddha, was not possible before this redistribution took place during the reign of Aśoka.

Was Aśoka himself the builder of the Stūpa? In none of his edicts, hitherto discovered, he claims that he was the builder of any Stūpa. In each and all of them he evinces a keen interest for having his instructions and proclamations permanently inscribed on rocks (Pavata), stone slabs (Silāphalaka) and stone-pillars (Silāthambha). In the Bhābru Edict he has addressed himself to the Buddhist Church. In three of his edicts inscribed on three pillars, set up in Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchi, he has proclaimed his high authority to turn out all dissentient

³ Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 134-155.

elements in the Buddhist Church and suppress schisms. His Sārnāth Pillar Edict contains statements indicative of the fact that when it was issued, there were Buddhist churches or missions working among people in countries beyond and adjoining his dominions. Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchi are places forming halting stations of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Southern-trade-route. Barhut was situated in a jungle-tract lying at the point where this route extending southward from Kauśāmbī, turned westward, leading to Sāñchi. His edicts are dated up to his twenty-seventh regnal year. They keep us in the dark as to what happened during the remaining ten years of his reign. The Pāli legend attribute to him the credit of building 84,000 Vihāras and distributing the relics amongst them. The Avadāna stories, on the other hand, tend to create an impression that King Aśoka was the builder of 84,000 Dharmarājikas or Stūpas that shone forth all over India like so many autumn-clouds and enshrined the remains of the Buddha.⁴ In the Divyāvadāna we read : “ The king having made 84,000 boxes of gold, silver, crystal and lapis lazuli, put the relics therein, and handed them over to the Yakṣas along with 84,000 jars and the same number of plates (Paṭṭa). He let off these daring agents, commanding them to erect a Dharmarājika in any town, insignificant, best or average, in the great earth extending as far as the seas, wherever a crore filled (the jars). It happened that at Taxila alone 36 crores (were collected), compelling the agents, according to the king’s command, to part with 36 boxes. The matter was referred to the king, and the king, anxious to see the relics distributed over a larger area, ordered them to spare just one box for the place where 35 crores or more (were collected).”⁵

⁴ Divyāvadāna, p. 381.

⁵ Divyāvadāna, p. 381.

The difference in the two traditions cannot be removed unless it be supposed that by Vihāras were not meant the monasteries but resorts or places of pilgrimage attached to the different monasteries. The Divyāvadāna story gives an account of King Aśoka's pious tour⁶ in course of which he visited all important places associated with the life of the Buddha, honouring each by building a sanctuary (Caitya)⁷ and making a largess of money, and when the pilgrim reached Jetavana, his attention was drawn to the Stūpas built there for the remains of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda. The sanctuaries built by Aśoka, such as those at Lumbinī where the Buddha was born and at Sārnāth where he delivered the first sermon, have survived to the present day and are all found to be towering monoliths and nothing else. If the word Vihāra be taken in its ordinary sense, one must understand that the relics were distributed among the different monasteries or Saṅghārāmas, and the monks of the local monastery were the persons who sought and secured the help from princes and peoples to build the Stūpa with all its outer constructions and artistic designs. Though these monks made the plans and devised the ways and means to carry them into practice, the Stūpas were ascribed to Aśoka for the impetus given by him. If so, the Barhut Stūpa need not be supposed to have been built by King Aśoka or during his reign, the more cogent hypothesis being that the structure was built by the monks of the Barhut Church in a post-Aśokan time.

From its internal history one can easily infer that the Barhut sanctuary was not built in a day but by successive steps, at intervals and according to opportunities. We

⁶ Divyāvadāna, p. 389 foll.

⁷ The King's object was to mark each spot for the good of posterity (cihnāni kuryāṃ paścimasyāṃ janatāyāṃ anugrahārtham).

can conceive a stage in its life when the mound was enclosed by a railing of rough-hewn stone, with four quadrants, four entrances, a square coping with certain ornamentations on its outer face, and some statues of demi-gods and demi-goddesses on terminus pillars.

In the second stage when the eastern terminus pillar of south-eastern quadrant was recorded to be the Barhut First Pillar and a gift of Cāpādevī, the wife of Revatimitra, of Vidiśā, some alterations were made, resulting in the replacement of the right terminus pillar in each quadrant by one connected with a return added at the time and bearing a lion-statue guarding the approach, the inclusion of this pillar with one statue cut off within the quadrant, the reproduction of the statue cut off on a face of another intermediate pillar, the carving of the coping and its ornamentation with two borders, creeper-and-lotus-designs and Jātaka-scenes on its inner face, and the erection of two gates, probably those of the South and the North, each consisting of two plain pillars with square shafts. In this stage a few other statues of demi-gods and demi-goddesses were carved on three out of four right terminus pillars in the quadrants. It is also conceivable that the copings over the returns were of a square shape without any ornamentation, and had no other sculptures but the lion-statues in their outer ends; that some of the medallion-carvings with lotus-designs and flower compositions appeared on some of the quadrant pillars and rail-bars; and that the side or face of some of the left terminus pillars in quadrants was as yet plain or without any statue. The artists employed hailed all from localities where Brāhmī was the current script. If Cāpādevī, the female donor of the first pillar, were connected with a Śuṅga royal family in Vidiśā, as we believe she was, this stage must have been reached during the viceroyalty of Agnimitra. The first pillar is sculptured with a scene

of arrival of a royal procession carrying a relic-casket, while a panel in the corresponding coping-stone contains a scene of the same procession in progress. The name of the king leading the procession is not mentioned. All are presumed to know it fully well who he was. If King Aśoka was meant here to be the leader, the Stūpa must have as a structure been built and enshrined during his reign. The rod of the standard is represented like an Aśokan pillar with a cylindrical shaft and a lotus-ornament at its capital.

The third stage was reached during the reign of the same Śuṅga dynasty. When King Dhanabhūti erected the gateways he employed some artists, who hailed from a north-western region where Kharoṣṭhī was the current script, to do the work. The jambs of the Eastern Gateway show each a combination of four octagons and jointly support the ornamental arch containing a symbolical outline of the present life of the Buddha. The capital, lotus-ornament and crowning animal figures are distinctive features of Aśokan monoliths that still linger in these jambs representing the richest combination and final development in the Barhut style of octagonal pillars. The upper continuation of the gateway pillars contains four examples of Persepolitan columns, bearing a clear testimony to the work done by artists from the north-west. The balusters in the arch show a synthesis of Barhut octagons and Persepolitan pillars, the upper portions including the shafts remaining loyal to the Barhut style and the lower portions or bases corresponding to the Persepolitan. In the case of two gateways, probably ornamental arches were superimposed upon pillars with square shafts, serving later as jambs. The pieces of these pillars that now remain bear sculptures representing some stories of the present and past of the Buddha's life. These sculptures must have been carved by the same artists,

since the pillars of Śuddhodana's palace, represented in the scene of renunciation, are precisely of the same style and show the same technique as balusters in the arch of the Eastern Gateway. These artists must have also worked on the Great Railing, either fashioning some of the pillars and rail-bars or carving new sculptures, or inserting new pillars and rails; in short, giving finishing touch to the work of repair or decoration. The parts bearing evidence of their workmanship can be distinguished by the paleographic similarity of the labels inscribed therein with the inscriptions of Dhanabhūti on the gateways. The King himself appears to have figured as a worshipper of the ' Bodhi ' on the lower architrave. The railing pillars fashioned in the second stage can be broadly distinguished from those done in the third by battalions under lotus arches in the upper border of upper half-medallions as contrasted with railing and other designs. Whether a little earlier or later, several sculptures must be connected with the third stage, particularly those coping panels, pillar-statues and medallion-carvings in the labels of which a special form of the Brāhmī letter for jā-occurs, and those scenes in the square and oblong panels on the return pillars and rails. In three of these square and oblong panels we see a representation of pillars reminding one of Aśokan monoliths, and the sculptured scenes themselves presuppose legends referring to Aśoka's pilgrimage to Buddha-Gayā and Kusinārā. The scenes with the labels containing the special letter (≡) and one of the return pillar scenes with a label referring to Vidūra and Pūrṇaka illustrate three of the ten lengthy Jātakas forming the 6th volume in Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka-commentary. The square and oblong panels contain scenes based upon legends corresponding to certain episodes in the Lalitavistara, as well as representations of palatial mansions. These go to standardise the octagonal pillars

as a Barhut style. Even among the scenic examples of Aśokan monoliths, there is one which is distinguished by an ornamental bracket. We cannot but agree with Dr. Kramrisch in thinking that the zenith of the Barhut art was reached in the carvings on the Prasenajit Pillar and in those sculptures in the return rail panels that were worked up on the same model.

The stage of paleography beyond Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the Barhut Gateways is that of Brāhmī letters with *mātrā*, *serifs* or *thickened tops* appearing in inscriptions on the Gateway of the Great Sāñchi Stūpa. The stage of development beyond ornamentation and symbolism in the Barhut arches can be clearly traced in the arches of the Sāñchi Gateways. The stage of abridgment beyond the Barhut Jātaka-scheme is represented by four separate sketches on the four Sāñchi Gateways. The Sāñchi plastic representations begin where the Barhut sculptures end. If Tumbavana or Tubavana referred to in some of the votive labels inscribed on the railing of the Sāñchi Stūpa I, be the jungle-tract where Barhut is situated, the Stūpa at Barhut was well-known as a Buddhist sanctuary when this railing was constructed, completed or repaired. The Sāñchi and other Bhilsā topes enshrine the relics of some distinguished disciples of the Buddha,⁸ including among them those who were known to have been sent to Haimavata or Himalayan region as missionaries during the reign of Aśoka, in his 18th regnal year. If it cannot be proved that all of these missionaries had predeceased King Aśoka or that the relics enshrined were deposited from time to time, these topes must be relegated to a post-Aśokan time.

⁸ See inscriptions on Cunningham's Bhilsā topes, Geiger on the importance of the Relic-casket inscriptions in the Preface to his translation of the Mahāvamsa, p. xix. Cf. Buddhist India, pp. 296—301.

So far as the life-history of the Barhut Railing is concerned, we are to conceive three stages, one of which is pre-Śuṅga stage, *i.e.*, Mauryan but not necessarily Aśokan; it is probably post-Aśokan. The second or middle stage must be dated as early as 150 B.C. and third or final as late as 100 B.C., half a century being sufficient, upon the whole, for the development of the Barhut plastic art from the first to the Prasenajit Pillar. The Lohapāsāda and the great Thūpa, built in Ceylon during the reign of King Duṭṭagāmaṇi and described in the Mahāvamsa and its Tīkā, are important in the history of Buddhism as an evidence of the development of art that took place just at the close of the Śuṅga-reign on the model of Barhut.

Apart from other details having their peculiar significance, the account of the Lohapāsāda is here important as indicating that the serpentine line on the Barhut Coping with lotus-blossoms and Jātaka-scenes in its undulations was meant to be a creeper (Latā) and not a lotus-stalk;⁹ that the nets of gems, metals, bells and lotuses, the pillars surmounted by the figures of lions, tigers and other animals and by those of the gods, and the representations of the sun, the moon and the stars were among the means of decorations.¹⁰

The account of carvings in the relic-chamber of the great Thūpa has here a twofold importance: (1) as setting forth a scheme of Jātaka similar to Barhut, and (2) as giving a general idea of the details of ornamentation and

⁹ Mahāvamsa, XXXII, 34:—

Nānāratnapadumā tattha tattha yathāraham,
Jātakāni ca tatth'eva asuṃ soṇṇalatantare.

Dr. Geiger translates: "lotus-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-*tales* in the same place within a festoon of gold."

¹⁰ Mahāvamsa, XXVII, 27—33.

a clue to identification of the figures of various deities, demi-gods and demi-goddesses.¹¹

¹¹ Mahāvamsa, XXX, 89—94.

(5)

YOGIMĀRĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION :
IS IT BUDDHISTIC ?

D. N. SEN, M.A.,

Principal, Bihar National College, Patna.

I

The occasion for this enquiry was the publication of an article on the subject in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol. IX, Parts III and IV, 1923). There were many attempts at deciphering and interpreting the inscription by well-known Indologists, among them our scholarly friend, Mr. Jayaswal. But the most recent of these attempts was that of Dr. A. P. Banerjee-Shastri, who is a specialist in Māgadhī and thus possesses an advantage which many others cannot claim. A careful study of the article impressed me with the idea that the writer thought that the inscription was a fragment of a judgment in accordance with the Buddhist Canon law. I confess it gave me a rude shock as I could not conceive how the amours of a dancer could have interested Buddhist monks, who not only sat in solemn conclave to discuss the subject, but also immortalised their decision by incising it on stone. Once the enquiry was started I found that it was necessary to consider the inscription in all its aspects. I now propose to place before you the conclusions I have arrived at and my grounds for doing so.

The first mention of the cave and the inscription occurs in the Archæological Survey of India Report, Vol. XIII. Mr. J. D. Beglar, Assistant Director, Archæological Survey, in the course of a tour in the South-Eastern Pro-

vinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, visited the place and published an account of it. He was of opinion that, at some remote period, the valley below was a lake and the caves were placed most picturesquely on its margin. Major-General Cunningham,¹ then Director-General of Archaeological Survey, was the first to bring the inscription in the Yogimārā Cave to the notice of the public. The next attempt was made by M. L. Abbé Boyer,² who had to depend upon Cunningham's facsimiles for his data. Fresh materials were collected by Bloch³ and a new reading was the result of his investigations. He inspected the cave personally and took a photograph of which a facsimile was published in the A.S.R., 1903-04, and brought back with him also a paper impression. In 1902, H. P. Sastri⁴ published a translation in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Mr. Jayaswal⁵ had a photograph taken and published it with a reading and interpretation in 1919. We have also Fleet,⁶ and Lüders⁷ among the scholars who have laboured for a clearer understanding of the inscription. Materials were again collected by Blackistone⁸ who took a photograph and some paper impressions of the inscription.

Just a word about the site of our Cave. It is one of two adjoining caves in the Rāmgarh Hill, in Surguja State. The hill itself is of considerable archæological interest, there being stone gateways, rock caves, and a

¹ C. I. I., Vol. I.

² Journal Asiatique, X Serie, Tome III, No. 3, p. 478.

³ A. S. R., 1903-4, p. 123.

⁴ Proc. A. S. B., 1902, p. 90.

⁵ I. A., XLVII, 1919, p. 131.

⁶ J. A. R. S., 1907, p. 511, note 4.

⁷ Bruchstücke, p. 41.

⁸ Not published.

natural tunnel large enough to allow an elephant to pass through, and a deserted fortress not far off. There is an old temple on the top of the hill where pilgrims resort every year for worship, and, as usual, a fair is held. The second Cave is believed to have been an ancient theatre. It has an inscription in it of the same date as that of the Yogimārā Cave, but written in a more polished and ornate style, a poetical effusion describing the Spring Carnival, which was usually held on a full-moon day in spring.'

II

I read the first line of the inscription as—

ŚUTANUKANAMA.'

A careful scrutiny of the letters in the excellent photograph taken by Mr. Blackistone in 1913-14 will show that the last two letters of the line are " ५ " and a reading of the facsimile of this paper impression leaves no room for doubt on the subject. There is no vertical line after *nama*, though it is present in the body of the inscription below. This is because the vertical line is meant only to be a mark for separating important groups of words, which purpose is served, in Aśoka inscriptions, by blank spaces, to which attention was drawn by Dr. Bloch. It is not exactly a sign of punctuation.

' ŚUTANUKA NAMA ' = ' SUTANUKĀ NĀMA.

In Prakrit Māgadhī ś (palatal) is used for s, and short vowels for long. The meaning is ' Sutanukā by name.'

⁸ Bloch, A. S. R., 1903-4, pp. 123-24; Beglar, A. S. R., XIII, p. 31; Blackistone, A. S. R., Eastern Circle, 1913-14, pp. 43-44.

The second line is—

“ DEVADAŚIKYI ”

The last part of the word has given considerable trouble. Having had at first to depend upon the older photographs, including Jayaswal's, I read it as *ye*. Here again Blackistone's photograph and paper impression have been of very great service. They fully support Dr. Bloch's reading, *kyi*.¹⁰ The word is 'DEVADAŚIKYI,' which is equivalent to Pali 'DEVADASSIKI' (*deva-dassa-ika-i*), the meaning being, one who sees Devas, an *ikkhaṇṇā*, or 'seeress.' These seeresses or oracles used to be DEVADĀSIS, dancers or temple attendants. The *y* of *kyi* is a local inflection and is found in Delhi-Siwalik as well as Kalsi inscriptions.¹¹ The substitution of single *s* for double follows the same law as in 'PIYADASI.'

The third line, which is in larger letters, runs as follows :

ŚUTANUKA NAMA DEVADAŚIKYI

This line is the same as the first two except for the vertical lines. It means there was a DEVADASSIKI, SUTANUKĀ by name. The words in this line are separated just in the same way as in the last—

¹⁰ Bloch, *Devadasikyī*, A. S. R. 1903-4, p. 128; Jayaswal, *Devadasiy*, Ind. Ant., July, 1919, p. 131; A. P. Banerjee, *Devadasiy*, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IX, Parts III and IV, p. 273; also compare the *Y* of the inscription with the *y* which is the last letter of the second line in the Radhia Inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, plate facing p. 248.

¹¹ See Kalsi, Edict X, *palatikye*, *natikye*; Ed. X, *hidālokikye*; Ed. XIII, *Alikyashudale*; Ed. V, *Chitathikya*, *natikye*; Ed. IV, *pānatikya*. See also, Delhi-Siwalik, Ed. VII, *amtavādikya*, *adhakosi kyani*; also Dr. Bloch's remarks, pp. 128-29, A. S. R., 1903-4.

DEVADINE NAMA/LUPADAKHE

= a LUPADAKHE, DEVADINE by name.

The fourth line reads thus—

‘TAM KAMAITHA BALU(LA)NAŚEYE’/¹²

‘KAMAITHA’ = ‘KĀMAITHTHĀ’ = ‘loved’ (or caused to be loved), as has been generally accepted.

Professor Banerjee-Shastri has read ‘BALA-NAŚEYE’ as ‘BALUNAŚEYE.’ This alternative reading is accepted by some of the scholars.

The letter *la* or *lu* presents some difficulty. The vowel mark is straight and not slightly curved as, and much shorter than, in *lu* of ‘LUPADAKHE’ in the last line. It seems also to be complicated by an upward stroke (J. B. O. R. S., IX, plate) which cuts right through the loop. A very careful consideration of the A. S. R. (1903-4) plate convinces me that the vowel mark is really absent and that there is an interruption of the loop at this point and the broken portion looks like an ‘U’ mark with the very unusual upward prolongation which is really suspicious.¹³

The ‘*ba*’¹⁴ is not *antastha* but *vargīya* ‘*bā*.’ I propose to read the line as below in Pali:—

‘TĀM KĀMAITHTHĀ BĀRĀNASEYE.’

In the original A is used for Ā, L for R and E for A. The meaning of the line is—

¹² Bloch, A. S. R., 1903-4, p. 128; A. P. Banerjee-Shastri, J.B.O.R.S.; ‘*Balunaśeye*,’ Jayaswal, ‘*Balunaśeye*.’

¹³ Compare the vowel marks in *śu*, *nu*, and *lu* of *Lupadakhe* with the *u* of this word.

¹⁴ Bloch, A. S. R., 1903-4, p. 123. *Epigraphia Indica*, II, plate facing p. 248. Also compare *Bahuka*, *Bahuvīdhe*, *Bahuni*, *Bahuke*, *Badham*, *Bandhana*, *Badhanam*, *Ambakapilika*, in the *Asoka Pillar Edicts* (I to IV).

‘ She had a lover belonging to Benares.’

The fifth line should be read as below :—

‘ DEVADINE NAMA LUPADAKHE ’

In Pali this will be—

‘ DEVADINNO NĀMA RŪPADAKKHO ’

‘ DEVADINE ’ in the original = ‘ DEVADINNO ’ (Pali).

The meaning of the line is—

His name was ‘ DEVADINNA ’ and he was a sculptor or actor by profession.

In reading the inscription, the vertical lines which have been placed after important words or combinations of words should not be taken as full stops. Blank spaces serve the same purpose in some Aśoka edicts.

III

There is a general concensus of opinion that the inscription, as judged by the letters, belongs to the third century B. C. or thereabouts. I will not waste the time of my readers by going into details about the grounds which lead to this conclusion.

IV

The language of the inscription is a Māgadhī Dialect and has the following characteristics :—

- (1) the substitution of *l* for *r*
- (2) „ *ś* for *s*
- (3) „ *e* for *a* or *ā*
- (4) short vowels for long.

V

MEANINGS OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS

(1) DEVADĀŚŚIKI: The Brahmajāla Sutta, it is true, mentions the word 'DEVAPĀÑHĀ' and it is also true that 'DEVAPĀÑHĀ' is connected with 'DEVADĀSĪ.' The annotator tells us that 'DEVAPĀÑHĀ' means 'DEVADĀSIYĀ sarīre DEVATAM otāretvā pañha pucchanam' (Making a deity descend upon the body of a DEVADĀSĪ and asking her questions).

This, however, was one of the practices which were severely condemned by Buddha. The "Sakkaputtiyā Samaṇā" or Buddha's followers had, therefore, nothing to do with DEVADĀSĪS. They were strictly enjoined not to indulge in crystal gazing, mediumship, prophesying and other similar mystical practices of the day. Vāruṇī in the Vessantara Jātaka has evidently the same meaning. A Vāruṇī, according to the Pali annotator, is a 'Yakkhavistā ikkhaṇā,' i.e., a possessed seeress, corresponding to the Greek Pythian oracle. I agree with Dr. Banerjee-Shastri that the simile of the prophetess cannot be in its entirety applied to Maddī as she was not a prophetess. But it applies to her in so far as she behaved like a possessed woman. The Jātaka says that, at the sight of her long-lost children, she behaved like one possessed. She was trembling with excitement and entirely lost her self-control and rushed upon her children, the milk gushing out in jets from her breasts.

Attendants in Buddhist temples and Vihāras were not Devadāsīs or Devadāśas. The Vinaya rules dealt only with members of the brotherhood and not their lay followers.

Stage women, women specially trained in music and dancing (Nāṭakitthiyā) and those who depended for a living on their personal charms. (Rūpūpajīvinīs) existed in

Buddha's time. The first class of women, *viz.*, Nāṭa-kiṭṭhiyās (actresses) were not then of the pronounced demi-monde class and music and dancing were among female accomplishments. The latter, *viz.*, the Rūpūpajīvinīs, were courtesans.

Coming nearer to the time of the inscription, in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, we find a class of women who used to be carefully trained for the stage and were called Raṅgopajīvinyah. They had among other accomplishments, dancing, singing, playing on various kinds of musical instruments, proficiency in the use of various languages and reading peoples' thoughts. Under the class Gaṇikā was included actresses, dāsīs, dancing girls, etc. Naturally a Devadāsī would be included in the same class though employed in temples. Sutanukā of the inscription was presumably one of this class (Arthaśāstra, Ganapati Sastri, pp. 305-6). In this work we have unmistakable evidence about the worship of deities and of building shrines for them. In the chapter on Durganiveśa directions are given for building shrines for Aparājitā, Apratihata, Jayantaka, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvinīs, and Śrī Madirā. Devadāsīs would naturally be attached to these shrines and their function would be that of temple attendants or dancers or both.

In modern Buddhist temples, as in Ceylon, the Devadāsa or Devadāsī is unknown. The monks do most of the work themselves employing only sweepers for keeping the temple yards clean and for sanitary service. They lead a simple life of study, contemplation and priestly ministrations and do not concern themselves about the worldly affairs of their lay disciples. According to the Sikkhāpadas, lit. 'enjoined instructions,' a monk has to rigorously observe ten vows, one of which is to shun all places of theatrical or other entertainments and to avoid

everything which approaches worldly pomp or luxury. The Devadāsa or Devadāsī has no place in Buddhist temples and even the name is not known except in the annotations of a date as remote from the time of Buddha as a millennium. The sacred Buddhist establishments with their shrines, libraries, preaching halls and residential quarters are like oases in the midst of the wild waste of the world around them. The very suggestion of Devadāsī as a Buddhist temple attendant is revolting.

(2) KAMAITHA : In Pali this word is “ Kāmaitha,” and is the third person, singular, past tense of the root Kam, and may be taken to mean loved or caused to be loved. The Sanskrit equivalent will be Kāmayāñcakre or Cakame; *e.g.*, *Kalahaṃso Mandārikāṃ Kāmayate* (Mālatīmādhava, 1. 2). Even supposing that the inscription referred to a judgment passed by a Buddhist ecclesiastical court, it would hardly make any difference whether the offending person was induced to ‘love’ or ‘loved’ of his or her own accord. Both are violations of the vow of celibacy in the case of monks and in the case of lay members, a violation of the corresponding Sikkhāpada as altered to suit the conditions of the lives of householders, *viz.*, ‘*Kāmesu mitthācārā veramani*,’ referring to offences against marital relations.

(3) BALANĀŚEYE : The Pali equivalent is ‘ Bārāṇaseya.’ This means belonging to or inhabitant of Bārāṇasī. The first letter is not an *antastha* ‘*va*’ which we should expect if the term referred to the deity Varuṇa. BALANĀŚEYE is a reading which has been supported by the eminent scholar T. Bloch. Even if we accept the reading BALUNĀŚEYE, we should remember that ‘Varuṇā is an alternative of ‘varana’ (see Vācaspatya Abhidhāna). The two rivers after which Bārāṇasī has been named are Baraṇā or Baruṇā and Asi. Both the names Baraṇā and Baruṇā are still in common use.

‘ Balanaśeye ’ is ‘ Bārāṇaseya ’ or ‘ Bārāṇaseyaka (Childers) and the first letter in the Pali form is a B and not V (Childers). Vāruṇi which is a derivative of *Varuṇa* is spelt with a V (Childers).

The reading ‘ Varuna-śeva ’ or ‘ Varuṇa-sevaka does not in any way connect it with Buddhism of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. Early Buddhism tolerated but never enjoined the worship of deities. It is generally admitted that the worship of the image of Buddha himself commenced about the 1st century of the Christian era under the influence of the northern school of Buddhism. The Tāntric developments to which we owe the introduction of Varuṇa in connection with Hevasra or Padmapāṇi date very much later. This school was founded by Asaṅga about the middle of the 6th century after Christ (G. N. B., page 62). Varuṇa as a Tāntric Buddhist deity could not have figured in an inscription of the 3rd or 2nd century before Christ.

(4) ‘ DEVADINE ’ (= DEVADINNA or DEVADATTA) presents no difficulty. I will therefore pass on to the next important word.

(5) LUPADAKHE, Pali Rūpadakkha, Sanskrit Rūpadaksha or Rūpdarśaka :

(a) RŪPADAKKHĀ of Milindapañhā : Nāgasena was explaining the principles and organisation of the Buddhist Church to Menander and therefore tried to make his meaning clear by drawing a number of analogies between the organisation of the Buddhist Church and that of a city. The Buddhist Church, he said, was a Dhammanagara or city of righteousness and had its Doctors of Theology (cf. Dhammāsēnāpati), saints, expounders of the canon law, and officers entrusted with the carrying out of ecclesiastical decrees corresponding to Generals, Magistrates, Judges, Municipal Officers, etc. No satisfactory explanation of the term ‘ Rūpadakkha ’ as used in Milin

dapañhā can be gleaned from the annotation attached to the text, except that they were state officers. All that we can infer from the Milindapañhā is that corresponding to the functions of Rūpadakkha, who was a city officer, there were functions assigned to the members of the Saṅgha or Brotherhood of Monks. Rūpadakkha, was not the name of a Buddhist ecclesiastical dignitary.

(b) In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, we possess an inexhaustible mine of information. Among the officers mentioned in the chapter on Akarakarmānta-pravartana, the duty of Rūpadarśaka is described as the regulation of the currency both as a medium of exchange and as legal tender acceptable at the royal treasury (Shama Shastri's translation). Rūpadarśaka, lit. a scrutinizer of coins, was engaged in judging or deciding about the genuineness of coins. The Pali equivalent of this word is Rūpadakkha derived from the base *dis* (Skt. *droś*). The Pali root *dis* takes three variable forms, viz., *passa*, *dissa* and *dakkha* (*disassa passadissadakkhā vā*,—Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar, S. C. V., p. 283). *Rūpadakkha* = *Rūpa* + *diss* + *a* = *Rūpa* + *dakkha* + *a* = *Rūpadakkha* “ *Sabbato ñvutvāvī vā* ” cf. *hita* + *kara* + *a* = *hitakara*, *ibid*, pp. 310-311). Rūpadakkhā of Milindapañhā is connected with the third variant of Pali *dis*.

There is another word in the same context *Akkhadakkhā* = *Akshadarśaka* of Arthaśāstra and means a judge. The Abhidhānappadīpikā, a Pali dictionary, mentions another form of the same word, viz., *Akkhadassa* which has the same meaning and is derived in the same way as our RŪPADAKKHĀ of Milindapañhā¹⁵ (N-341, A.P.).

(c) LUPADAKHE of the inscription : *Lupadakhe* = Pali *Rūpadakkha* = Sans. *Rūpadaksha* and is derived

from the root daksh. The meaning is " Skilled in Rūpa, *i.e.*, Nāṭya " (or sculptor or artist), *i.e.*, a skilled actor. It may also be taken as a famous sculptor. This word does not refer to a civic or ecclesiastic office. Even if I accept the interpretation that this word is used for a judge, that would not make it a judge of Buddhist canon law. I have never found this word used for a Buddhist sacred functionary and the Ceylonese scholars gave an emphatic denial when questioned by me on the subject (Mahāsthavira S. Sumaṅgala).

VI

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

(1) *Frescoes in the cave* :—Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the earliest of the frescoes belong to the 1st century before Christ and the others, to a considerably later date. If that be the case, the paintings are in no way connected with the inscription, and, so far as our present purpose is concerned, we may discard them altogether. But they, at least the later ones, are undoubtedly connected with the name which the cave bears, *viz.*, Yogimārā or the Cave of the Yogi.

There are, among the figures painted, a naked Yogi with hair tied into a knot in a sitting posture and similar other standing figures. There are also pictures of elephants, horses, chariots, dancing girls, etc. This would point to the cave having been used in later times as an abode by ascetics of great influence who received visits from persons of rank and wealth and to its having been named accordingly.

(2) *An adjacent Cave* :—Close to the Yogimārā there is another cave which was undoubtedly used for staging plays. It contains two inner chambers, then an oblong space 45' by 24' and last of all, facing the cave, an amphitheatre for accommodating the audience (Nepathyagṛha,

Raṅgapīṭha, and Prekshāgrha). According to Bharatamuni a Nāṭyamaṇḍapa, should be two-storied and in the shape of a rock-abode or cave. This takes us back to the time when caves were used as theatres, and Sītābengā was probably one of the earliest of the kind. The inscription in this cave is a poetical effusion in praise of poets, and refers to the swing festival in spring when people resorted there for enjoying themselves. The Rāmgārḥ Hill and its surroundings were very suitable for celebrating the flower carnival.

These two caves were used as pleasure resorts, one being used as a theatre and the other, the trysting place of the lovers Sutanukā and Devadatta. The use of Silāveśma and Darigrha as places for the meetings of lovers are famous in Indian classical poetry, well-known instances of which must be familiar to this learned audience in the poetry of the immortal bard Kālidāsa (Meghadūta, śloka 168; Kumārasambhava, Canto I, sts. 10 and 14).

(3) *Trials in ancient times:*

(a) For offences against the Buddhist canon laws, three ways of dealing with delinquents are on record. On a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhunī doing anything which excited public comment, the information would in due course be brought to Buddha. The offender would be sent for, and in the presence of the assembled brotherhood, questioned if he was guilty. The offending monk would, as a rule, make a confession. After this the Master would address the Saṅgha and declare the transgression as an offence and adopt necessary disciplinary measures. As the Church grew and its territorial limits widened, Buddha delegated his powers to the Saṅgha or Chapters of Monks. At the meeting of the Saṅgha, sitting as an Ecclesiastical Court, the procedure was for the President to mention the name of the accused and the offence committed and take votes, those agreeing keeping silent. Sometimes the transgressor

himself would come up before the Saṅgha and ask for being dealt with according to the rules of Vinaya. In every case it was a secret conclave of Bhikkhus from which outsiders were strictly excluded. No evidence was recorded, no formal judgment was written down and there were no functionaries for taking part at any special stage of the proceedings. A Court like this was not a place for the discussion of the love affairs of Devadāsīs (Cullavagga, Vin. Pit.).

(b) *Trials in the fourth century ante Christ:* According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, the administration of justice used to be carried on by a bench made up of three members well-versed in the sacred law and three state officers. The Courts used to be located in fortified towns including in their jurisdiction from ten to eight hundred villages and at places where the district boundaries met. At the trial, the year, the season, the month, the fortnight (paksha), the date, the nature and place of the deed, the amount of the debt as well as the country, residence, caste, gotra, and name and occupation of both the plaintiff and defendant used to be registered and statements of both parties taken down. There was provision for payment to witnesses for attendance, against counter-suits in some cases, for adjournments, etc. The King was considered to be the fountain-head of justice, sacred law, evidence, history and edicts of kings were regarded as the four legs of law (*ibid.*, III. 1.). Though the Arthaśāstra does not prescribe any form of judgment, we may take it that it would be as close to the code of punishments as possible. The austere judges of the King's Benches had more serious matters to attend to than to sit in solemn session over the amours of Devadāsīs and to cause extracts from their judgments to be immortalised in stone.

(4) In deciphering an inscription it is always a disadvantage to have to depend upon photographs. A slight

change in the angle, an error of development, a blemish in the negative will spoil the strict accuracy of the facsimile. Many errors have crept into the J. B. O. R. S. plate. Thus, for example, the fourth letter in the first line is not a clear *k* and has the appearance of a triangular figure with a horizontal line at the apex; whereas in the A. S. R. plate this letter is undoubtedly a *k*. This is a freak of light impression. In the J. B. O. R. S. plate, the third letter in the second line is not a clear *d* as the loop of the letter appears to be continuous with the verticals and there is a second short vertical at the top producing the impression that the letter is a ∇ (*mu*). The *d* in the A. S. R. plate leaves no doubt that the letter is a *d*. In the J. B. O. R. S. reproduction of the photograph, the legs of the sixth letter in the 3rd line are continuous with the curve at bottom without the inner thrusts in the middle, whereas in the A. S. R. plate the inward strokes are quite clear, leaving no doubt that the letter is *m*. In the fourth line as I have already pointed out the vowel mark attached to *l* of *Baluna* or *Balana* is extremely suspicious. The downward stroke has a double at the top, is much shorter and thinner than the vowel mark in *lu* of LUPADAKHE. A careful scrutiny of the A. S. R. plate will show that the loop of *l* is actually interrupted near this point and a bit of the letter has peeled off producing the appearance of *lu*. The vowel mark in LUPADAKHE is clear, distinct and bold. This is a clear U whereas the *u* of *Balu* (*a*) *naṣeye* is a camouflage. Only a paper estampage can be free from these defects.

(5) In studying Māgadhī inscriptions we should not be anxious for Sanskrit synonyms or analogies. We should rather try to convert them into the cognate literary form, viz., Pali. Hitherto the custom has been to render them first into Sanskrit and then interpret them. This is obviously wrong. Pāli and Sanskrit differ in many respects

and even the bases are not always the same. Take for example the word *Balanaseye*. Following the Sanskrit analogy B will be taken as a V in Varuṇa as well as Vārāṇasī (V. S. Apte). But in Pali, Bārāṇasī is spelt with a B (*vargīya*). ‘*Baranaseyaka*,’ our ‘*Bārāṇaseya*,’ is also similarly spelt (Childers). But Varuṇa (as in Vārūṇi) has a V (*antastha* V) as the initial letter. In the Yogimārā Inscription the letter is a B and not a V, thus adding to the evidence in favour of the reading Bārāṇaseya (Pāli, Bārāṇaseyaka).

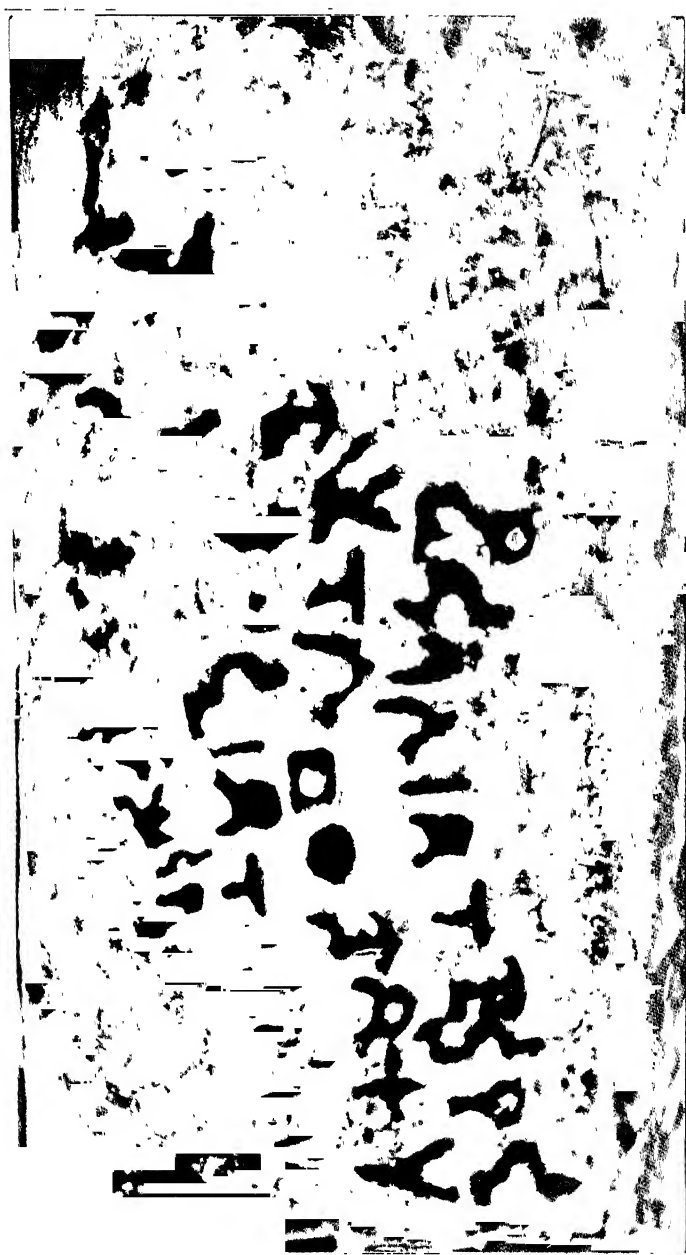
VII

CONCLUSION

(1) My reading of the inscription is substantially in agreement with that of my learned friend Mr. Jayaswal with the following exceptions :—

I had read the letter after *ka* in the first line as *ya* for which the reading ‘*nama*’ has been suggested in the J. B. O. R. S. article. On examining Blackistone’s facsimile of the photograph of the inscription and his paper impression, I have not the slightest doubt that Dr. Bloch’s and Mr. Jayaswal’s conjecture is right. The letters are *Nama* upon *kyi* of Bloch. But from the excellent photograph secured by Blackistone, the last letter of the line is a clear *ye* and I propose the last letter of the 3rd line also as *ye*. An inspection of the paper impressions taken by Blackistone leaves no doubt that this letter belongs to the third line, the vertical line marking the end of this line coming immediately after it. I am afraid the letter cannot be *ti*, because, as I have already mentioned above, the forks are wanting. As I have already suggested above, I would rather read it as *Ye*.

I feel sure that the vowel mark on *la* of *Bala* (u) *naseye* is not genuine, though even if I accept the mark as *u* it does not interfere with my interpretation.



YOGIMARA CAVE INSCRIPTION
(from paper impression)

(2) I have not been able to accept Dr. Banerjee-Shastri's version of the status and function of a Devadāsī. The term Devadāsa or Devadāsī, so far as I know, cannot be found in Pāli texts. Childers does not mention it. It appears, it is true, in annotations of the 5th century A.D., but never as Buddhistic. Monier-Williams' Dictionary does not give any instances. Evidently he treats it as a Sanskrit word. In the absence of references it is impossible to decide as to whether it is really Buddhistic. The literature of the Northern School is in Sanskrit and in a transitional form, not quite the Sanskrit of Pāṇini. I do not remember to have come across the word Devadāsī in Mahāyāna texts which I have read.

At such an early date as the 3rd century before Christ, the sharp line of demarcation between Brahmanism as it came to be understood later and Buddhism hardly existed. During Buddha's time the 'Brahmanical' was equivalent to 'Vedic.' But an Indian pantheon, both Vedic and non-Vedic, tribal, local and even personal was in existence. Devadāsī could have been non-Buddhistic without being Brahmanical in the sense of 'Vedic.' I think I have been able to show that the Śramaṇas of Buddha's school (Sakkaputtiya Samaṇā) were forbidden to indulge in mystical practices connected with Devadāsīs. It is a mistake to think that a non-Brahmin was necessarily an ascetic of Buddha's fold.

(3) Nāgasena in his conversation with Menander meant that corresponding to the state officers known as Rūpadakkhas, there were functionaries in the Buddhist Church also. In the same way he mentioned Akkhadassas or King's Benches as having their counterpart in the Dhammanagara or City of Righteousness, i.e., the Buddhist Church. There was no Buddhist functionary of the designation of Rūpadakkha. The LUPADAKHE of the inscription means one expert in *rūpa*, i.e., *nāṭya*

or *kalā* or sculpture. The *Rūpadakkhā* of *Milinda-pañhā*¹⁶ are state officers. The derivations of the two words are different.

(4) The Buddhist canon laws are for the regulation of the Brotherhood or Saṅgha and do not refer to actors, dancers and courtesans.

(5) *Sutanukā* (lit., a handsome damsel) had a cave adjacent to the theatre where she was engaged as an actress and the *Yogimārā* was the abode where she and her lover lived or used to meet. It is highly probable that Devadatta himself cut the letters into the stone wall of the cave. He took care not to omit his own name in the inscription, and coupled it with *Sutanukā* whom he loved.¹⁷

¹⁶ Burmese Edition.

¹⁷ Through the kind courtesy of Mr. Page, Superintendent of Archæology, Central Circle, the photograph and paper impressions taken by Mr. Blackistone have been placed at my disposal. The new materials thus secured have led to some alterations in the reading of the inscription and I have embodied these in this paper.



YOGIMARA CAVE INSCRIPTION
(from photograph)

(6)

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "NISHKA" IN THE
VEDIC LITERATURE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF COINAGE IN
ANCIENT INDIA.

RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH, M.A.,
Curator, Patna Museum.

The prevailing opinion is that the earliest coin of ancient India is the *Kārshāpaṇa*. They are always found in silver and copper. A study of the word "Nishka" in Vedic literature shows that before the use of *Kārshāpaṇa*, the gold coinage called "Nishka" was in use in Vedic India and most probably it originated in the Pre-Vedic days.

The word "Nishka" occurs in the Rig Veda in five *Riks* of which I quote only two as they throw much light on the origin of coinage in ancient India. To understand the significance of the word "Nishka" in the *Rik* beginning with शतं राज्ञो I quote the following *Riks* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa explaining at length the dialogue between *Rishi Kukshivān* and King *Svanaya* :—

Rig Veda, Maṇḍala I, Sūkta 125, Rik 1 :—

प्राप्ता रत्नं प्रातुस्त्विं दधाति तं चिकित्वाऽप्रतिगृह्णा नि धत्ते ।
तेन प्रजां वर्धयमान् आयूं रायस्पोषेण सचते सुवीरः ॥

Translation :—

"Coming at an early morn he gives his treasure ; the prudent one receives and entertains him. Thereby increasing still his life and offspring, he comes with brave sons to abundant riches."—Griffith's Rig Veda.

Rig Veda, Maṇḍala I, Sūkta 125, Rik 2 :—

सुगुरं सत्सुहिरण्यः स्वध्वो बृहदस्मै वय इन्द्रो दधाति ।
यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वो मुञ्जीजयेव पदिमुस्तिनाति ॥

Translation :—

“Rich shall he be in gold and kine and horses. Indra bestows on him great vital power, who stays thee, as thou comest, with his treasure, like game caught in the net, O early new-comer.”—Griffith's Rig Veda.

Sāyaṇa quotes the following anecdotes to clear the meaning of the above *Riks* :—

दैर्घतमसः कक्षीवानाम ऋषिर्ब्रह्मचर्यं चरिष्यन्वेदाभ्यासाय गुरुकुले चिरकाल-
मुषित्वा वेदान्सम्यगधीत्य व्रतानि च चरित्वा तेनानुज्ञातः पुनः स्वगृहं प्रति प्रयास्यन्
मध्ये मार्गे रात्रौ विश्रान्तः । प्रभाते भावयव्यस्य पुत्रः स्वनयो नाम राजानुचरैः संक्रीडमानो
ऽकस्मात्कक्षीवतोऽन्तिकमाससाद स च रभसा प्रतिबुद्धः सहसोत्तस्थौ । तं च राजा
पाणिं गृहीत्वा स्वक्रीय आसन उपवेश्यास्य सौंदर्यमवगत्य स्वकन्याप्रदानमनाः
पप्रच्छ भगवन् कस्य पुत्रः किं नामा त्वमिति । स च पृष्ठो मातरं पितरं च स्ववृत्तान्तं
चाचक्ष्वे । स च राजा संभाव्य इत्यवगत्य मुदितमनाः स्वगृहं प्राप्यास्मै मधुपर्कमारचय्य
वस्त्रमात्म्यादिभिः पूजयित्वा सरथा दश कन्याः शतं निष्कानध्वशतं पुंगवानां शतं
गवां पञ्च्युत्तरसहस्रं पुनरेकादश रथाश्च प्रादात् ।

रत्नं रमणीयं निष्कादिकं प्रातः प्रभातकाले दधाति...ददाति ।

Rig Veda, Maṇḍala I, Sūkta 126, Rik 1 :—

अमन्दान् स्तोमान् प्र भरे मनीषा सिंधावधि क्षियतो भाव्यस्य ।
यो मे सहस्रममिमीत स्वानूतूर्तो राजा श्रव इच्छमानः ॥

Translation :—

“With wisdom I present these lively praises of Bhāvya, dweller on the bank of Sindhu. For he, unconquered King, desiring glory, hath furnished me a thousand sacrifices.”—Griffith's Rig Veda.

Rig Veda, Maṇḍala I, Sūkta 126, Rik 2 :—

शतं राज्ञो नाचमानस्य निष्कान् शतमश्वान् प्रयतान्स्त्व आदम् ।
शतं कक्षीवां असुरस्य गोनां द्विवि श्रवोऽजरमा ततान ॥

Translation :—

“ A hundred (Nishka) gold coins from the King, beseeching, a gift of hundred steeds I at once accepted. Of the cows belonging to the Asura king a thousand, I Kakshivân. His deathless glory hath he spread to heaven.”—Griffith's Rig Veda.

That the word “ Nishka ” in the above *Rik* means a gold coin is quite evident as the gift consists of 100 pieces of coinage. It is also necessary to remember that the gift is made by a king of Sindh. He is called an Asura. The full significance of these words will be evident later on.

Rig Veda, Maṇḍala II, Sūkta 33, Rik 10 :—

Gṛtsamada addressing Rudra says :—

अहंन्विभिर्षिं सायकानि धन्वाहं निष्कं यजतं विश्वरूपम् ।
अहंन्निदं दयसे विश्वमभ्वं न वा ओजीयो रुद्र त्वदस्ति ॥

Sāyaṇa's paraphrase :—

हे रुद्र त्वमहंन् अहो योग्य एव सन् सायकानि शरान् धन्व धनुश्च विभिर्षिं धारयसि तथाहंन्नेव यजतं यजनीयं पूजनीयं विश्वरूपं बहुविधरूपयुक्तं निष्कं हारं विभिर्षिं तथाहंन्नेवेदं विश्वं सर्वमभ्वं महन्नामैतत् । अतिविस्तृतं जगद्दयसे रक्षसि । हे रुद्र त्वत् त्वत्तोऽन्यत् किञ्चिदोजीय ओजस्वितरं बलवत्तरं न वा अस्ति । न खलु विद्यते ।

Translation :—

“ Worthy, thou carriest thy bow and arrows, worthy, thy many-hued and honoured necklace.

Worthy, thou cuttest here each fiend to pieces : a mightier than thou there is not, Rudra.”—Griffith's Rig Veda.

Here Nishka has been used in the sense of *necklace*.

The following is from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇḍa XI, Adhyāya 4, Brāhmaṇa 1, 1 :—

उद्दालको हारुषिः उदीच्यान्वृत्तो धादयां चकार तस्य निष्क उपाहित आसैत्तद्ध स्म वै तत्पुर्वेषां वृत्तानां धाव्यतामेकधन्मुपाहितं भवत्युपवल्हाय बिभ्यतां तान्होदीच्यानां ब्राह्म्यान्भीर्विबेद ।

Translation :—

“Now Uddālaka Āruṇi was driving about as a chosen (offering-priest), among the people of the northern country. By him a gold coin (Nishka) was offered ; for in the time of our forefathers a prize used to be offered by chosen (priest) when driving about, for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation. Fear then seized the Brāhmaṇas of the Northern Country.” (S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, pp. 50-51.)

Śat. Br., XI. 4. 1. 8:—

यो गायत्री* हरिणीम् । ज्योतिष्पज्ञां यजमान* स्वर्गं लोकमभिवहन्तीं
विद्यादिति तस्मै ह निष्कं प्रददावनूचानः स्वैदायनासि सुवर्णं वाव सुवर्णविदे ददतीति
त* होपगुह्य निश्चकाम ।

Translation :—

“And he who knows the golden, brilliant-winged Gāyatrī who bears the sacrificer to the heavenly world. Then he (Uddālaka) gave up to him a gold coin (Nishka), saying ‘Thou art learned Svaidāyana; and, verily gold is given unto him who knows gold’; and he (Svaidāyana), having concealed it, went away.” (S.B.E., XLIV, p. 53.)

In another place in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find the word Nishka used:—

Śat. Br., 13. 4. 1. 7:—

अथास्मादध्वर्युर्निष्कं प्रतिमुञ्चन्वाचयति ।

Translation :—

“The Adhvaryu then hanging a gold ornament (Nishka) round him, makes him mutter.” (S.B.E., XLIV, p. 348.)

Again there is in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 13. 4. 1. 8:—

चतस्रो जाया उपकृता भवन्ति । मृहिषी वावाता परिवृक्ता पाटागली सर्वा
निष्किन्योऽलङ्कृता मिथुनस्यैव सर्वत्वाय ताभिः सहाग्न्यगारं प्रपद्यते ।

Translation :—

“Four (of the king’s) wives are in attendance, the consecrated queen, the favourite wife, a discarded wife and the

Pālāgalī, all of them adorned and wearing gold ornament (Nishka). With the completeness of conjugal union with them he enters the hall of the sacrificial fires." (S.B.E., XLIV, p. 349.)

Again in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 13. 4. 1. 11, there is the sentence—

अथ योऽन्य निष्कः प्रतिमुक्तो भवति । तमध्वर्यवे ददात्यध्वर्यवे दददसृतमायु-
रात्मसृन्धतेऽतः ह्यायुर्हिरण्यम् ।

Translation :—

"The gold ornament (Nishka) is detached and given to the Adhvaryu; in giving it to the Adhvaryu he secured to himself immortal life for gold means immortal life." (S.B.E., XLIV, p. 351.)

There are other passages in later Sanskrit literature in which Nishka occurs, but I quote the following passages as they throw light on the nature of its use:—

कण्ठस्थेन निष्केण—Harivaṃśa, 13892.

उरस्त्रेषां च सर्वेषां निष्का ज्वलनसंनिभाः—Rāmāyaṇa, 3. 9. 12.

From the above passages it is quite clear that Nishka in ancient times was the name of a gold necklace as well as the epithet for a gold coin.

What was the shape of the Nishka? It was most likely of the same shape as the punch-marked coins and had various figures (विश्वरूपं) carved on them. The word विश्वरूपं in the Rik of Gṛtsamada is very significant.

In Pāṇini Sūtra, V. 2. 120, *Rūpādāhata*- "rūpa" means forms. From "rūpa" is derived "rūpya" in the sense of "struck."

In विश्वरूप, *rūpa* means form and विश्वरूप means various forms. The Nishka with विश्वरूप in the above Rik would mean a gold necklace which had various forms struck on the various parts of the necklace.

In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra we have a detailed description of how coins were minted. These will give an idea how

Nishka and other coins were made in those days :—सुवर्णाध्यक्षः सुवर्णरजतकर्मान्तानामसम्बन्धावेशनचतुरशालामेकद्वारामञ्चशालां कारयेत् । विशिखामध्ये सौवर्णिकं शिल्पवन्तमभिजातं प्रात्ययिकं च स्थापयेत् । (Kaṭṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Mysore, p. 85.)

Translation :—

“In order to manufacture gold and silver works, each being kept apart, the superintendent of gold shall build an Akshaśālā (goldsmith shop) consisting of a central courtyard (चतुरशाला) with rooms and verandahs all round but having one door. The Royal Goldsmith shall have his shop (in this building) in the centre of the highroad and he must be a skilful artist, of high birth and reliable character.”

सौवर्णिकः पौरजानपदानां रूप्यसुवर्णमावेशनीभिः कारयेत् । (Kaṭṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Mysore, p. 89.)

Translation :—

“The State Goldsmith shall employ artisans to prepare gold coins for citizens (पौर) and provinces (जानपदानां).”

तप्तकलधौतकयोः काकणिकस्सुवर्णञ्चयो देयः । (Kaṭṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Mysore, p. 90.)

Translation :—

“In getting a suvarṇa coin (of 16 māshas) prepared, one Kākaṇī weight of metal (Kākaṇī = $\frac{1}{4}$ māsha) shall be given (to the mint) towards the loss (in manufacture).”

तीक्ष्णकाकयीरूप्यद्विगुणो रागप्रक्षेपस्तस्य षड्भागः क्षयः । (Ibid., p. 90.)

Translation :—

“Two Kākaṇīs worth of tīkshṇa (refined iron) to be given for getting the colour, of which one-sixth will be lost during manufacture.”

वर्णहीने माषावरे पृक्त्साहसदण्डः । प्रमाणहीने मध्यमः तुलाप्रतिमानोपयावृत्तमः कृतभाण्डोपधौ च । (Kaṭṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 90.)

Translation :—

“In the diminution of quality (वर्ण) by one māsha, (artisans) to be punished with the first amercement; when the size and weight (प्रमाण) are less than the standard size and weight, artisans shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. In deception of balance or weight or deception in the exchange of coins, the punishment will be of the highest amercement.”

It appears that there were two separate officers during the ascendancy of the Mauryas who were in charge of mint. One was लक्षणाध्यक्ष and another was सुवर्णाध्यक्ष.

The लक्षणाध्यक्ष was in charge of minting silver and copper coins while सुवर्णाध्यक्ष was in charge of minting gold coins and preparing gold vessels for royal use.

Probably over these was the रूपदर्शक whose duty was to regulate currency both as a medium of exchange and as legal tender admissible into the treasury. See Text :—

रूपदर्शकः पणयात्रां व्यावहारिकीं कोशप्रवेश्यां च स्थापयेत् । (*Ibid.*, p. 84.)

Now in minting silver coins (रूप्यरूपं) there will be used $\frac{1}{4}$ parts of copper (चतुर्भागताम्र) and one māsha weight of any one of these metals : *tikshṇa* (refined iron), *trapu* (tin), *sīsa* (lead) and *añjana* (antimony). He shall mint a *pañā* (silver coin), *ardhapāṇa* (a half-*pañā* silver coin), *pāda* (quarter-*pañā* silver coin), *ashṭabhāga* (one-eighth *pañā* silver coin).

In minting copper coins (ताम्ररूपं) there will be four parts of an alloy (पादाजीवं), i.e., made up of four parts of silver, eleven parts of copper and one part of *tikshṇa* (refined iron) or *trapu* (tin), *sīsa* (lead) and *añjana* (antimony)—Bhaṭṭa Svāmin's Commentary on Arthaśāstra, p. 73, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XI, Pt. III. Copper coins called *māshaka*, *ardha-māshaka* (half-*māshaka*), *kākaṇi*, *ardha-kākaṇi* (half-*kākaṇi*) are to be minted. The name of *Lakṣhañādhyaṅksha* is significant. He was in charge of silver and copper coins which had various symbols or *lakṣhaṇas* struck on them.

Now what was the use of these *lakṣhaṇas* or *rūpas* being struck on them? They are meant to show that the coins containing symbols were all minted under authority. The authority used to look that the coins were to be of pure quality (वर्ण), or required size and of standard weight (प्रमाण).

Now in minting coins we find according to Kautilya's Arthasāstra three different persons were connected. First, merchants of पौरजानपद; second, goldsmith; third, लक्षणाध्यक्ष and सुवर्णाध्यक्ष. Both पौर and जानपद merchants had special लक्षण and रूप which they put on the coins as mark of (a) purity of metal, (b) size and (c) weight. The goldsmith, it is likely, ought to put some mark that the coins struck by him were of standard वर्ण and प्रमाण. Over and above these, there were the royal officers who put test marks.

In the development of coins, first, the merchants will put the marks, then the goldsmith will come into prominence and lastly, when the coinage becomes a state monopoly, royal officers will also put their marks.

It is highly probable that the marks will be mainly religious symbols but some may be purely artistic symbols.

Now from the *Manusamhitā* we know that four *Suvarṇas* were equal to one *Nishka*. We have seen that *Nishka* was the name of a gold necklace as well as a gold coin.

Is there any connection between a necklace and a coin?

To answer this we have to study the origin of coinage in other countries. In the 5th chapter of the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. IV, there is an article by Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum (pp. 124—128). He says that "metallic coinage is preceded in the development of commerce by three stages. The first is that of barter; the second is that of trade with recognised medium, such as stock fish, or oxen or utensils; the third that in which use is made of metallic ingots of various weights, stamped with a mark guaranteeing quality but not divided according to a standard. The fully developed coin differs from the last only in being

of standard weight, so that, by those who accept the authority issuing it, no use of scales is required."

I consider that *suvarṇa* as described in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra was a real gold coin as there was a fixed standard about quality (वर्ण) and it was of a fixed weight, being equal to 16 māshas. We have no definite information about Nishka that it had a fixed weight in the Vedic time but most probably it had a definite weight as otherwise the word *śata* in the above *Rik* would not have been used. By the time of Manu we know that 4 Suvarṇas were equal to one Nishka. This equation fixes that Nishka was a coin (not a bullion) of standard quality, standard weight and size about the time of Manu.

Even as late as the time of Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra we find *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Nishka* both being used as coins side by side.

वरं मांशयिकान्निष्कादसांशयिकः कार्षापण इति लौकायतिकाः ॥ ३० ॥—

—Kāmasūtra, p. 19.

Translation :—

"A sure *Kārshāpaṇa* (a coin of lower value) if offered is to be preferred to an uncertain *Nishka* (one of higher value) promised for future. So say the Lokāyatas (materialists)."

Jayamaṅgalā Tīkā on the above:—

वरमिति । गृहाण कार्षापणम्, नो चेदेव्यति मेऽथ हेमशतं ततो निष्कं दास्यामीति ।
तत्र प्रत्युपस्थितकार्यस्यासंदिग्धः स्वल्पोऽपि कार्षापणो गरीयान् संदिग्धनिष्कात् ।

As examples of the trade with a recognised medium, Mr. Hill mentions that many utensils were used in the ancient Mediterranean world as units of value. Roasting spit, bronze axes were used in the Mediterranean world as money. In Crete, as late as the sixth century B.C. fines were reckoned in tripods and cauldrons.

Ring was especially used as money in Egypt. Examples of ring money were found in Central Europe. For its use in the pre-historic Aegean and allied civilisation, the hoards of rings from Troy, Mycenae, Aegina and Cyprus are evidences.




In India it was Nishka as gold necklace that was the first recognised medium. Recent excavations have proved that Sindh was a country where civilisation flourished even as early as the 4th millennium B.C. or even before that. Occurrence of bitumen at Mahenjo-Daro, finding of Indian pictographic writing at Kish, the use of cornelian beads of Indian origin in Mesopotamia clearly prove that even in that time there was trade relation between people in the Indus basin and Mesopotamia. This trade early necessitated the use of a standard medium. The first medium was the gold necklace "Nishka," which consisted of small pieces of gold struck with some design (रुप्य) and joined together. In support of this mention may be made of *Nishka* with विश्वरूप in the *Rik* of Gṛtsamada.

The word *Nishka* is not Sanskrit but appears to be of foreign origin. Thomas considered that Arabic 'Miskal' 'weighing' was the nearest approach to the original word from which Nishka is derived but I think from the Summerian language we get a better interpretation. Nishka has similarity with the word 'Nasqu' in Summerian which means 'magnificent' and 'precious.' [See Summerische-Babylonische Hymnen, 109 (75).]

The word Hiraṇya is probably of Western origin although in Sanskrit some derive it from ह and (ह्युद्) but it is allied to the Hiraṇya which is again allied to Syrian ḥarrû'â which corresponds to Heb. ḥârûṣ—'gold' meaning 'yellow.' But the original meaning of Hârûṣ is 'dug out.' It refers not to alluvial gold but to reef gold (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XLIII, 1922, p. 120).

That there are other loan-words in Sanskrit derived from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor we gather from the studies of Prof. Tilak in his article in the Commemorative Volume to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's sixtieth anniversary

In Summerian the word for gold is Hurâṣu. It is similar to Hebrew "Hiraṇya" which means yellow as mentioned before.

The Summerian Ideogram for gold is —Urnina, Sarzec Decouvertes en Chaldec, pl. 31, No. 1; Eannatun, Sarzec Decouvertes en Chaldec, p. XI, III, 1, 1; Lugalraz, Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscription, No. 87, 1, 22 (The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing by Geo. A. Barton, Leipzig, 1913, Part II, p. 4)—which stands for a vessel meant for storing grain. From grain, the ideogram stood for gold and silver which in course of time was the medium of barter. This is a proto-Elamitic sign (Morgan, Delegation en Perse, VI, p. 102 ff., Nos. 613—626).

Words “Nishka” and “Hiranya” are evidently foreign words. Of these the word “Nishka” which we find in the Vedic and later literatures was used for gold and necklace. From analogy we find that Nishka as gold necklace was earlier in origin than “Nishka” as gold coin. We find that 4 *Suvarṇas* or gold coins were equal to one “Nishka” about the time of Manusamhitā. We also know from the time of the Mauryya, there were gold, silver and copper coins. They were in circulation under the name of Nishka and Suvarṇa as gold coins, of Kārshāpaṇa as the silver coin and of Kākaṇī for the copper coin. In the Vedic literature no mention is made of silver and copper coins. Nishka is considered to be the only medium of exchange. The first mention of Nishka is made in connection with a king of the Sindhu Country who is styled Asura. From recent excavation we find that in Sindhu a developed culture existed as early as 4th millennium B.C. and there was close intercourse between Sindh and Mesopotamia. Connected with their intercourse we find foreign name for gold.

It seems highly probable that the ancient coinage which served as medium between Sindh and Mesopotamia was Nishka first as ornament, then as coin. On the coming of the Aryans the Nishka remained in circulation but gradually *Suvarṇa*, a gold coin of lower denomination, came to be used. Silver and copper coins also developed later on. I consider that the gold coin was the first medium as gold was found in abundant

quantity in India in ancient times. Then with the introduction of copper, copper coin was also used as a medium. Silver is an imported metal. But very soon silver *purāṇas* became the ordinary coined money of India. From very early times the goldsmith played an important part in minting of coins. Coins were all prepared by them. *Lakṣhaṇādhyakṣa* put mark on them and *Rūpadarsaka* fixed the legal values. We understand that the transition from the gold necklace to gold coins was made in the shop of the goldsmith. The coin was struck by town and village merchant corporations (पौरजानपद). In the time of the Mauryas they were done under State control but before the Mauryas it was the Merchant Corporation that regulated the coinage. Before the Merchant Corporation individual merchants minted coins for convenience of barter.

As yet no gold *Nishka* or gold *Suvarṇa* has been found in ancient excavation but excavation has been confined to Buddhist sites. No authentic Vedic site has been explored. The sites excavated in Sindh are of pre-Vedic period and it is highly probable that at first only gold necklace called *Nishka* was used in circulation. These necklaces were made of fine polished agate and cornelian beads along with gold pieces. They were highly prized by the Summerian in Mesopotamia. Cornelian beads found in Kish are said to have come from India (J.R.A.S., 1925, Oct., p. 685 ff.). A gold necklace made of cornelian and agate beads with gold pieces has been found in the excavation at Mahenjo-Daro within a silver vessel along with gold bangles and other gold ornaments. How the transition from *Nishka* as gold ornament to *Nishka* as gold coin took place can only be ascertained by excavation in Vedic and pre-Vedic sites.



SADAKSARI LOKESVARA

(7)

FOUR BUDDHIST IMAGES IN THE BARODA MUSEUM.

Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D.,

Baroda.

The object of this short paper is to offer an identification of four important and rare copper gilt images now preserved in the Baroda Museum. Out of these four, three appear to be Newari in origin, while the fourth is distinctly Tibetan. They are not all very ancient, but appear to be about three hundred years old, except the fourth one, which is of a very recent date. The execution and workmanship of the first three are of a superior order, while the fourth has no artistic merit. But all the four are rare when viewed from the point of iconography. Let us take up the images one after another :

The first is a male image sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude with four arms ; two of which are joined against the breast in forming what is called the Añjali Mudrā, while the other two hands carry the rosary in the right and a lotus in the left. The whole image is gracefully but delicately ornamented. The eyes are half-closed in token of meditation and the face displays a peaceful and dignified appearance.

For the identification let us turn to the *Sādhana-mālā*, a compendium of three hundred and twelve Sādhana's, of which the earliest MS. bears a Newari date which corresponds to A.D. 1165. On page 29 of the first volume published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* we meet with a description which corresponds in all respects with the image under discussion.

There we read :—वज्रपर्यङ्कं शशिप्रभं कुन्देन्दुवर्णमुज्ज्वलं जटामुकुटधरं शान्तं अमिताशकृतशेखरं व्याघ्रचर्मनिवसनं चतुर्भुजं नानालङ्कारभूषितं दक्षिणे करे अक्षमालाधरं वामकरे पद्ममणिविभूषितं द्वौ हस्तौ संयुक्तौ सर्वराजेन्द्रमुद्रा हृदि संस्थितं

This is the description given for Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, who is also described in the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha*.¹ As the two descriptions correspond with each other, the identification may be taken as certain. In the present image however the crest of Amitābha on the head is absent. Presence of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the crown denotes only that the principal figure belongs to the family of Amitābha and is an emanation of him. But here instead of the small image of Amitābha a lotus is shown on the crown. The lotus, of course, represents Amitābha as it is the recognition symbol of this particular Dhyāni Buddha.²

The second image represents also a young male figure sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. He is two-armed and bedecked in all sorts of ornaments with a jewelled tiara, elaborate ear ornaments, a torque and a garland. His two hands supporting a vessel are joined together and placed on the lap in Samādhi. The execution and workmanship of this image is of a very superior order and represents a specimen of the first class Newari art.

Now for the identification of this image we may again turn to the same source where (on page 129) we find a description which is couched in the following words :—

द्विभुजैकमुखं सितं वज्रपर्यङ्कोपरि समाधिमुद्राहस्तमशेषकुमाराभरणभूषितं पद्मचक्रिरकं

¹ Satyavrata Samasrami's edition, p. 74.

² Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara is generally represented with his two companions, Maṇidhara and Śaḍakṣarī Mahārvidyā. All the images of Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, so far discovered in India, for instance, the Indian Museum, Sarnāth and Birbhum images show the two companions above mentioned. In the Birbhum image the crest of Amitābha is clearly shown. See *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 33 ff., and Plate XVIII.

PLATE II



VAIRAVAGA MAÑJUŚRĪ

When we compare this description with the figure in question, we find that they correspond. I hunted many a museum for an image of this deity who is variously known as Vāk, Vajra-rāga Mañjuśrī and Dharmasāṅkhasamādhi, but as I could not get hold of one I had to be satisfied with a recent drawing of a Newari artist for insertion in my publication, entitled *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*.¹ This image is therefore unique from the view-point of iconography. The *Sādhana* however is silent about the bowl carried by the god, but it is customary with the artists to put in a bowl whenever they have to represent a God in the Samādhi Mudrā. Thus we find a bowl in all images of the Dhyāni Buddhas except Vairocana, to avoid one or two of the hands remaining empty—a disagreeable sight to many artists.²

The third image represents a fierce god with a protruding tongue, canine teeth, blood-shot eyes, hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame, and with a garland of several heads sewn together by means of human intestines. The god bears the six Mudrās³—Kaṇṭhikā (torque), Rucaka (bangles), Ratna (jewels), Mekhalā (girdle), Bhasma (ashes) and Sūtra (sacred thread in the form of the garland of heads)—all prepared from human bones, and stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka and in a dancing attitude.⁴ He is four-armed and carries in his two principal hands the Kartri (knife) and the Kapāla (bowl) while the other two show the Damaru (small drum) in the right and the Triśūla (trident) in the left.

From the description it can be easily understood that this Bodhisattva belongs to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha

¹ Plate XIII C.

² B. Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Plates VII, VIII and IX A.

³ For the explanation of the six Mudrās, see *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Glossary, p. 196.

⁴ It is one of the Āsanas or mystic attitudes, peculiar to Buddhist Tāntrism. The right leg is placed on a pedestal or a lotus or a corpse while the left leg is placed on the right thigh.

Akṣobhya, all of whose emanations or most of them are fierce in character with protruding tongue, canine teeth, garland of heads and hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame of fire. Compare, for instance, the figure of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Heruka, Vajradāka, Mahāmāyā, Hayagrīva, Yamāri, Mahācīnatārā, Jāṅguli, Ekajāṭa, Parnaśabari, Vajracarcikā and many others who are all emanations of Akṣobhya and you will find all of them to be of fearful appearance.¹

For the identification of the image under discussion when we again have recourse to the same source, we find on page 501 a Sādhana for worshipping a god named Buddhakapāla whose description is given in the following words :—
नीलवर्णो महावपुः अस्थ्याभरणमर्द्धपर्यङ्कनृत्यस्थं मुण्डमालाविभूषितं मुकुटे
अशोभ्यधारिणम् एकवक्त्रं चतुर्भुजं वामे खट्वाङ्गकपालं दक्षिणे कर्त्रिडमरूकं

Buddhakapāla is the four-armed variety of the famous Vajrayāna god Heruka, to whom several Tantras are ascribed. The images of Buddhakapāla are generally represented in Yab yum in the embrace of his śakti Citrasenā,² and thus the present image has great iconographic value, as images of this single type are extremely rare.

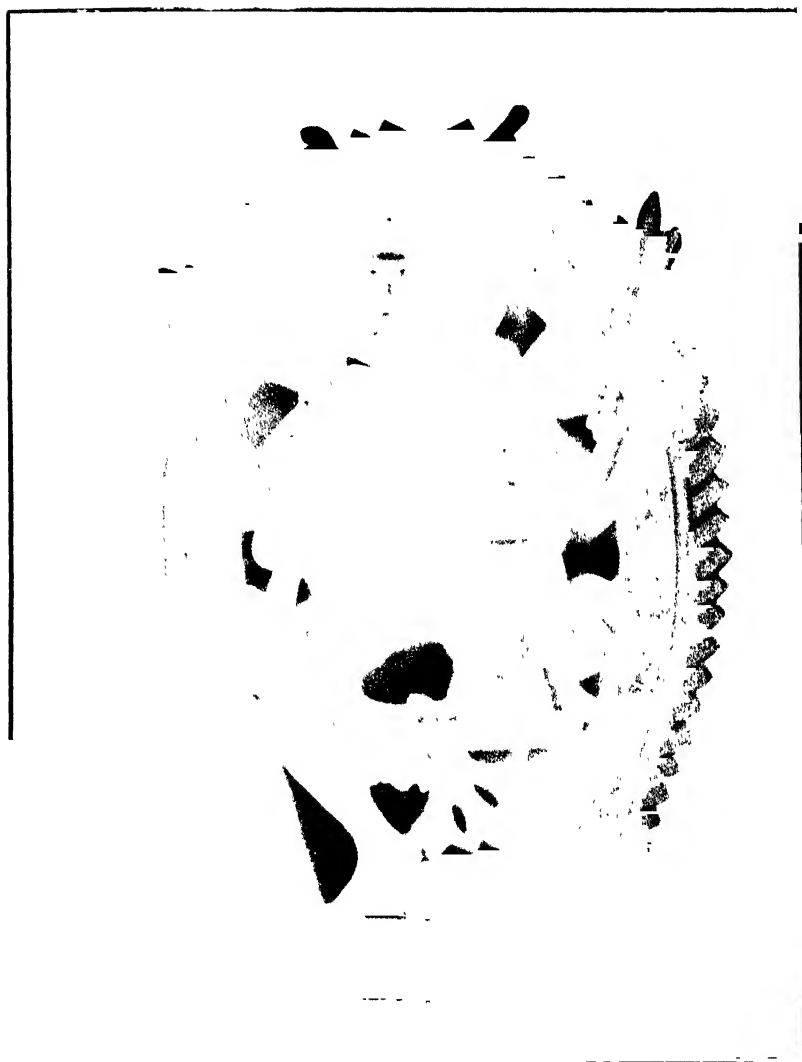
But it is not so with the fourth image, which represents a god apparently belonging to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, as this image also shows all the peculiarities of form as those of Buddhakapāla. But this god is two-armed carrying the Vajra in the right hand and Kapāla in the left hand while a Khaṭvāṅga (magic stick) rests against his left shoulder. He stands in a dancing attitude in *Ardhaparyāṅka* on a corpse lying on its breast.

This image of course represents Heruka because the description³ of Heruka given in the *Sāadhanamālā* exactly

¹ *Indian Buddhist Iconography*: Emanations of Akṣobhya, Chapters V and VI and the Plates.

² Ibid., p. 63, and Plate XXV B.

³ No. 244, p. 473.



BUDDHAKARĀLA

PLATE IV



HERUKA

corresponds with the image under discussion. For the purpose of ready reference I quote the description :—

शवस्थमर्द्धपर्यङ्कं नरचर्मसुवाससम् ।
 भस्मोद्भूतितगात्रं च स्फुरद्वज्रं च दक्षिणम् ॥
 चलत्पताकाखट्वाः वामे रक्तकरोटकम् ।
 शतार्द्धमुण्डमालाभिः कृतद्वारमनोरमम् ॥
 ईषहंष्टाकरालास्यं रक्तनेत्रविलासिनम् ।
 पिङ्गोर्ध्वकेशमण्डोभ्यं मुकुटं कर्णकुण्डलम् ॥
 अस्थ्याभरणशोभं तु शिरः पञ्चकपालकम् ।
 बुद्धत्वदायिनं ध्यायात् जगन्भारनिवारणम् ॥

Besides this we have another image of Heruka in the Dacca Museum,¹ which shows the image of Akṣobhya on the crown and corresponds with the description given above and with the present image. Heruka being one of the most powerful gods of the Buddhist pantheon is alike very popular in Newari and Tibetan worship.

This article illustrates that if a thorough search is made even now for images in the small collections of India, we are likely to be successful in laying our hands upon a large number of unique or rare images for the identification of which the *Sādhana-mālā* supplies abundant materials.

Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 61 ff., and Plate XXV C.

(8)

COPPER IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

(WITH PLATES I—III)

Rai Sahib PRAYAG DAYAL, M.R.A.S.,
Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

During the last decade, since the publication by Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī of his interesting article on "Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Copper Age Antiquities of the Indian Empire" in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for 1915, several copper implements have come to light in these Provinces and have been acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. I would like to bring these fresh acquisitions to the notice of scholars who have worked in this field, as the information will eventually assist them in the elucidation of obscure problems connected with the Copper Age culture of India as a whole. But before touching the fresh material literally, I should like to notice an old find of three copper objects (Plate I) found in a jungle near Sheorajpur, district Cawnpore, and forwarded to the Museum by the Collector of the district.¹ They are alike in appearance and seem to be the outlines of human figures.

No. 1 measures 1' 6" in height and 1' 3" in width and weighs 357 tolas.

No. 2 measures 1' 6" in height and 1' 1½" in width and weighs 398 tolas.

¹ Annual Report on the Working of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for 1909-10, p. 6.

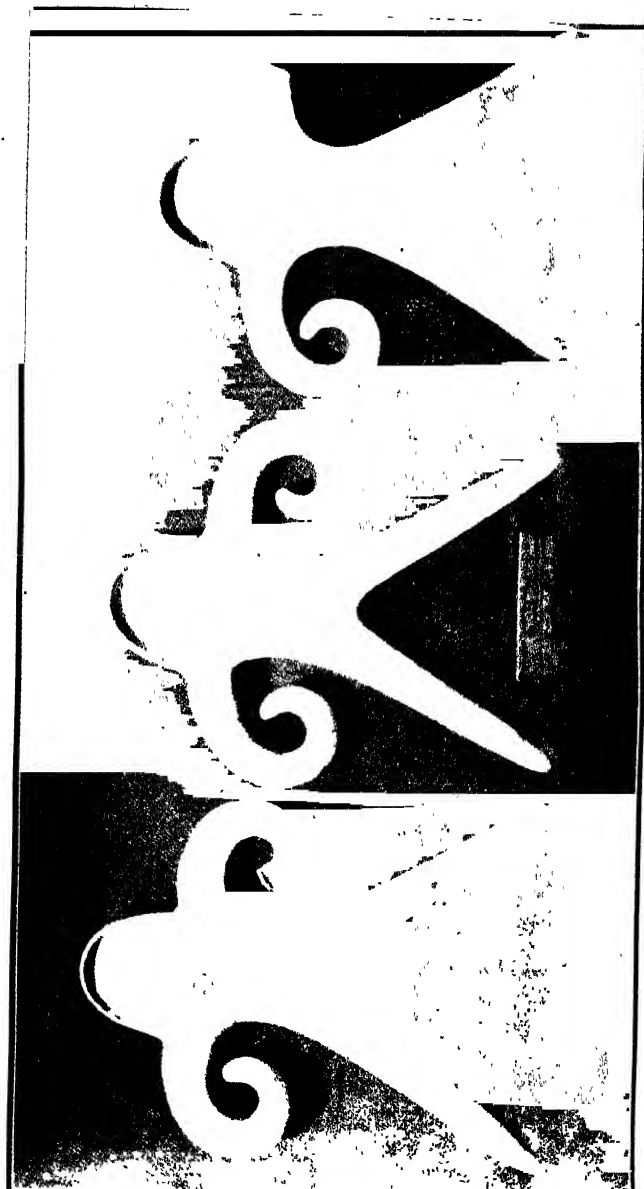
No. 3 measures 1' 4" in height and 1' 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in width and weighs 367 tolas.

They appear to have been flattened out of a piece of copper about one inch in thickness. Two of these, I mean, the side ones, have lost a portion of their left arm, but the central figure is quite complete. Its upper portion is semicircular with a distinct rim. The largest thickness of the plate at the top is $\frac{7}{8}$ ", but this gradually diminishes down to $\frac{1}{8}$ " at the bottom. The projections to right and left in the form of hands end in long inward curves tapering to a point. The outer edges are beaten down into pretty sharp ends. The width of the body above the lower divergent processes is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Each process or leg has the appearance of a sword tapering to its apex.

The Indian Museum, Calcutta, has also got a similar object found at Fatehgarh in the United Provinces. Mr. Vincent Smith called this extraordinary object "a human figure" but Dr. Anderson after an elaborate description of the object said that it was "impossible to surmise to what purpose this curious object was put."²

The fact that upper processes resembling arms have flat pointed ends, and the lower ones representing legs have swordlike sides and points, tempts me to think that the objects may have been used as weapons or as baits for large crocodiles, which were allured to them by the human form of the implement. But this is only a suggestion under the existing circumstances. I cannot form a definite opinion as to the real use of such heavy objects. Perhaps some anthropologist would throw light on the point, more so because such objects are often meant for worship and are closely associated with Tāntric practices. As objects of worship, however, they represent some deity. In United Provinces, as probably in other parts of India

² Indian Antiquary, October, 1906, p. 238, Pl. II/5.



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PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, TORONTO.

too, there is a common practice among a class of people known as *Joshis* or *Goshāins* to make rounds on Saturday mornings with crude iron human figures symbolising the planet Saturn. They accept gifts of oil, etc., from people who desire to propitiate the deity. On the other hand, another class of people in their Tāntric practices occasionally make a figure (*putlā*) to ward off an evil or to injure a foe whom the effigy represents. Certain *Vām-mārgis* “practise various magical charms by which they think they can kill their enemies.”³ They make a figure of the enemy in metal, bone, charcoal or cowdung, write or engrave his name thereon, go on repeating charms and ultimately procure his death within a certain period.

I would now pass on to the fresh material acquired after Mr. Śāstri's supplementary note was published. I shall take this up *seriatim*, viz., in the order of its receipt in the Provincial Museum :

(a) A copper hatchet found at Majhadpur, police-station Behtagokul, district Hardoi, and forwarded to the Museum in August, 1915. It measures $6\frac{7}{8}$ " \times $5\frac{1}{4}$ " and weighs 141 tolas. The corners were probably broken at the time of digging.

(b) Five copper celts discovered at village Dhake, police-station Tilhar, district Shahjahanpur, and secured for the Museum through the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, Lahore, in February, 1917. They being quite plain and identical with No. 8 of Plate IV,⁴ I do not consider it necessary to illustrate them here.

³ The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India by R. V. Russell, assisted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Vol. I, p. 334.

⁴ J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, for 1915, Pl. IV/8.

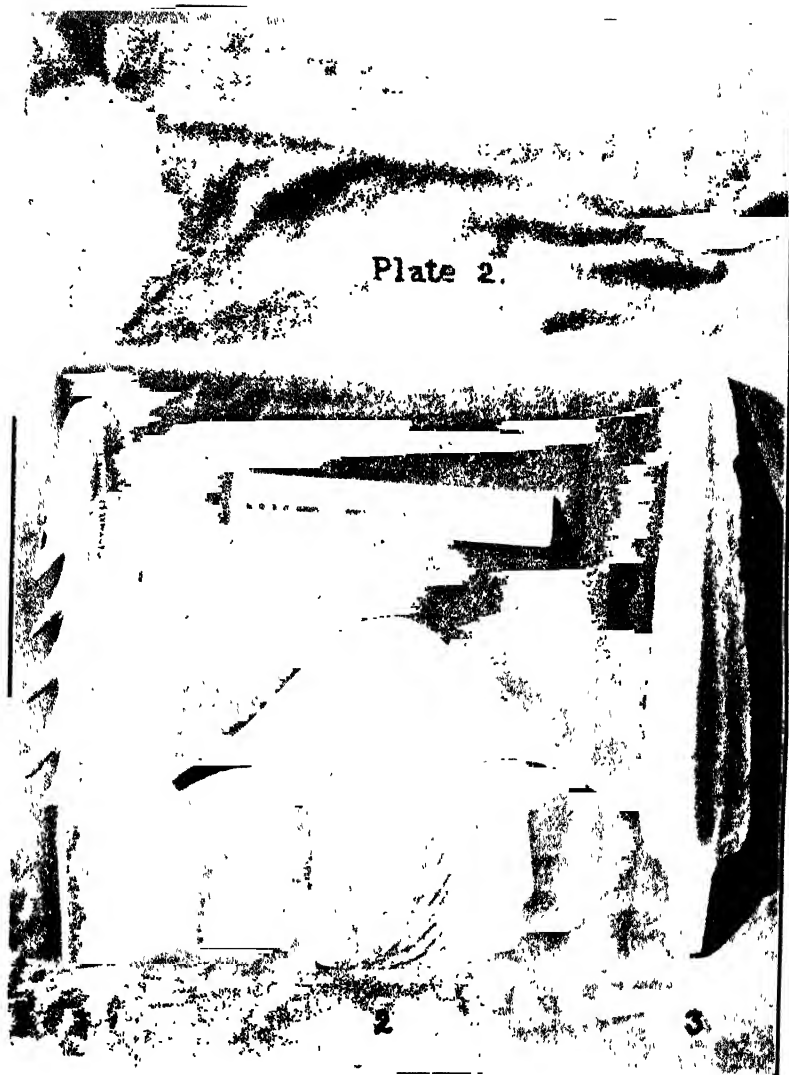
(c) Two copper hatchets from Bithūr, district Cawnpore, acquired in December, 1917. These measure $6\frac{3}{4}" \times 4\frac{3}{4}"$ and $5\frac{1}{4}" \times 3\frac{1}{2}"$ and weigh 71 and 50 tolas, respectively. Several specimens of this kind have already come to light as will be evident from Mr. Śāstrī's note or the articles⁵ of the late Mr. Vincent Smith.

(d) Two harpoon heads and five spear heads found buried at a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground level in a field, No. 295 of village Sarthauli, pargana Kant, tahsil and district Shahjahanpur, when the Sarda Canal was being dug out. They were discovered in 1921, and form a valuable acquisition. Two of these specimens (Pl. II, 1 and 2) are new and very rare. They may be described as under :—

1. Harpoon head ($11\frac{1}{4}" \times 2\frac{1}{4}"$) weighing $43\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. It has a row of four prongs or teeth on each side of the blade which has a mid-rib and which at a distance of eight inches from the semicircular top ends in a tang. The tang has a spine or hook intended for fastening the blade to the shaft by means of a thong.
2. Harpoon head ($7" \times 8\frac{7}{8}"$) with a semicircular top ending in two diver-

⁵ The Copper Age and Pre-historic Bronze Implements of India by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIV, 1905.

Do. do. do. Supplement Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVI, 1907.



TWO HARPOON HEADS AND ONE SEAL HEAD FROM
SHEDDAHANTEP, EGYPT

gent prongs which have a transverse distance of $8\frac{7}{8}$ ". The bottom measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ ". The thickness of the implement is $\frac{1}{4}$ " around the centre but at the base it is beaten down to $\frac{1}{8}$ " and at the cutting edge to $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The weight is 85 tolas. The weapon is fish-shaped, probably meant to serve as an attractive bait for aquatic animals.

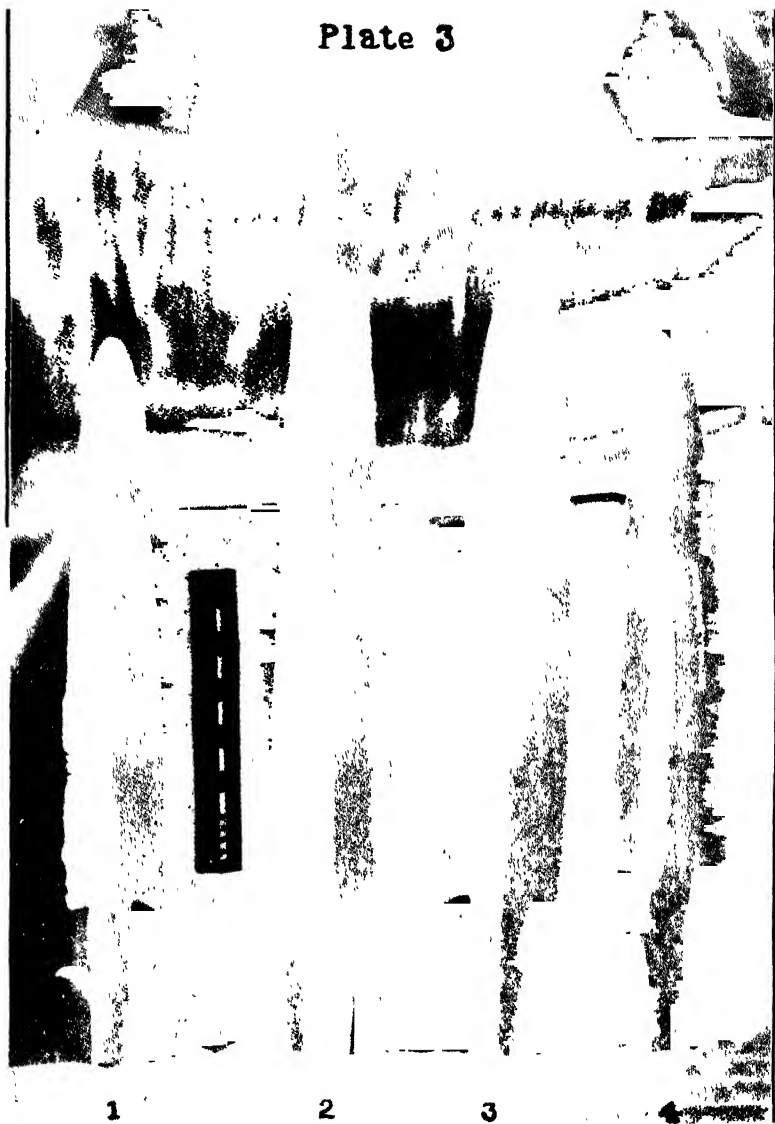
3. Spear head ($12" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$) having a long heavy blade ending into a flat tang. The width of the blade from just above the tang recedes and terminates in a point with an elliptical curve. There is a stout mid-rib running across the centre with sides flattened into sharp edges. This weighs $37\frac{1}{2}$ tolas

4—7. Spear heads as described above, but with a slight change on the tang (Plate III, 1—4). One is provided with a notch and two with a spine each for fastening the blade. They measure $15\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{4}"$, $20\frac{1}{4}" \times 2\frac{3}{4}"$, $17\frac{1}{2}" \times 3"$, $15\frac{3}{4}" \times 3"$ and weigh 59, 92, 96 and 66 tolas, respectively.

(e) A copper celt ($7" \times 4\frac{3}{4}"$) broken in two pieces found in village Hardi, tahsil Sidhauli, district Sitapur, and acquired in March, 1924, forms the latest find. This weighs 96 tolas and has a close resemblance to celts figured on Plate IV of the J.A.S.B. for 1915.

The above finds show that out of the sixteen specimens recently discovered one comes from Sitapur and 12 from Shahjahanpur district, which hitherto did not yield any such relics. In these Provinces, however, beginning from the north we knew of specimens coming from the districts of Bulandshahr, Muttra, Mainpuri, Fatehgarh, Itawa, Cawnpore, Unao, Allahabad, Hardoi and Bijnor. The implements found in Sitapur and Shahjahanpur districts widen the range of copper-age antiquities and form a connecting link between the neighbouring districts of Hardoi and Bijnor. Taken as a whole, the United Provinces have now furnished tangible evidence of the existence of Copper Age in Northern India. It is hoped that the data supplied by these Provinces will be utilized in working out the development of Copper Age throughout India.

Plate 3



SPEAR HEADS FROM SHAHDHANPUR.

MAYA ASURA AND AHURA MAZDA

P. K. ACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit., I.E.S.,
University Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad.

Maya has been claimed by at least three nations, namely, the Hindus, the Parsis and the Americans.

(I) According to the Hindu traditions he was a Daitya. His genealogy is drawn thus: by Danu, the mother of the Dānavas, the sage Kāśyapa had a son named Viprachitti; Maya was the son of Viprachitti; he had two daughters, named Vajrakāmā and Mandodarī, the latter of whom was the chief queen of Rāvaṇa and mother of Meghanāda or Indrajit. His home was in the Devagiri mountains in the neighbourhood of modern Delhi. He worked for men as well as Daityas and as stated in the Harivaṁśa he fought frequently with the gods with indifferent results. But he is known more as an architect of the Asuras, as Viśvakarman was the architect of the Suras or gods. The Mahābhārata speaks of him as the builder of a wonderful palace (council hall), of which it is stated there could not be any parallel in the world of the mortals, and whereon all heavenly ideas were depicted in bricks and stones. He declares himself as a great poet (mahākavi) of architecture, a Ruskin, among the rivals of gods.

A list of the works built by Maya is given in the Epic, viz., palaces, thousands of charming residential buildings, delightful pleasure gardens, ponds of various kinds, various sorts of garments, chariots moving at will, large cities with high ram-

part walls, thousands of wondrous chief vehicles and extremely comfortable and delightful cane-houses.

In this list, it should be noticed, no architectural details of the objects stated to have been built by Maya are given, which may be compared with any extant buildings in India, Persia and America, or with any archæological finds, or with fragmentary reports left by foreign visitors.

There are several architectural treatises attributed to Maya. The edition of MM. Pt. Ganapati Śāstri based on three frag-

‘ अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः ।

सोऽहं वै त्वत्कृते किञ्चित्कर्तुमिच्छामि पाण्डवाः ॥ ५ ॥

...

...

...

ततो विचिन्त्य मनसा लोकनाथः प्रजापतिः ।

चोदयामास तं कृष्णः सभा वै क्रियतामिति ॥ ६ ॥

यदि त्वं कर्तुंकामोऽसि प्रियं शिल्पवतां वर ।

धर्मराजस्य दैतेय यादृशीमिह मन्यसे ॥ १० ॥

यां कृतां नानुकुर्वन्ति मानवाः प्रेक्ष्याधिष्ठिताः ।

मनुष्यलोके सकले तादृशीं कुरु वै सभाम् ॥ ११ ॥

यत्र दिव्यानभिप्रायान् पश्येम हि कृतांस्त्वया ।

आसुरान् मानुषांश्चैव सभां तां कुरु वै मय ॥ १२ ॥

...

...

...

दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः ॥ १४ ॥

रम्याणि सुखगर्भाणि भोगाढ्यानि सहस्रशः ।

उद्यानानि च रम्याणि सरांसि विविधानि च ॥ १५ ॥

विचित्राणि च वस्त्राणि कामगानि रथानि च ।

नगराणि विशालानि साट्टप्राकारवन्ति च ॥ १६ ॥

वाहनानि च मुख्यानि विचित्राणि सहस्रशः ।

बिलानि रमणीयानि सुख-युक्तानि वै भृशम् ॥ १७ ॥

एते कृता मया सर्वे ।

mentary and one incomplete manuscript contains thirty-four chapters. One pamphlet named *Mayavāstu* covering 36 pages and another named *Mayavāstu-sāstram* covering 40 pages have also been printed from Madras. A few extracts from another work named *Maya-śilpa* have been translated into English by Rev. J. E. Kearns in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. V, pp. 230, 293). There is another fragmentary unpublished English translation of a treatise named *Mayamata* in the Mackenzie Collection (Translation, Class X, Sanskrit, 2—6) in India Office, London. There is a manuscript named *Mayamata-śilpa-sāstra-vidhāna* with a Telugu commentary by one Gannamāchārya, which has been noticed in the catalogue of Professor Eggeling. There is another manuscript bearing the title *Maya-śilpa-satiaka*. In the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, there are as many as six large manuscripts bearing the title *Mayamata-rāstu-sāstra*. One of these six contains a Tamil commentary² and two others two Telugu commentaries. The largest of these covering 390 pages of 22 lines to a page is complete in thirty-six chapters which are strikingly similar to the chapters of the *Mānasāra*. The subjects dealt with may briefly be stated here:

- (1) Saṃgrahādhyāya table of contents, *Mānasāra*, Chapter I.
- (2) Vāstu-prakāra—classification of architectural subjects, *Mānasāra*, Chapters IV, V.
- (3) Bhū-parīkshā—testing of soil, *Mānasāra*, Chapters IV, V.
- (4) Bhū-parigraha—selection of site, *Mānasāra*, Chapters IV, V.
- (5) Mānopakaraṇa—materials (and system) of measurement, M. II.

² There is in Tamil a *Śilpaśāstra* originally composed in Sanskrit by Myer (Maya), who "according to Mythology was a son of Brahmā and architect of the gods." This work seems to have been made from selections from various works.

- (6) Dik-parichchheda—chapter on finding out cardinal points, M. VI.
- (7) Pada-devatā-vinyāsa—ground plan, M. VII.
- (8) Bali-karma-vidhāna—offerings to gods, M. VIII.
- (9) Grāma-vinyāsa—villages, M. IX.
- (10) Nagara-vidhāna—town-planning, M. X.
- (11) Bhū-lamba-vidhāna—dimensions of storeys, M. XI.
- (12) Garbhanyāsa-vidhāna—foundations, M. XII.
- (13) Upapīṭha-vidhāna—pedestals, M. XIII.
- (14) Adhishṭhāna-vidhāna—bases, M. XIV.
- (15) Pāda-pramāṇa-dravya-saṁgraha—columns, M. XV.
- (16) Prastara-prakaraṇa—entablatures, M. XVI.
- (17) Sandhi-karma-vidhāna—(wood) joinery, M. XV.
- (18) Śikhara-karaṇa-bhavana-samāpti-vidhāna —m a k i n g
the tops and finishing the building, M.
XVIII.
- (19) Eka-bhūmi-vidhāna—one-storeyed buildings, M. XIX.
- (20) Dvi-bhūmi-vidhāna—two-storeyed buildings, M. XX.
- (21) Tri-bhūmi-vidhāna—three-storeyed buildings, M. XXI.
- (22) Bahu-bhūmi-vidhāna³ —buildings of more than
three storeys, M. XXII—XXX.
- (23) Prākāra-parivāra — courts and temples therein of
the attendant deities; in the Mānasāra these
two subjects are treated in two chapters XXXI,
XXXII.
- (24) Gopura-vidhāna—gate-houses, M. XXXIII.
- (25) Maṇḍapa-vidhāna—pavilions, M. XXXIV.
- (26) Śālā-vidhāna—halls, M. XXXV.
- (27) Gṛiha-mānādhikāra⁴ — (location and) measurement
of houses, M. XXXVI.
- (28) Gṛiha-praveśa—first entry into a newly-built house
(opening or house-warming ceremony), M. XXXVII.

³ Compare Śāstri, *ibid.*, where *Chaturbhūmyādi* is added at the beginning.

⁴ Compare Śāstri, *ibid.*, where it is read *Chaturgṛiha-vidhāna*.

- (29) Rāja-veśma-vidhāna—royal palaces, M. XL.
 (30) Dvāra-vidhāna—doors ; in the *Mānasāra* this subject is described in two chapters, XXXVIII, XXXIX.
 (31) Yānādhikāra—conveyances, M. II, XLIII.
 (32) Yāna-śayanādhikāra—cars, and chariots, couches and bedsteads, M. XLIV, XLV.
 Sculptural subjects are abridged only in four chapters :
 (33) Līṅga-lakṣhaṇa—the Phallus, M. LII.
 (34) Pīṭha-lakṣhaṇa—the Pedestal of the Phallus, M. LIII.
 (35) Anukarṇa-vidhāna—minor works on sculpture, LI, LIV, LV, LXIII, LXV, LXX.
 (36) Pratimā-lakṣhaṇa—images in general, M. LXIV.

It will be noticed that of the thirty-six chapters the first eight deal with preliminary matters, such as the selection of site, testing of soil, planning, designing, finding out cardinal points for the orientation of buildings and system of measurement. In the next two chapters various village schemes and town-plans are described. The following twenty-two chapters are devoted to the description of buildings proper together with their component parts. The last four chapters deal with sculpture comprising Phallus and its Pedestals and images of other deities.

Herein are found architectural and sculptural details in abundance, which may be compared with buildings and sculptures met with or similarly described elsewhere.

In several other architectural treatises Maya has been recognised as an authority on architecture. One Maya is also included in the list of thirty-two authorities mentioned in the *Mānasāra*, one in the list of seven architects mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, one in the eighteen authorities recognised in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, one of the eleven authorities of the *Viśvakarma-śilpa*, one of the more than twelve authorities of the *Sanat-kumāra-Vāstu-śāstra* and one of the twenty-one

sources on which a large work named *Samgraha* has been based.⁵

From these references it will be clear beyond doubt that Maya as an architect earned a large publicity and his original work, which naturally suffered by omissions and additions, was disseminated far and wide. Another point also should be noted : Maya mentioned in the Epics, Purāṇas, Harivaṃśa, Bṛihatsamhitā, Śilpaśūtras of Mānasāra, Viśvakarman, Sanat-kumāra and Samgraha cannot be the one and the same person. There is also reason to think that the several aforesaid architectural treatises bearing the title 'Maya' must be ascribed to more than one author. (One other point, which deserves notice, is that except in the epics Maya has nowhere else in all these various works been recognised as 'Asura.' It would follow, therefore, that there must have been more than one Maya ; in other words, there were several persons bearing the name Maya. Hence Maya is not the personal name of an individual, but the family name of a class or clan, different branches of which seem to have settled down in different parts of the world.

(II) Some scholars⁶ are of opinion that Maya-Asura is derivable from Ahura-Mazda of the Zend-Avesta, the chief scripture of the Parsis of the Zoroastrian faith. That *Ahura* is the Persian form of *Asura* there is a general consensus of opinion, but between Maya and Mazda the affinity is not so

⁵ For reference see the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 35, 97, 101-102, 106, 163, 164, 165, 167.

See also *Mahābhārata* (II. i. 5, 9—12, 14—17).

Rāmāyaṇa (III. 60, 21), *Harivaṃśa* (203, 2420 ff.), etc.

⁶ Dr. D. B. Spooner, 'The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History,' J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 63—89, 405—455.

Cf. Wilson, Preface to *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (p. lxiv). Spiegel, *Iran. Alt.*, II, p. 9.

direct. Besides, *Asura* and *Ahura* are not used in the same sense; the original meaning of the term, as life (*asu*)-giver is retained only in *Ahura*, while *Asura* is the antagonist of *Sura* or god. The possibility of the identification of *Maya-Asura* with *Ahura-Mazda* arises from the fact that since the time of the separation between the Aryans and the Parsis probably somewhere in Persia, the antagonism between the two parties became very acute as the meanings of the term *Asura* would unmistakably indicate.

The Indian equivalent of *Mazda* is not *Maya* but *Medhā*. This has been admitted by Dr. Spooner on the authority of Dr. Thomas (p. 78). Inconsistently with this admission Dr. Spooner still holds that the equation of *Maya* with *Mazda* involves no serious difficulties. According to him the foreign sounds represented in English by *j* and *z* or *zh* both were and are commonly transcribed in India with a *y*. This conjecture is held to justify him "in rewriting the form *Asura Maya* as *Asura Maja*, and the closeness of this to *Ahura Mazda* thus becomes apparent; given *Ahura Mazda* in the mouths of imported masons, *Asura Maya*, with a *j* sound, is what might normally (?) have been expected as the Indianized form of the name" (p. 79). Thus the rules of Philology are set at naught by a network of speculation. Then touching upon a large number of big problems, with great skill and industry but without convincing many people, the learned doctor comes out with the conclusion that all "streams of evidence converge harmoniously" and "that the *Asura Maya* really means *Ahura Mazda*" (p. 78).

His 'streams of evidence' have led Dr. Spooner to a variety of general conclusions of exceedingly controversial character:

- (1) That the architectural structures described in the *Mahābhārata* are of Persian model.
- (2) That "the description which the *Asura Maya* gives us of the palaces he built agrees most

strikingly with the account of Chandragupta's palaces recorded by Megasthenes" (p. 405).

- (3) That the palaces to which the *Mahābhārata* refers are those of Pāṭaliputra (pp. 405-6).
- (4) That the Kumrahar remains discovered at Pāṭaliputra by Dr. Spooner at the cost of a Parsi gentleman (Sir Ratan Tata) are identical with Persepolitan structures and hence must be of Persian origin (p. 71).
- (5) That the Mauryas were Zoroastrians, the name having been derived from Persian Mōurva (p. 406).
- (6) That the mount Meru is identical with Mervdasht or the plain of Merv on which the Persepolitan platform stands (pp. 408-409).
- (7) That the Mauryas were Zoroastrians and came originally from Meru which was situated in Persia (p. 413).
- (8) That Chandragupta Maurya was a Persian; Persepolis was his ancestral home (p. 409); probably he came out with Alexander the Great and when the great invader left, Chandragupta picked up an army with the deserters of Alexander the Great's army, went to Magadha, occupied the (? vacant) throne and made Persian architects build palaces after the Persian model, remains of which with even Persian mason's marks have been discovered at Kumrahar by Dr. Spooner (pp. 417, 429).
- (9) That the name Magadha is Persian in origin having been derived from the Persian term Mugh or Magi (pp. 422, 427).
- (10) That some portion of the *Atharvaveda* where the term 'Magadha' occurs must be of Persian origin, if not the whole of it (pp. 420-21, 422, 421).
- (11) That the Yoga system of Indian philosophy must have been derived from the ancient Persian mummeries.

- (12) That the Garuḍa Purāṇa is of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin (p. 428).
- (13) That the Tāntric system and the Śakti cult, which are associated with the Brahmins of Śakadvīpa or the home of Zoroastrian Magi (p. 447), must have been originated from the magic rites of the Persian goddess Ishtar (p. 435).
- (14) That the Yavanas were Persians, not Greeks, and Śakas do not always imply Scythians but Iranians or inhabitants of Śakadvīpa whence came the Śākyas (pp. 434, 439, 441).
- (15) That the ancestors of Buddha, the Śākyas of Kapi-lavastu, were of Zoroastrian origin (pp. 440, 441).
- (16) That the temple at Bodhi-Gaya was founded by the ancient Persians and that Gaya was an early seat of Magian worship; hence Gautama as a religious student went thither as the holy place of his own people, the Zoroastrians, and got the enlightenment (p. 441).
- (17) That (in sculpture) Brahmā is not the Indian god but an echo (or imitation) of the Zoroastrian arch-angel Vohūman (p. 449).

Thus Brahmā himself did not escape the excavation made by the famous American archaeologist.

The only thing that remained to be unearthed was the penetration of the Maya clans either directly from India or through Persia into America, which his countryman Dr. Gann has lately discovered and to which we shall make a reference later on.

For the purpose of the present paper we are not concerned with all these problems, far less with the amazing conclusions Dr. Spooner has arrived at: they have been reviewed by competent scholars and Dr. Spooner's theories have met with the inevitable fate. We are concerned with only a few of these conclusions and we can at once declare our views on them.

The buildings described in the Mahābhārata, as has already been observed, lack in architectural details. We have seen above merely a list of structures stated to have been built by Maya; their poetical description points to nothing uncommon in India; there is hardly anything which will justify their identification with Persepolitan or Persian structures.

This poetical description of Maya's buildings as given in the Mahābhārata does not agree in any extraordinary way, not to speak of 'most strikingly' as Dr. Spooner in his enthusiasm of a discovery holds, with the account of Chandragupta Maurya's palaces recorded from the fragmentary and adulterated quotations from Megasthenes. What Dr. Spooner says in this connection may be quoted in full: "At a court where an Indian monarch (Chandragupta Maurya) . . . built the royal highway from his palace in imitation of Darius's, his palaces themselves may very well have been as imitative as the royal road" (p. 72). This is a curious argument: even if a road, which is always connected with an ordinary palace in all countries, be similar to another must the palaces also be 'most strikingly similar' (p. 405)? The entire absence of details in the description, not to speak of the obvious fallacy in his inference, could not discourage the learned archæologist. He declares that "it may be true that no architectural plan in India, nor any type of building, as a whole, has hitherto been known which one could say was based directly on a Persian model." But these facts do not militate against his theory seriously because "the Persian influence *ought* to be traceable in India more largely than it is." (p. 72)

Apart from another obvious objection under this head with regard to the chronological relation of Chandragupta Maurya with the Mahābhārata, if really Maya's description of buildings in the Mahābhārata referred to Chandragupta Maurya's palaces and not to or even in addition to those of

Yudhishṭhira, it is difficult to understand as to why Chandragupta Maurya should not have been mentioned in the Epic. Hence the palaces to which the Mahābhārata refers cannot be those of Pāṭaliputra of the Maurya times but were those of Hastināpura, the capital of the Pāṇḍavas.

The only other point we are concerned with is Dr. Spooner's interpretation of the architectural remains discovered at Patna. What have been excavated are really mere fragments of certain things. It is therefore difficult to say much for or against Dr. Spooner's theory that the original of these remains were wrought by Persian masons after the Persepolitan model. Dr. Spooner has admitted that "the only substantial point showing Persian influence is the capital" of columns (p. 71). And according to Fergusson the most Persepolitan of all Indian capitals are those in the comparatively late caves of Bedsa (Ind. and East. Architecture, 2nd ed., I. 138). On Dr. Spooner's admission, however, "no capitals had been discovered in Patna to help us in comparing the two buildings (the hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis and the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra), nor had any pedestals been met with" (p. 67). Again "the inter-columnation at Kumrahar (Patna) was found to be five diameters, an inter-columnation not identical, perhaps with that of the Persian throne-room, but still one which is essentially Persepolitan" (p. 67). This inference also baffles all common sense. But the Persian influence on, or rather similarity with, Indian architecture seems to have been acknowledged by some prominent Indologists: "Sir John Marshall tells us his columns and his capitals (discovered at Taxila) were wrought by Greco-Persian masons"; and "Dr. Thomas shows us how we must look to the façade to Darius's tomb to realise how the Mathura Lion capital fitted into place" (71).

That for a long time there has been a continual interchange of ideas "in public works, in ceremonial" (p. 72) and other institutions between Persia and India is supported by all the three main sources of information, namely, the literary

tradition, the records left by the foreign visitors and historians, and the archæological evidences both epigraphical and monumental. And we are indebted to Dr. Spooner for having thrown more light on some of the outstanding points, such as the usual derivations of the terms Magadha and Maurya. But his equation of Ahura Mazda and Asura Maya remains unconvincing as ever. His reference to St. Petersburg Dictionary in this connection does not help him in the least. If the immortal authors of this dictionary had any access to the architectural treatises ascribed to Maya their lexicography of the word 'Maya' would have been different. Weber's 'Vermuthung' that the 'Asura Maya' is to be identified with 'Ptolemaios' is equally unconvincing; Dr. Spooner would necessarily admit this (p. 78). But their 'contention that Maya was originally of foreign origin' seems to be supported by the general theory, namely, that the Asuras as the antagonists of Suras were of the Ahura class and of Persian origin. This theory is further substantiated by the discovery of the remnant of the Maya clans and their civilization which seem to have been imported from the Asiatic countries to America.

(III) The books of Chilán Balam contain the old traditions of the Mayas. They record the migrations of Maya clans, and were reduced to writing in the sixteenth century. "Along the east coast of Yucatan live the Santa Cruz Indians, presumably the direct descendants of the ancient Mayas." They live the lives of their ancestors of a thousand years ago; they worship the same gods and perform the ancient religious ceremonies. But after all very little is known about them, because their villages are buried in the dense forests of the hills and they permit no strangers to intrude. By way of exploration of the traces of the Mayas and the sites of a lost civilization, Dr. Gann, partly in collaboration

¹ Ind. Stud., II, 243; Akad. Vorlesungen über Ind. Literaturgeschichte, p. 225.

with Professor Morley of the Carnegie Institute, has discovered the great city of Coba. Mayas erected therein magnificent temples and palaces, most of which now lie buried in the tropical forests. Some have been discovered but there is no doubt that a great number of them yet remain to be discovered.

A brief account of the scanty details of the Maya ruins may be given here.* A wandering "Maya Indian" informed Dr. Gann that in the Mexican territory of Quintana Roo he had come across a great slab of stone lying buried in the bush upon which were inscribed 'Ubalob uxben uincoab' or things belonging to the ancient people. This Maya monolith when discovered appeared to be a block of greyish schist, twelve feet long, eighteen inches wide and twelve inches thick. "It had at one time stood upright, but now lay flat and embedded in the ground. Upon one edge faint traces of sculpture were visible, but the greater part of the exposed surfaces had been quite smooth by the tropical downpours of an unknown number of rainy seasons. This has been the fate of many Maya inscriptions." After brushing the soil from the stone it was found to contain the following Maya Initial Series date—9. 8. 0. 0. 0. 5 Aban 3 Chen or 26 October, 333 A.D. (The sculptures on it also show themselves as clearly as when they were first carved). Amid all the Maya ruins in Yucatan only four such Initial Series dates have been found, but the present one is more than three hundred years earlier than the oldest of them.

"The monolith had been erected just in front of a great terraced pyramid which stood between two others. All these pyramids were faced, in the usual Maya style, with blocks of cut limestone. The central one had three terraces and was thirty-two feet high. Its flat top, upon which there no doubt

* *The Morning Post*, May, 1926. *The Statesman*, March 21, April 9, 17, 25, 1926. *Scientific American*, Jan., 1926, p. 11.

stood a wooden temple, long since perished, was one hundred and thirty-five feet long and sixty-four feet across."

"Further investigation showed that these pyramids were at one end of a great enclosure, which was surrounded by a massive stone-wall. This wall is from twelve to fifteen feet thick at the base, and in the places where it has remained intact, it is twelve feet high. . . . The wall is a mile-and-a-half long and forms a semi-circle with the two ends running down to the shore." This undoubtedly looks like a fortification. The only two walls of this kind which have hitherto been discovered are also in Yucatan, one being at Tulum, on the east coast, and the other of Chicken Itza, in the northern interior." "The space enclosed by this wall had evidently been densely populated in bygone times." The subterranean cavern is some twenty miles long and is connected with the ruins of a great city. The cave of Loltun is entered by great well-like holes in the earth through which one descends by ladders from ledge to ledge arriving in immense rocky chambers whose floors are covered with stalagmites and cave earth, and from whose lofty roofs depend vast stalactites. Two of these holes are a mile apart. From the great chambers unexplored passages branch out in every direction. On the floors of the chambers, buried in the cave-earth, innumerable potsherds have already been found, also human and animal bones, flint and stone weapons and implements, and many other relics of the ancient inhabitants." It is stated that subterranean passages from this cavern reach to the ruined city of Chicken Itza twenty miles away.

"The cities the Mayas left bear no traces of violence having been wrought by man or the forces of nature, and the buildings of their new settlements were obviously erected by a people with unimpaired vigour. . . . At a certain period in their history the Mayas left their cities, built with an enormous expenditure of labour, and migrated from the fertile lands in which they stood to found new settlements. Earthquakes,

pestilence, and foreign invasion have been suggested as possible causes of this migration."

These are all the available details of the Maya ruins discovered in America. Except the semicircular plan of the enclosure wall, mention of which is also found in our Śilpaśāstras, no other details either of the towns, buildings, or of the monolith will stand any comparison like the one we have made elsewhere between the treatise of Vitruvius and the Mānasāra.⁹ But the philological identity of the American Mayas with the Indian Mayas seem to be undisputed. In India Mayas were known as Asuras or non-Aryans, so in America Mayas were recognised as aborigines. The assumption, therefore, that the Mayas migrated from India or Persia to America is justified. But when, why, and how this migration took place is yet to be ascertained and settled if possible for once and for all.

Our Puranic traditions, whatever their worth may be unsupported by other kinds of evidence, would seem to throw some light on the point if their *free* interpretation be accepted.

According to the Purāṇas, it is held by some scholars,¹⁰ the Devas, the Daityas (whose king, Hiranyakaśipu, founded the Hysacannia kingdom around the Caspian Sea).¹¹ Mānavas (man from Manu, of the North), and Nāgas (of the South) were born of Kāśyapa (god). Before the deluge, as a result of which the Gangetic plain submerged under seas, there was a war in which the Mānavas, Devas, Daityas and Nāgas joined against a Persian king Bel, Baal, Bal or Bali who was a descendant of Hiranyakaśipu. Bali was defeated, his army dispersed, and of his generals Sumali fled to Ceylon and Maya to Pātāla which would correspond to America. After the

⁹ See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, p. p. 134-159.

¹⁰ Such as late Pandit Umesh Chandra Vidyardatna (Dehra Dun).

¹¹ Nandalal De, Rasātala, *Indian Historical Journal*, March, 1926. See also *Scientific American*, January, 1926, p. 33; February, p. 84 f.

deluge the descendants of *Manu* who were followers of Lion-god (Narasimha) went over to Egypt and founded the first dynasty of Kings under *Menes* who also worshipped a similar sun-god Sphinx. The descendants of Sumali spread as Sumelians or Sumerians. And the descendants of Maya came back to India and settled down as architects and built magnificent temples and wonderful palaces for the Pāṇḍava king Yudhisṭhira.

Whatever may be the worth of such an interpretation of the so-called Puranic traditions, some of the modern scholars of scientific and critical training admit rather emphatically the spread of Indian culture to America if not to Europe too. Professor Grafton Elliot Smith of University College, London, for instance, says that "Whatever Dr. Gann's conclusions may be, his actual discoveries are of stupendous interest. The whole Maya remains as discovered show the closest possible relation of the civilization as it existed in Java and South East Asia to what has been found in Yucatan. There is nothing in my mind," further asserts Professor Elliot Smith, "that suggests that the form of civilisation is indigenous, and I should be inclined to hold that the temples at Java were the prototypes of what has been found in Yucatan. Until fifty years ago the orthodox held that the Maya civilisation was of Indian origin. The dating derived from the hieroglyphs was so vague as to give little help, and interpretation varies by as much as three or six centuries. What supremely interests the archæologists," continues Professor Elliot Smith, "is that we find a civilisation starting full-blown in Central America. Under Asiatic influence it rose to great heights, but had already collapsed before the advent of the Spaniards who may have given it the *coup-de-grace*. To know the real secret of Maya culture affects our whole interpretation of civilisation."

"Can different communities, such as the Indian, the Chinese, and the American, build up a civilisation independent

of one another, or is it possible for a certain civilisation to be spread about the world in the same way that a steam engine can be distributed" ? This is the great problem of ethnology and the identification of Maya will contribute to a solution of it.

(10)

SLOW PROGRESS OF ISLAM POWER IN
ANCIENT INDIA

Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Calcutta University*)

The history of India may be divided into three main periods represented by (1) Ancient or Hindu India, (2) Mediæval or Muhammadan India and (3) Modern or British India. One special characteristic of the first of these periods is the Hinduisation of all the foreign tribes that poured into this country. But the most important question connected with the second epoch is: at what different times did the Muhammadan invaders penetrate into India at all; and when and how did they obtain a firm footing? The late Dr. V. A. Smith, the author of the *Oxford History of India*, pp. 257-8 has detailed several causes to explain this phenomenon. The Muhammadan invaders, says he, were undoubtedly superior to their Hindu opponents in fighting power, because they came from a cool climate in hilly regions and were heavier and physically stronger, and also because they were flesh-eaters whereas the Hindus were mostly vegetarians. Secondly, their fierce fanaticism helped them immensely, fanaticism which consisted of the belief that by killing non-Muslims as infidels they were doing a service eminently pleasing to God. This fanaticism developed into all kinds of frightfulness, which terrified and completely broke down the Indians. Thirdly the Hindu strategy and tactics were old-fashioned. Elephants on which the Hindus relied proved to be worse than useless when pitted against the well-equipped active cavalry of the Muhammadans. *These and other causes*, says V. A. Smith,

combined in helping the Muslims, though insignificant in numbers, to keep enormous multitudes of Hindus in subjection for centuries.

Such is the view of V. A. Smith. But another view places itself before us as we read Elphinstone's *History of India*. The latter thinks it extraordinary that the Arabs, who had conquered Sind and reached as far as Multan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia. He assigns various reasons which prevented the phenomenal spread of the Arab conquest in India. But we are not concerned with them. What is, however, incontestable is that although the Arabs had invaded India as early as 714 A.D., it was not till 1192 A.D. that the Muhammadans could be said to have gained a footing at all. This was the year when Prithvīrāja, the Chāhamāna king, was vanquished, and the Rajput supremacy overthrown by Muhammad Ghūr. V. A. Smith himself admits at the beginning of his book that within the brief space of eighty years from the Prophet's death, his Arab followers had become masters, not only of Arabia, but of Persia, Syria, Western Turkestan, Sind, Egypt and Southern Spain, but that India proper remained substantially unaffected. There was thus an interval of at least 450 years, between the first Arab invasion and that of Muhammad Ghūr; and it is, indeed, strange how V. A. Smith slurs over this period though it is, by no means, a small one. It does not seem to have occurred to him how and why the first Arab invasion ended with a conquest of Sind and Multan only, although the Muhammadans were then intoxicated with a series of unparalleled successes over the greater portions of Asia, Africa, and Europe and their zeal for the dissemination of their faith had not a bit diminished. This point, no doubt, arrested the attention of Elphinstone, but does not seem to have troubled Smith at all.

This long period extending from 714 to 1192 A.D. divides itself into two parts, one ending with the supremacy

of the Pratihāras and the other with the second battle of Tarain. Let us first confine ourselves to the first epoch, and see how and when the Muhammadans came into hostilities with the Hindus. During the Caliphate of Walid I, Mahomed, son of Qasim, first began his invasion of Sind. After Mahomed came Junaid to reconquer Sind. After conquering Kiraj, he organised regular incursions into the inland parts of India, and was able to make his power felt more strongly than his predecessor. He despatched one army against Marmad (Marumāḍa), Maṇḍal, Dahnaj (Dalmaj) and Barus (Broach). One army was sent against Uzain (Ujjain) and the country of Maliba (Malwa). Junaid in person conquered Al-Bailaman and Jurez which doubtless stand for Bhilmāl and Gurjara country. But we learn from the *Sagar Tal stone inscription* that the army sent by Junaid against Ujjain was successfully repulsed by Nāgabhaṭa I, the first ruler of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj that was then ruling at Ujjain. We hear of the same Arab invasion in detail from the *Nausārī copper-plate grant* which states that an army of the Tājikas (*i.e.*, Arabs) first destroyed the Saindhava, Kachchhella, Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār), Chāvōṭaka (Imperial Chāpa dynasty), Maurya (Mewar) and Gurjara kings; but in its attempt to conquer South India where an Imperial Chalukya family of Vātāpi was then ruling, it was successfully stemmed back by Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi who was a mere chieftain. That this expedition was looked upon by the Indians as something formidable may be seen from the fact that two of the four titles which Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi received from his overlord, the Chālukya sovereign of Badāmī, are *Dakṣhiṇāpatha-svādhārana*, or "Solid Pillar of Dakṣhiṇāpatha or Dekkan" and *Anivartaka-nivartayitṛi*, or "Repeller of the unrepellable." The Arab force seems to have been thus looked upon as *anivartaka* or unrepellable. And when Pulakēśi repelled these unrepellable people, he was naturally looked upon as a Pillar of the Dekkan. But it

cannot be denied that this Arab expedition, howsoever terror-inspiring it was in Rājputānā, Kāṭhiāwār and Gujarāt, was in the south successfully stemmed and dashed back by a mere chieftain. The above Arab expedition no doubt produced a deep impression on the minds of the Indians, but it was of a temporary duration ; and although the Imperial Chāpa dynasty of Bhilmāl first declined and crumpled up owing to the Arab expedition, it was before long replaced by the Pratihāras of Ujjain and also Maṇḍor.

We then learn from the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla that about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. the Yavanas and Gandhāras owed allegiance to the Imperial sovereignty of Kanauj. The Yavanas seem to be the Muhammadans who had established themselves in Multan, and the Gandhāras no other than the Turkish Shāhiyas who were then holding sway over the Kabul Valley. But from a later account of the Muhammadan traveller Sulaiman (851 A.D.), we learn that the kingdoms of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Gurjara princes were conterminous with one another and that no other Indian prince but the Gurjara had a finer cavalry. But "among the princes of India," adds Sulaiman, "there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he" (the Gurjara prince). Al-Masudi (943 A.D.), the next Muhammadan traveller, informs us that the Gurjara king of Kanauj was at war with the Muhammadan principality of Multān and the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa and that "in his (the latter's) kingdom Islam was honoured and protected." This is but natural, because on the north-west the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj bordered on the Muhammadan principality of Multān and on the south on the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom of Mānyakhēṭa. It is quite natural that when the first was at war with its two neighbouring kingdoms, the latter should be each other's allies.

The Pratihāras were, indeed, more than a match to the Arab rulers of Multān, but the latter had a weapon in their hands which was irresistible against the Hindus. What is

noteworthy about this Multān is that the image of Sūrya there, which was a place of pilgrimage for all India, was preserved not only during the first Muhammadan invasion but also till the time of Al-Masudi (943 A.D.). One reason which he gives us is that by far the greater portion of the revenue of the Muhammadan ruler of Multān accrued from the rich presents brought to the idol by the Hindu pilgrims. But the strongest reason was this: "When the unbelievers," says Al-Masudi, "march against Multān, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break the idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw." This was indeed the strongest weapon they could hurl against their Indian foes, namely, the Pratihāra sovereigns of Kanauj. And it shows that the Muhammadan policy of iconoclasm was not followed regardless of all consequence but was rather curbed and guided by temporal considerations and motives of diplomacy, as was natural.

It will thus be seen that though the Arab invasion took place as early as 714 A.D. and though the Arabs and their co-religionists soon after the death of their Prophet were irresistible, whichever other part of the globe they overran, they could not possibly advance in their conquest of India beyond Sind. It was not for a short period but upwards of two centuries that they were successfully held at bay by two imperial families of Kanauj. Things, however, changed when the Pratihāra supremacy began to decline. The different parts of their empire were seized upon by the different feudatory princes and a unique opportunity presented itself to the frontier Muhammadan state of Ghazna. This in brief is the history of the hostilities between the Muhammadans and the Indians till the end of the tenth century, and the question may now be asked: what are the causes that stemmed the Muhammadan invasion during this first period? The most potent of these is of course the imperialism of North India represented by the two royal dynasties of Kanauj. The confines of the Pratihāra

empire extended as far westward as Sind and Multān and as far northwestward as Peshawar and Eastern Afghanistan, where were settled the Hindu Shāhiyās, the feudatories of the Kanauj sovereigns. In the first place, the north-western boundary of this empire was the natural frontier of India ; and secondly as the whole of north India as far as the east Afghanistan was subject to one imperial rule, it was possible to take every care, as the Pratihāras no doubt did, to prevent foreign aggression whether from Sind and Multān or Afghanistan. But certainly there must have been other causes also of more or less importance. V. A. Smith, no doubt, says that the Indians were highly deficient in their cavalry and cared only for their elephants. But Sulaiman, as we have noted, tells us that the king of Kanauj had great riches and numerous camels and horses and that no other Indian prince had so fine a cavalry. Secondly it is not quite clear why the elephants are thought of so lightly for military operations at that early period, because we know that even such an astute and experienced general as Māḥmūd of Ghazna had employed elephants from India in his victorious fights against his Muhammadan neighbour kings.

Soon after the middle of the tenth century A.D. the fabric of the Gurjara empire broke up. Rājputānā and East Punjab declared independence under the Chāhamānās ; Bombay, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār under the Solankis, and Mathurā and the country east of Jamna were seized upon by the Gāhādavālas of Kanauj and Kāśī. Just at this time a Moslem power sprang up at Ghazna under Amir Sabuk-Tigīn who undertook expeditions into India in the prosecution of holy wars. He was succeeded by his son Māḥmūd, who undertook an expedition generally once every year, though their exact number cannot be determined. His invasions were not real expeditions of conquest, but were principally raids of sack and pillage. Hence they ended only in overthrowing the Hindu Shāhiyā power and annexing merely Western Panjab to the

Muhammadan dominions. During the Pratihāra supremacy Hindu India had its natural frontier formed by the Safed Koh and Sulaiman ranges separating it from Afghanistan. Invasions of Māhmūd of Ghazna brought out a disastrous change as Western Panjab had been annexed by the Muhammadans. The kingdom of East Panjab and Rājputānā seized by the Chāhamānas and the kingdom of the Middle Country held by the Gāhaḍavālas were now exposed to the constant depredations of the neighbouring Muhammadan states. It is true that we hear so little of them from the Muhammadan authorities, but the inscriptions of these Hindu dynasties leave no doubt on this point. If we take first the records of the Gāhaḍavāla family, we find that Govindachandra defeated Hammīra twice, once when he was *Yuvarāja* and the second time when he was king. What is, however, specially noteworthy about the copper-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavāla princes is that among the taxes which they levied is included one called *Turushka-danda*, which seems to be a sort of poll-tax imposed on the Muhammadan settlers in their dominions. The point that specially deserves to be noticed here is that this poll-tax seems to have been abolished by Jayachandra, the last Gāhaḍavāla prince, because his copper-plate grants are conspicuous by the absence of any mention thereof. The reason of this abolition is not difficult to surmise, as he wanted the help of the Muhammadans as against the Chāhamāna House.

We may now direct our attention to the Chāhamāna records, the most valuable of which is the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, a work describing the exploits of the last Prithvīrāja. It seems that Durlabharāja II of this family first came into conflict with those foreigners and lost his life. Next, one of his descendants, Arjorāja, is credited with having destroyed a Muhammadan army and constructed a lake on the scene of this action, which is now known as Ānā-sāgar called after him at Ajmer. He was followed by his son Vigharāja IV *alias* Visaladeva, who is represented in a Delhi pillar inscription of

A.D. 1164 to have brought the whole of North India under his sway and to have made it an Āryāvarta or Abode of Aryans again, by exterminating the Mlechchhas. Further information on this point is furnished by a drama called *Lalita-Vigraharāja* by his court-poet Someśvara engraved on a series of slate stone slabs originally found at the mosque called *Dhāi Dīn-kā Jhūmpaḍā* at Ajmer. Only a few fragments of this play have been preserved. But they are enough to show under what adverse circumstances Vigraharāja had to give battle to Hammīra from his camp Vavveraka (Rūpnagar). From the play it seems that Rājā Simhabala, the king's maternal uncle, advises him to give battle, but his Brāhman prime minister Sṛīdhara tries to dissuade him from this action as the Chāhamāna forces would be hopelessly outnumbered by those of the enemy. What we have to note is that it is utter recklessness of life and superior fighting qualities that must have won him the day against such terrific odds.

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his nephew, Prīthvīrāja II, one of whose records was originally found at Hānsī in the Hissar District, Panjab. It says that he had a maternal uncle, called Kilhaṇa, a Guhilot by clan, who had been put in command of the fort of Asi or Hānsī, to arrest the advance of Hammīra or the Muhammadan emperor, who had become a thorn to the world. We are also informed that Kilhaṇa had seized and burned Pañchapura, the same as the modern Pachapattana on the Sutlej, which, as Tod tells us, was on the route from Kabul to Hānsī. The strategic importance of Pañchapura and also Hānsī can scarcely be overrated so far as the Chāhamāna kingdom was concerned. And it seems that the Chāhamāna monarchy was effectively fortifying the north-west frontiers of the territory against Muhammadan aggression, which had been on its increase since the time of Durlabharāja. These precautions produced some salutary effect for some time. For certainly we do not hear of any

Muhammaḍan expedition during the reign of this king or even of his successor Someśvara.

Things were, however, different in the time of Prithvī-rāja III, who succeeded his father Someśvara to the Chāhamāna throne. When Someśvara died, Prithvīrāja was a child and his mother had been appointed regent to look after the affairs of the state. This was a fresh opportunity to the Muhammadans to renew their policy of aggression. Reference has already been made to a work called the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, which contains a full account of the life and career of Prithvīrāja. But only a page or two of it has survived, and that gives us the information that the beef-eating Mlechchha called Ghori, who captured Garjanī (Ghazna), had dispatched an envoy to the Chāhamāna court. It further informs us that it was this Ghori whose soldiers had occupied Nadūla (Nāḍol), but that they had been put to a rout by the Gujarāt king without the Chāhamāna ruler having to take any action in the matter. This is a clear reference to the expedition of Shihābu-d-Dīn Muhammad Ghūr in 1178 A.D. when, after marching to Uchh and Multān and crossing the desert of Mārwar, he invaded Gujarāt without entering the Chāhamāna territory. The king of Gujarāt at this time was the Solanki prince Bhīmadeva II who defeated the Muhammadans with great slaughter at Kāsahrada (Kāyadrā) at the foot of Mount Ābū, being aided by the Nāḍol Chief Kelhaṇa and his brother Kīrtipāla and also by the Paramāra Chief Dhārāvarsha of Chandrāvati. The Muhammadan defeat was so crushing that Shihābu-d-Dīn was himself badly wounded in this fight and had to beat a hasty retreat. This is another instance, if any further instance is needed, of the frontier Muhammadan rulers sustaining a heavy defeat at the hands of the Rajput princes, when the latter were prepared for a battle.

The ignominious defeat made such a deep impression on the mind of Shihābu-d-Dīn that it was not till 1191 A.D. that he again thought of invading India. About this time a sad

misunderstanding had arisen between the Chāhamāna and Gāhaḍavāla families. This presented a good opportunity to the Moslem ruler to undertake another expedition. Prithvīrāja was not dead to the danger that now threatened India. He solicited the kings of North India to join his confederacy, and they all did except, of course, Jayachandra. Shihābu-d-Dīn encountered Prithvīrāja and his allies at Tarain or Talawari between Karnal and Thanesar. The battle ended in a brilliant victory for Prithvīrāja, and a complete rout of the Moslem army. The enemy was severely wounded, and had to run again for his life. Then followed a state of inaction and inertness on the part of the Rajputs which is astounding to a degree. Instead of following up their victory by mercilessly pursuing and driving the foreigners out of India, they were self-complacent and remained where they were. Shihābu-d-Dīn retired quietly to Ghor and after thirteen months returned with a mighty force to the former scene of action. Putting the Hindu army off their guard with a false pretence, the foreign invader fell upon them under cover of night. The Rajputs, unprepared though they were, fought with great valour and towards sunset seemed to be even on the point of gaining the day, when Shihābu-d-Dīn charged them at the head of a chosen body of horsemen which had been purposely left behind and which at once turned the tide of the battle. Prithvīrāja was taken alive and murdered in cold blood. Thus was laid down the foundation-stone of the fabric of Muhammadan supremacy in India. If Jayachandra of Kanauj and Benares really played the traitor to his country, he soon atoned for it, for in 1194 Shihābu-d-Dīn defeated and killed him also and annexed his kingdom. India was not divided into numerous independent states at this time, and hence within six years of the second battle of Tarain, almost the whole of Northern India was conquered by Shihābu-d-Dīn.

When the power of the Imperial Gurjaras had been established over Northern India, the north-west boundary of

the empire, we have seen, was the natural frontier of India formed by the Safed Koh and Sulaiman ranges. One of the feudatory families of the Gurjara period was the Hindu Shāhiyā who occupied the frontier province and whose territory, we know, included the Kabul Valley. The guarding of the north-west frontier was thus an imperial problem, and it was solved by the Hindu Shāhiyās effectively barring for centuries the advance of the Islam powers. And it is when the Gurjara empire breaks up that Sabuk-Tigīn and Māḥmūd of Ghazna make their appearance in the political horizon of India and undertake several expeditions which end in the destruction of the Hindu Shāhiyā rule and the annexation of the greater portion of the Panjab. The commotion and confusion caused by the downfall of the Gurjara supremacy soon settled down into some order, and two Rajput dynasties rose to prominence with territories touching the Panjab and therefore conterminous with the Moslem dominions. It was therefore natural that these Rajput states should remain constantly exposed to the Muhammadan raids and depredations. The problem of arresting the Muhammadan aggression had thus become very acute, for the Panjab which consists mostly of plains could not possibly form the natural boundary to these Rajput states and offer any barrier to the foreign incursions. Besides, these were two different Rajput states and they had naturally different aspirations and different policies to carry out. They could not bear any comparison to the Imperial Gurjara rule which had only one object in view and only one foreign policy to maintain. In spite of this disadvantage the two Rajput dynasties succeeded in repelling the attacks of the Muhammadans for more than a century and a half. And the question arises: what could be the cause of this strange phenomenon, this brave stand? The only answer is: Rajput bravery, which is, as a rule, notoriously reckless—reckless of life and reckless of any plan of action. We have seen from the *Itihāsa-Vigraharāja* how the Chāhamāṇa king Vigraharāja

alias Viśaladeva was impatient to fall upon a Muhammadan army although it was terrific in numbers and although he was being dissuaded by his Brāhmaṇa prime minister from embarking upon such a foolhardy project. But no amount of persuasion could produce any effect on him. He pounced upon the Muhammadan forces, and it was good luck, no doubt aided by Rajput bravery, that he was successful in this venture. It is this reckless Rajput bravery that explains why, in almost all battles which were well-pitched and fought to the end, the Rajputs, as a rule, triumphed over the Muhammadan foreigners ; and if the latter at any time triumphed, the victory was due generally to an accident. Thus when Amir Sabuk-Tigīn gained a victory over Jaipāl, it was in consequence of the snow-storm which burst out all of a sudden and paralysed the Hindus who were unaccustomed to rigorous cold. Similarly, when Sabuk-Tigīn's son Māḥmūd of Ghazna achieves a victory over Ānandpāl, son of Jaipāl, it was due to the mere accident of Ānandpāl's elephant running away through fright and creating the belief in the minds of his soldiers that that was a signal to them for flight. But when Māḥmūd attacked and pillaged Somnāth and learnt that the route by which he came was being guarded by certain Rajput chiefs who wanted to give him battle, he returned to Ghazna, not by this route, but *via* Sind, although his army thereby suffered from the worst of privations and hardships. Likewise, in 1178 A.D. when Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūr invaded Gujarāt, the Solanki king Bhīmadeva, aided by the Sonigarā and Paramāra chiefs, inflicted a crushing defeat on him at the foot of Mount Ābū and made him flee for life. Thirteen years later, that is, 1191 A.D., the Muhammadan emperor returned with a larger army and this time met the Rajputs under Prithvirāja at Tarain, and we know, with what result. This time too when the Rajputs were face to face with the Muhammadan foreigners, the latter sustained an ignominious defeat, and their leader Shihābu-d-Dīn had again to fly for his life. This defeat of the enemy

was no doubt caused by the bravery of the Rajputs, who in fighting were reckless of their life and therefore almost always vanquished their Muhammadan opponents in open well-pitched battles. But the battles of Tarain give us insight into another trait of Rajput character. The Rajputs were not only indifferent to improving and strengthening any position of advantage they might have gained through their bravery. When Shihāb-d-Dīn's army was routed and he himself was running for his life, why did not Prithvīrāja track his enemy and drive him out of India which he could easily have done? Would Māhmūd of Ghazna, for instance, have failed to take full advantage of such a unique opportunity? But the Rajput mentality was of a different mould. It was not only reckless of life but also indifferent to pursuing a victory to its fullest advantage. This was a weakness which emanated from their strength. This was due to an overweening confidence in their own bravery. Instances of this indifference are not wanting from later Rajput history, and this alone can satisfactorily explain why they were inactive and indifferent to pursuing their enemy after the first battle of Tarain and reaping the fullest advantage of their victory. And we know what disastrous consequence this indifference produced. It laid the foundation-stone of the Islam power in India and changed the whole history of the country.

SECTION IX
PHILOSOPHY

(1)

THE SANGAM AGE AND THE SIX SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., L.T., B.L.,
High Court Vakil, Madras.

The student of South Indian history knows of no more tempting field of investigation than the Age of the Tamil Sangam. For over thirty years the problem of the period to which the Sangam has to be assigned has been studied from various points of view, but no finite decision has been reached. Every scholar has a pardonable pride in the results of his own investigations and naturally enough believes that his particular theory must give a quietus to all further discussion.

How far we still are from having satisfactorily solved the question was shown by me in my recent book, *The Kaveri, the Maikharis and the Sangam Age*, and I pointed out that 'the time for a comprehensive examination of the question of the age of the Tamil Sangam is not yet' and added that 'for many years to come we shall have to be content mainly with an examination of fractions and facets of the problem.'¹

My contention that there are many such facets still unperceived by scholars engaged in the investigation of the problem was aptly illustrated when Prof. Hermann Jacobi, the famous German Orientalist, wrote to me² that 'the result at which (I had) arrived agreed with what (he) had been led at,' and went on to say that that opinion of his was based on 'a study of the summary of the Six Systems of Philosophy in the *Manimekalai* as given in Kanakasabhai's *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*.'³

¹ Page 8.

² On December 29, 1925.

³ Pp. 212—26.

Prof. Jacobi's line of approach was so novel that immediately on receiving his letter,⁴ I sought and obtained his permission to give publicity to his views on the question, but owing to my pre-occupation I have not been able to find an earlier opportunity. It is gratifying, however, to find that scholars, who, in private conversation, have been acquainted by me with the theory of Prof. Jacobi, have avidly taken it up and are subjecting it to critical investigation.

It is well-known that *Manimekalai* is a classic of the Sangam period, but it is not so well-known that it contains three cantos⁵ in which the heroine is given instruction in the various systems of philosophy then current.

The reader who cannot follow classic Tamil will find a summary of those cantos in Kanakasabhai's work mentioned above. The two features of the exposition which Prof. Jacobi finds significant are the mention, in those cantos, of the Nyāya of Akshapāda and the form of the Buddhist syllogism, and on them he bases his argument. He writes: 'Since one of those systems is the Naiyāyika by Akshapāda, and as I have tried to prove that the Nyāyadarśana has been written between 200 and 450 A.D.,⁶ it follows that the *Manimekalai* is later than the third century A.D. And as the form of the Buddhist syllogism⁷ is that which prevailed before Dignāga⁸ and was superseded by Dignāga's Logic, it is evident that the *Manimekalai* is earlier than Dignāga, or at all events earlier than the 6th century A.D. These arguments settle the date of the Sangam, between limits of a few centuries.'

Here is indeed a line of reasoning hitherto unsuspected. Neither Kanakasabhai who perceived the importance of these cantos and rendered them at some length into English, nor

⁴ In the middle of January, 1926.

⁵ 27, 29 and 30.

⁶ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXI. 1ff.

⁷ Kanakasabhai, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁸ S. Sugiura, *Hindu Logic*, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 33 ff.

Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana who wrote on the History of Indian Logic, with full knowledge of the substance of these cantos, realised their value to the historian of Indian culture.

Prof. Jacobi's view coincided to this extent with my theory,—that the Sangam was at all events earlier than the 6th century A.D. But my position being that the last of the possible periods is the 3rd century A.D.,⁹ I requested Prof. Jacobi to let me know if he considered it possible that Dignāga lived about 400 A.D. and Nyāyadarśana was founded about 200 A.D. or earlier still. I drew his attention especially to the opinion of Dr. A. B. Keith that Dignāga was not later than 400 A.D. and that he might have flourished even earlier.¹⁰ Perhaps, reference may also be made to Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana's view that Akshapāda must be placed about 150 A.D. and that Dignāga lived about 500 A.D. Prof. Jacobi, however, wrote to say that he held to his original views on those points.

It is agreed on all hands that Dignāga must be placed anterior, in any event, to 560 A.D., when some of his works were translated into Chinese, and if the form of the Buddhist syllogism as set out in *Manimekalai* is pre-Dignāgan, it follows inevitably that that work is earlier than 560 A.D. This conclusion disposes, once and for all, of the arguments of Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai and others, who would make the Sangam much later. If it could be shown that Dignāga must be placed earlier than 400 A.D.,—a view for which authority is not wanting, as pointed out above,—the latest date for the Sangam suggested by me would stand confirmed by an altogether different class of evidence.

Furnishing as these cantos of *Manimekalai* do a remarkably well-preserved record of the various systems of Indian philosophy as they had evolved by the date of that poem,

⁹ *The Kaveri, the Maikharis and the Sangam Age*, pp. 57, 117.

¹⁰ *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 305, and *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 98.

their historical value is obvious. As even scholars who know Tamil, but do not know it as *Pandits* do, find it difficult to follow critically the thread of the exposition in the original, and as the summary furnished by Kanakasabhai is rather inadequate, I took the liberty¹¹ of requesting Prof. A. Chakravarti,¹² whose attainments are well-known to be as great in Tamil as in Philosophy, to undertake a full and close translation, into English, of the three cantos and, if he found the necessary leisure, to let us have the benefit of his views on the evolution of the Indian systems of philosophy as evidenced by *Manimekalai*. Prof. Chakravarti has had the kindness to accede to my request and I hope that, before long, scholars will have an opportunity of studying the evidences of evolution in full.

Students of the history of Indian culture cannot but be immensely grateful to Prof. Jacobi for having opened up a line of enquiry which promises to lead us to results as important to the history of Tamil literature as to that of Indian philosophy.

¹¹ In May, 1926.

¹² Of the Presidency College, Madras.

(2)

LANDMARKS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE SŪTRAS OF THE VEDĀNTA

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

(*Dacca University*).

The orthodox and traditional view about the Vedānta-Sūtras, as is more or less the case with the Sūtras of all the other systems of philosophy, is that *all* of them were composed by the founder of the system. With regard to the Vedānta-Sūtras, this traditional author is Bādarāyaṇa. Curiously enough, Bādarāyaṇa is more frequently referred to as the man who classified and arranged the Vedic texts and wrote the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, rather than as the author of the Vedānta-Sūtras (cf. Bhāgavata, i. 1. 7; i. 4. 19-20; and also i. 5. 4, etc.).

The Sūtras of the Vedānta also, however, were written by a human hand: even the most orthodox view does not regard them as revealed; and tradition ascribes them also, along with the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, to Bādarāyaṇa. Whether Bādarāyaṇa was a historical person or not, is immaterial to us; for us it is enough to know that the author of the Vedānta-Sūtras was also called Bādarāyaṇa. Our question is: Did Bādarāyaṇa, or whoever may have been the author, write all the Sūtras that have come down to us? Or, was there an original body of Sūtras which were much fewer in number and which constituted the nucleus of the system, round which other Sūtras gathered as time went on and as occasions arose? There

are certain considerations which would incline us in favour of the second view.

1. (i) In the first place, the different schools of interpretation do not agree throughout as to the texts of the Sūtras. In other words, all the Sūtras are not admitted by all; and they also differ as to the wording of any particular Sūtra. There are some Sūtras which are admitted by one school but not by another. And there are differences also as to the total number of Sūtras and Adhikaraṇas. Thus, ii. 3. 49 in Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja reads 'ābhāsa eva ca'; Nimbārka reads it 'ābhāsā eva ca,' but his numbering is the same as that of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. Vallabha, however, differs both in the numbering as well as the reading of the Sūtra, which, according to him, is ii. 3. 50, and reads 'abhāsa eva ca.' And he positively rejects the reading 'ābhāsa' as implying illusoriness; "ato na mithyātva-rūpa ābhāso'tra vivakṣitaḥ." The Sūtra is important, as it discusses the nature of the individual soul in relation to Brahma; and a difference here cannot be passed over as immaterial.¹

Similarly, ii. 4. 1, 'tathā prāṇaḥ' is read by Vallabha as 'tathā prāṇaḥ'; and he proceeds so far as to assign reasons for his reading. In iii. 2. 12, the negative particle 'na' at the beginning is left out by Rāmānuja and Nimbārka but is admitted by Śaṅkara and Vallabha. It should be remembered that these are not the only examples of variation in the reading of the Sūtras.

Besides, the total number of the Sūtras and Adhikaraṇas also is not the same according to all the schools of interpretation. The different ways of grouping the Sūtras into Adhikaraṇas or sections, have often been an

¹ The numbering of the Sūtras followed by us is that of the Śaṅkara School,

opportunity for bringing out the differences in the standpoint of the respective schools and sometimes have also been an occasion for such differences (cf. *Bhāṣyaparakāśa* of Puruṣottama, *re* Aṇubhāṣya, *sub* iii. 2. 30). And the different numbering of the Sūtras is very often due to the splitting up of one Sūtra into two, or, as it might be also put, to uniting two Sūtras into one. For instance, the Sūtras in i. 1. which are numbered 2 and 3 according to Śaṅkara and others, and are, therefore, different Sūtras according to them, are combined into one Sūtra by Vallabha (cf. Aṇubhāṣya and Bhāṣyaparakāśa). And this is not the only instance of combination and disintegration of Sūtras.

Sometimes, a Sūtra has been admitted by one school which finds no place in the list of Sūtras according to another. Thus, in i. 1, after the Sūtra '*heyatvāvacanācca*' (i. 1. 8), Rāmānuja and Nimbārka read a Sūtra, *viz.*, '*pratijñāvirodhāt*,' which is accepted by their schools also (cf. Vedānta-kaustubha of Śrīnivāsa, etc.). But this Sūtra is not recognised either by the school of Śaṅkara or by the school of Vallabha. Vallabha has not the faintest idea that there is such a Sūtra at all; for, after explaining the Sūtra '*heyatvāvacanācca*,' he proceeds to enumerate the three following Sūtras and says: "ataḥ param svatantra-hetūn āha, svāpyayāt, gatisāmānyāt, śrutatvācca-iti sūtratrayeṇa." It is just before the Sūtra '*svāpyayāt*' that Rāmānuja and Nimbārka read the additional Sūtra given above. Obviously, according to Vallabha, this Sūtra does not exist. Śaṅkara also does not recognise the Sūtra *as a* Sūtra; but in his commentary on i. 1. 8 (quoted above), he uses the expression '*pratijñāvirodha*,' and he refers to the sixth chapter of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad to which Rāmānuja also refers in explaining the additional Sūtra. Śaṅkara, however, reads the meaning of the additional Sūtra in the letter '*ca*' at the end of Sūtra i. 1. 8. His own words are: "ca-sabdah

pratiññāvirodhābhyuccaya-pradarśanārthaḥ; s a t y a p i
heyatvavacane *pratiññāvirodhaḥ* prasajyeta, etc.” May
not the additional Sūtra of Rāmānuja have developed out
of a discussion like this?

The Sūtras must have assumed a settled form and
must already have become a system when these schools of
interpretation arose. Now, the fact that the schools do
not agree in all details about the Sūtras, shows that even
after the Sūtras had acquired a great prestige, innovation
in the shape of addition or subtraction of a Sūtra was not
altogether impossible even within the most orthodox circles.
And this fact further suggests the hypothesis that all the
Sūtras were perhaps not produced by the founder of the
School, and, perhaps, they came into being gradually as
time went on and as need for them arose.

(ii) In the second place, it is a curious fact that there
are some Sūtras of Philosophy which are common to more
than one system. Thus, Yoga ii. 46 and Sāṅkhya iii. 34
are an identical Sūtra which reads ‘sthīrasukham
āsanam.’ Again, Nyāya i. 1. 7. and Sāṅkhya i. 101 give
the identical definition of ‘śabda,’ viz., ‘āptopadeśaḥ
śabdaḥ.’ And Vedānta iv. 1. 1 and Sāṅkhya iv. 3 are
identical in form and meaning, viz., ‘āvṛttir-asakṛd-
upadeśāt.’

These things suggest the possibility of the migration
of Sūtras from one system to another, specially when the
idea involved was the same. Now, if such a phenomenon
had taken place with regard to the other systems of Philo-
sophy, could the Vedānta alone have been immune from
such inroads of new Sūtras? We may therefore very
reasonably suspect that some of the Sūtras of the Ved-
ānta that have come down to us, were not composed by the
original author of the system, but were added later.

2. There are some Sūtras which refer to Bādarāyaṇa
by name and quote his opinions as if he were other than

the author himself. The author quoting his own opinion in any particular context, and pitting it against the opinion of another, is rather a peculiar mode of expression. Such procedure would seem to imply that the views expressed in the Sūtras which bear the stamp of no name, were not the views of the author but of some one else. This, however, is not the case. Why then do some of the Sūtras of the Vedānta particularly bear Bādarāyaṇa's name? It is not usual for an author to refer to himself by name, just as he refers to others. It is rather against the ordinary mode of thinking and speaking; and there are not many instances of this nature in the philosophies of India.

In the Sūtras of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, there is not a single instance of the author of the Sūtras referring to himself by name. Occasions were not wanting in them. In the Vedānta-Sūtras, such personal references usually occur where differences of opinion exist with regard to any question and the opinion of the author is introduced after an examination of rival views. For instance, in iii. 2. 40-41, a difference of view is indicated between Jaimini and the author of the Vedānta-Sūtras; and so, after referring to Jaimini by name, our author gives his own view by referring to himself also by name, in the form 'so says Bādarāyaṇa.'

Sometimes the opposite view is suggested, but no name is cited; but the author's own view is given with the stamp of his own name. Thus, in i. 3. 26, where Bādarāyaṇa's opinion is given, an opposite view also is suggested, but no name is cited. The omission of the opponent's name like the citation of his own, seems to be deliberate. As Deussen (*System of the Vedānta*, p. 23) has pointed out, "the more careful he is to allow the names of his opponents to fall into oblivion, the more frequently, for the most part when investigating small differences between them, does he name the teachers of the two Mīmāṃsā

Schools"; and these of course include his own name also.

Now, such occasions to cite names of one's own school arose in the case of the other systems also. For instance, in Vaiśeṣika vi. 1. 1, the Mīmāṃsā-theory of the Vedas is discussed; but no name is cited, not even that of the author himself.

In the Sāṅkhya-Sūtras, there are several references to other thinkers and systems: for example, i. 25; v. 31; v. 32; vi. 68-69, etc. And the names of Pañcaśikha and Sanandana occur in these Sūtras; but nowhere does the author refer to himself by name. He had opportunities of giving out his own name, when after examining the views of others, he rejected them in favour of his own. But he has not utilised these opportunities. And in the Sūtras of the Nyāya and Yoga, there are no references to any name.

The Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini is the only other system in which the author has occasionally referred to himself by name, *e.g.*, iii. 1. 4. But the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta are so closely allied to each other in many ways that the practice of the one may be regarded only as the continuation of the practice of the other, and not really as a precedent for the same.

We may take it, then, that it was not the custom among philosophical writers to cite their own names in the Sūtras. Even the Vedānta has not done this always. For instance, in i. 2. 28—31, a discussion is carried on of diverse views, and several names are also cited; but when the author's conclusion is quietly introduced in Sūtra No. 32, his name is not obtruded upon our attention. And in some cases (*e.g.*, i. 3. 21), he refers to what he has said in a previous part of his work, only by the statement 'it has been said' (*tad uktam*), but does not take his own name.

We may recollect in this connection that taking one's own name, except in specific cases, is against good manners and is discouraged by the Smṛtis : cf.

“ Ātma-nāma guror-nāma nāmātikṛpaṇasya ca,
 .Śreyaskāmo na grhṇīyāt jyeṣṭhāpatya-kalatrayoh.”

Do not these considerations warrant us in thinking that the Sūtras bearing Bādarāyaṇa's name are later additions? And that they were introduced by some disciples of the school to remove the ambiguity of the original Sūtras? In that case, the following Sūtras are later additions :

i. 3. 26, 33; iii. 2. 41; iii. 4. 1; iii. 4. 8; iii. 4. 19;
 iv. 3. 15; iv. 4. 7; iv. 4. 12 (altogether nine Sūtras).

A close inspection will show that, after all, these Sūtras are not very necessary. They certainly make Bādarāyaṇa's position clearer; but even if they were left out, the continuity of the argument would not be disturbed and the yarn of the Sūtras could still be woven into a system.

In most of the above cases, the Sūtras bearing Bādarāyaṇa's name appear as part of a discussion of opposite views on any question. But such exposition and refutation of rival theories are generally left to the commentators. The presence of such Sūtras rather adversely affect the compactness of the scheme of the system.

In one or two instances, the Sūtras with Bādarāyaṇa's name *start* a discussion, *e.g.*, iii. 4. 1. But it will be seen that this section is somewhat redundant and is partially anticipated in iii. 2. 40-41.

It is noteworthy in this connection that commentators do not question the genuineness of these Sūtras and never feel called upon to explain why Bādarāyaṇa should refer to himself by name. But this omission on their part does not make these Sūtras necessarily a part of the original scheme.

3. If the Sūtras bearing Bādarāyaṇa's name can be regarded as later accretions, why not those also which bear Jaimini's name?

The relation between Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa is a mysterious one. In more than one place in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, we are told that Jaimini was Bādarāyaṇa's disciple (cf. Mhbh. i. 63. 89, etc.). Between a teacher and a disciple, there is the distance of one generation; and in ancient times, it was extremely unlikely that a teacher should find his disciple as famous as himself during his lifetime and find him of importance enough to deserve a quotation in his own system. We do not find such references between Socrates and Plato or between Plato and Aristotle.

That Jaimini quotes Bādarāyaṇa in his system (*e.g.*, Mīmāṃsā, i. 1. 5; v. 2. 19; vi. 1. 8) is quite in the fitness of things and is in perfect accord with the statement that he was Bādarāyaṇa's pupil. But how could Bādarāyaṇa also, who is said to have been his master, quote him?

The matter is somewhat complicated by Śaṅkara's statement under Vedānta-Sūtra iii. 3. 53. This is a Sūtra, which affirms the existence of a soul other than the body. Śaṅkara says that the existence of a soul like this has already been admitted in the *first part* of the Śāstra, *i.e.*, the Mīmāṃsā; and so he feels called upon to justify this Sūtra in the Vedānta system. And his justification is that such a soul has not been categorically affirmed by the *author* of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras, but *only* by the commentator ('satyam uktam bhāṣyakṛtā, na tu tatrātmāstitve sūtram asti'). But in the Vedānta, says Śaṅkara, the author of the Sūtras himself composes a special Sūtra to affirm the existence of the soul. And it was from here, says Śaṅkara again, that Śabarāsvāmin, the commentator of the Mīmāṃsā, took the idea; and when Upavarṣa, an earlier commentator of the Mīmāṃsā,

who also commented on the Vedānta, said, while commenting on the Mīmāṃsā, that he would discuss the existence of the soul later, he had this Sūtra of the Vedānta in his mind.

This shows that, to the commentators, the two systems of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta often appeared as but parts of the same system. Or, perhaps, though they were originally different, they had already been united into one system (cf. Deussen, *System of the Vedānta*, p. 24).

In this view, the Sūtras of Mīmāṃsā which quote Bādarāyaṇa and the Sūtras of Vedānta which quote Jaimini, must both be regarded, not as composed by the original authors of the systems, but as interpolated by some subsequent writers of the respective schools. In any case, the Sūtras of Vedānta which quote Jaimini cannot be reconciled with the statement that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa; they must, therefore, be viewed with suspicion. If Bādarāyaṇa was the author of the system, the Sūtras, which quote Jaimini, were in all probability added later. This gives us a second list of accretive Sūtras, viz.—

- i. 2. 28, 31; i. 3. 31; i. 4. 18; iii. 2. 40; iii. 4. 2, 18, 40; iv. 3. 12; iv. 4. 5, 11 (11 Sūtras altogether).

As before, a close examination of the contexts in which they appear, will show that these Sūtras form part of a controversy which may have been carried on between thinkers of the respective schools and might well have found a fitting place in the writings of the commentators.

4. The above discussion has paved the way for considering those Sūtras which bear other proper names. These are : Āśmarathya, Bādari, Auḍulomi, Kāśakṛtsna, Kārṣṇājini, and Ātreya. Now, it is rather striking that these names hardly occur in isolation : two or more of them occur in close proximity to one another. That is why the Sūtras which contain these names, are part of a section in which a con-

troversy is carried on as to the proper meaning or importance of any text; and different views relevant to the topic are quoted by citing the names of the upholders of those views. Thus the name of Ātreya occurs in iii. 4. 44; in iii. 4. 45, we find Auḍulomi's name. The whole section (Adhikaraṇa) consists of Sūtras 44—46; and the subject discussed is rather a minor one for the Vedānta, *viz.*, whether the benefit of certain action (Karma) accrues to the Ṛtvik or the Yajamāna—to the man who recites the verses or the man who appoints him. Such a discussion would be quite appropriate to the Mīmāṃsā (cf. Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra, iii. 8. 25—27, etc.). But here, if not altogether out of place, it is not really very important; yet it is here that the names of two authorities are cited.

Again, the name of Kāśakṛtsna occurs in i. 4. 22; of Auḍulomi again in i. 4. 21; and in i. 4. 20, we find Āśmarathya; and the section extends from 19 to 22. The subject under discussion here is the meaning of the word 'Ātman' in Bṛhadāraṇyaka, iv. 5. 6. The author's meaning is given in i. 4. 19. The other three Sūtras referring to three other names, practically confirm this interpretation, though on somewhat different grounds. Now, as these Sūtras do not do more than strengthen the author's position, their inclusion in the original scheme, which must have been intended to be as brief as possible, seems rather doubtful.

A similar remark applies to the other Sūtras also, which bear a proper name. They are introduced as a rule to stir up a discussion about some topic which, after all, is not very material to the general principles of the system. And if we leave out the section in which they occur, the lacuna in the system will not be very great at all. These considerations seem to support the suspicion that such Sūtras were added by the *School* and were not part of the original composition of the *founder* of the School.

Now, if we are allowed to indulge in a suspicion like this, we shall be instantly relieved of a pretty large number of Sūtras, *viz.*, 5 in chapter i, 4 in chapter iii, and 3 in chapter iv (altogether 12 Sūtras).

5. The Sūtras which attack the other systems, specially the Sāṅkhya, are found scattered throughout the chapters. And quite a number of them occur in the second chapter: *e.g.*, ii. 1. 1—12; ii. 2. 1—10, etc. In the first chapter also repeated attacks are made on the Sāṅkhya; and at the end of the chapter, the last Sūtra says: “Thus have all things been explained—yes, explained (etena sarve vyākhyātā vyākhyātāḥ).” This Sūtra Śaṅkara and Vallabha understand to mean that, by a refutation of Sāṅkhya that has gone before, all other minor systems also have been refuted. Rāmānuja and Nimbārka, however, take it to mean that all the Vedāntas have been explained to speak of Brahma alone.

Now, if we take the first interpretation, the subsequent references to the Sāṅkhya appear to be un contemplated and, therefore, an after-thought and a later addition. Possibly, they were added to strengthen the case against the Sāṅkhya. If, on the other hand, we accept the second interpretation of the Sūtra, it appears to be too abrupt to be genuine, seeing that a good deal of Vedānta yet remains to be explained and will occupy us in the subsequent chapters.

The attack on the Sāṅkhya is not systematic and continuous. It seems that our author takes special delight in attacking this rival. After a prolonged and vigorous refutation of this system, sometimes the conclusion is suggested that it has been finally vanquished, and the author proceeds with his interpretation of the Upaniṣads (*e.g.*, after i. 1. 11); but suddenly again, almost without any warning, he reverts to the work of bastinadoing the Sāṅkhya (*e.g.*, i. 4. 1; ii. 1. 1, etc.).

This intermittent character of the attacks on the Sāṅkhya seems to imply a gap of time between one attack and another. The attack on the Sāṅkhya in the first chapter can be understood as arising out of our author's attempt to interpret the texts of the Upaniṣads. But the attack which he makes on the same system in chapter ii and elsewhere, seems to be rather going out of his way. If we assume, as we reasonably may, that his main purpose was the proper interpretation of the teachings of the Upaniṣads, then, some at any rate of his attacks on other systems cannot but be regarded as digressions. And possibly they were not all made by the author of the original Sūtras. Possibly they were felt to be necessary by later advocates of the school who had to meet attacks from those other schools.

6. In the system of the Sūtras, as they have come down to us, are there no repetitions? A compact system of Sūtras, the purpose of which is pre-eminently brevity, ought to avoid repetitions; and an author of Sūtras, who knew his business, would certainly avoid them. But the Vedānta-Sūtras are not free from occasional repetitions. Thus, i. 1. 22 discusses the meaning of the word 'ākāśa' in certain contexts; i. 3. 41 does the same. In fact, in these two cases at least, one identical passage also, namely, Chāndogya viii. 14. 1, is referred to (cf. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja). And Śaṅkara is fully aware that a repetition is involved here: he expressly refers to the earlier Sūtra and says that the later Sūtra (*i.e.*, i. 3. 41) is an amplification (*prapañca*) of the former.

Again, i. 3. 21 does little more than call attention to a previous Sūtra, *viz.*, i. 2. 7. A similar remark applies to i. 1. 31 and i. 4. 17; iii. 3. 7 and iii. 3. 8; and so in several other cases.

When we recollect that even essential information about its own meaning is often suppressed in a Sūtra for

the sake of brevity, repetitions in any scheme of Sūtras must appear to be suspicious. Possibly they were introduced by teachers of the school for a clearer exposition of the system to their pupils.

7. Īśvarakṛṣṇa (Sāṅkhya-kārikā 72) has said that when the refutations of other systems and the incidental anecdotes are left out, the whole of Sāṅkhya can be summed up in 70 verses which he has written. Now, as we can have a *summary* of a larger and more elaborate system, we can also have an antecedent *nucleus* out of which the elaborate system grows. It has been said that the Sāṅkhya-pravacana-Sūtras are but an amplification of the 22 Sūtras of the Tattvasamāsa (Gauḍapāda, Vijnāna-bhikṣu). May it not be suggested that, like the Pravacana-Sūtras of the Sāṅkhya, the present Vedānta-Sūtras also arose out of an earlier compendium which was something like the Tattvasamāsa of the Sāṅkhya school?

This compendium is still discoverable within the manifold of the existing Sūtras, if we only leave out, as Īśvarakṛṣṇa did with regard to the Sāṅkhya, the Sūtras which involve repetitions, which contain controversies with other schools, and also those which contain avoidable references to other thinkers of the school.

(3)

BRAHMA-DATTA : An old Vedāntin

Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

(Maharaja's College, Mysore)

The earliest commentaries on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedānta-sūtras* that have come down to us are those of Śaṅkara; but we know there were earlier ones, for Śaṅkara himself often cites the opinions of other interpreters of these ancient works either in support of his own view¹ or more often for the purpose of criticising them.² It is, however, only rarely that we are able to ascribe such opinions to individual thinkers. The salient features of one such old Vedāntic thinker—Bharṭṛ-prapañca—were noticed by the present writer in the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1924. It is proposed to call attention here to those of another, *viz.*, Brahma-datta. This name is even less familiar than that of Bharṭṛ-prapañca; and it is difficult to say exactly when he flourished or what works he wrote. All that we know is that he could not have been later than Śaṅkara, for allusions to his views are found in the works of his disciple, Suresvara,³ and that he probably wrote a

¹ Compare for example the reference to Dramidācārya in the *bhāṣya* on Gh. Up. III. viii—x.

² *E.g.*, the views of the *Vṛitti-kāra* under *Vedānta-sūtras* I. i. 4; 12—19.

³ See later. The tradition current among one section of the *Vedāntins*—the *Dvaitins*—represents Śaṅkara as having met Brahma-datta (see *Maṇi Mañjarī* vi. 2-3). But much reliance cannot be placed upon it owing to its confused character.

commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras.⁴ As regards the view he took of *Upaniṣadic* teaching, it seems to have been, as we shall see, monistic and to have approximated to Śaṅkara's *Advaita*⁵ with which accordingly we shall contrast it in the sequel.

One of the chief doctrines held by Brahma-dattā was that of the non-eternality of the *Jīva*. Vedānta-deśika mentions this point explicitly in the *Sarvārtha-siddhi* which is a commentary on his own *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*. As stated there, *Brahman* is the only ultimate principle, in Brahma-datta's view, and everything else including the *Jīva* is derived from it:

एकं ब्रह्मैव नित्यं तदितरदखिलं तत्र जन्मादिभागित्याम्नातं तेन जीवोऽप्यचिदिव जनिमान् ॥ (ii. 16.)

The *Jīva* not only originates; it also perishes. Vedānta-deśika divides the exponents of the view that the *Jīva* is not eternal into four classes⁶ :—

- (i) the *Viññāna-vādins* who maintain that it is momentarily renewed;
- (ii) a type of *Cārvākas*, according to whom it endures throughout life but ceases to exist at death;
- (iii) a section of *Paurāṇikas* who believe that it survives the body but lasts only till *pralaya*; and

⁴ Compare the well-known passage in the beginning of the *Siddhitraya* of Yāmuna-muni:

यद्यपि भगवता वादरायणेनैदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । विवृतानि च तानि परिमित-
गम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता । विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरान्वायसाग-भाषिणा भगवता
जीवत्तादुक्तिभेदापि । तथाप्याचार्यदत्तकृत्प्रपञ्चभर्तृमित्रभर्तृहरिभक्त्यादुरग्रीवत्तादु (?)
भास्वराणि विवर्तिताणि विविचनप्रज्ञाविप्रलब्धबुद्धयो न यथावदन्यथा च प्रति-
पद्यन्त इति तत्प्रतिपत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणप्रक्रमः ॥

⁶ Though there may be various shades of *Advaita*, the term is used in this Paper exclusively for Śaṅkara's doctrine.

⁶ *Sarvārtha-siddhi* ii. 17.

(iv) a school of *Vedāntins* who grant being to it only till it attains *mokṣa*.

Vedānta-deśika describes the last as pseudo-*Vedāntins* (अपनिषद्भासाः) and Brahma-datta is to be reckoned as one of them. The doctrine that the individual soul originates and perishes is indeed a striking deviation from *Vedānta* as it is commonly understood. Bādarāyaṇa himself discusses this question in his *Sūtras* (II. iii. 17) and, according to the commentaries still preserved, he decides against the doctrine, whatever Brahma-datta might have understood from this *Sūtra* if he wrote a commentary upon Bādarāyaṇa's work. In favour of the current view, it may be urged that the *Upaniṣads* do not as a rule mention the *Jīva* in the sections describing creation but only the material world. Yet it would not be difficult to discover a couple of statements both in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti* to support Brahma-datta's view,⁷ and we know from Rāmānuja⁸ that at least one ancient teacher, Āsmārathya, maintained, like Brahma-datta, though probably not in exactly the same sense, that the *Jīva* emerges from Brahman and lapses back into it at *mokṣa*.⁹ It is evidently on such authorities that he should have based his unique doctrine. It is, however, unacceptable now not only to *Advaitins* but to all *Vedāntins* alike and *Vedānta-deśika* dismisses it summarily as due to the fancy of persons not fully conversant with the *Upaniṣads*.

It is well known that according to Śaṅkara, the proximate cause of *mokṣa* or, more strictly, of the dispelling of

⁷ Compare : — लोयेन जीवान् व्यससर्जं भूम्याम् ॥

Mahānārāyaṇa Up. i. 4.

प्रकृतिर्या मयाख्याता व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणी । पुरुषश्चाप्युभावेतौ लीयेते परमात्मनि ॥
(*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* VI iv. 39).

⁸ See *Śrī-bhāṣya* (I. iv. 20).

⁹ Āsmārathya was a *bhedābheda-vādin* which Brahma-datta probably was not (see *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* i. 68).

avidyā is the knowledge that arises from the *mahāvākyas* like *Tat tvam asi*. He makes a sharp distinction between *Jñāna* and *Upāsanā*; and while he admits an injunction (*vidhi*) in respect of the latter, he stoutly denies its possibility in the case of the former.¹⁰ Right knowledge which alone can remove *avidyā* is eventually dependent, as experience shows, upon reality (*vastu-tantra*) and not upon our will (*apuruṣa-tantra*), so that a behest can have no direct part to play in the genesis of self-knowledge. In holding such a view, Śaṅkara stands alone; and practically all the other *Vedāntins* reject this distinction between *Jñāna* and *Upāsanā*, and admit an injunction in one form or another in respect of the knowledge of the self. They thus fall into line with the *Mīmāṃsakas*, who hold that the main purpose of the Veda as a whole is to inspire activity by prescribing something to be achieved, and not merely to state matters of fact. The only difference between the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara Kāṇḍas*, according to these *Vedāntins*, is that while in the former what is prescribed is generally a sacrificial act, in the latter, it is meditation which is purely a mental act. Thus, it is injunctive statements found in the *Upaniṣads* like *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ* that are of primary importance and not assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi* which only subserve them by furnishing the theme for the meditation prescribed. The meditation, if it is to be practised, presupposes a knowledge of certain details of which the most important is the nature of *ātman*—the object to be meditated upon. The purpose of statements like *Tat tvam asi* is merely to impart this knowledge and not directly to lead to self-realisation. The *ātman* therefore is, in *Mīmāṃsā* phraseology, the *śeṣa* of the *Upāsanā-vidhi*. This school of *Upaniṣadic* interpretation often comes to be criticised in

¹⁰ Compare for instance *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I. i. 4.

Advaitic works and Śaṅkara himself refers to it at some length, for instance, in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I. iv 7). Brahma-datta seems to have followed the generality of *Vedāntins* and maintained that the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* like the *Karma-kāṇḍa* is primarily concerned with a *sādhya*—something to be effected. That such was his view is known from the *Vidyā-surabhi*, an unpublished commentary by *Jñānāmṛta* on the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara, which is found in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. In i. 67 of Sureśvara's work, we read—

केचित्स्वसंप्रदायबलावष्टम्भादाहुयदेतद्वेदान्तवाक्यादहं ब्रह्मेति विज्ञानं समुत्पद्यते
तन्नैव स्वात्पत्तिमात्रेणादानं निरस्यति । किं तर्हि । अहन्यहनि द्राघीयसा कालेना-
पासीनस्य सतो भावनोपचयाच्चिरशेषमज्ञानमपगच्छति “देवो भूत्वा देवानप्येति”
इति श्रुतेः ॥

and in commenting upon it, the *Vidyā-surabhi* states that the allusion in *kecit* here is to Brahma-datta and others :

केचिन् ब्रह्मदत्तादयः ॥¹¹

Now there are many meditations—each having its own appropriate *phala*—prescribed in the *Upaniṣads*, and they are classifiable in more than one way. In some, one external object is to be meditated upon as another, so that both are other than the person meditating; in others, one of the two objects is always the *Jīva*. The latter variety is what is termed *aham-grahopāsana* and is the one with which we are here concerned. For in Brahma-datta's view, as shown by the passage quoted above, the final meditation to be practised by one desirous of achieving *mokṣa* is of the form *aham brahmāsmi* which occurs in the *Upaniṣads* in the context of *ātmetyevopāsita*.¹² Here a ques-

¹¹ Attention was drawn to this fact in the present writer's Introduction to the Revised Edition of the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* in the “Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series” (1925).

¹² See Br. Up. I. iv. 7 and 10.

tion arises as to whether the content of the meditation represents a fact or not. It may represent a fact as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*, for instance; or it may not, for *Brahman*, as the cause of the universe, may be viewed as different from the *Jīva*. That meditation of the latter form was also recommended by some is borne out by the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* (pp. 252-3).¹³ If in Brahma-datta's view *aham brahma asmī* represents a fact, the individual soul is in reality *Brahman* even before meditation, being an emanation from it (*vikāra* or *aṁśa*) and the meditation helps only the realisation of that fact which is commonly lost sight of. *Brahmaiva san brahmāpyeti*. Otherwise the *Jīva* would have to be regarded as distinct from *Brahman*, though, as the result of meditative power exercised in accordance with a scriptural injunction, it might finally merge in *Brahman* and be lost in it. In this case *mokṣa* would only be the annihilation of the *Jīva* and Brahma-datta would, like the *Naiyāyika*, be an *asatkārya-vādin*. It is possible that Brahma-datta held such a view. But to judge from the wording of the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* and of the commentary upon it,¹⁴ he seems to have regarded the identity between the *Jīva* and *Brahman* as factual. The process of Brahma-realisation would then have to be represented as follows: The *Vedāntic* disciple will first learn from the *Upaniṣads* the truth that the *Jīva* is really *Brahman*. But a mere knowledge by description of this kind cannot dispel *ajñāna* which has caused *saṁsāra*. As stated in Rāmānuja's

¹³ See also *Sambandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara, sts. 702 and 845, Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtras* IV i. 3, and *Śaṅkṣepa-tāraka* i. 307-11.

¹⁴ The printed commentary by Jñānottama on this passage is as follows:

ज्ञानस्य.....कर्मभिस्समुच्चयोऽनुपपन्न इत्युक्तम् । तदुक्तम् । वाक्यजन्यज्ञानोत्तरकालीन-
भावोत्कर्षावनाजन्यसाक्षात्काररूपः ॥ ज्ञानान्तरेऽप्यज्ञानस्य निवृत्तेऽप्यज्ञानस्य निवृत्तेऽप्यज्ञानस्य
ज्ञानस्य कर्मणा समुच्चयोपपत्तेरित्येकदेशिनां मतमुत्थाप्य निराकरोति ॥

résumé of the doctrine,¹⁵ this *jñāna* is not final; it only sets the disciple on the way to seek the true means of realisation, just as in the case of a person mistaking a rope for a serpent, the assurance of a friend that it is not a serpent does not actually remove the fear arising from the mistake, but only spirits him up to examine the object for himself, and by examination to shake off the fear once for all. In the present case, the knowledge derived from the *Upaniṣads* has to be dwelt upon almost constantly until it is transformed into knowledge by acquaintance.¹⁶ Then the *ajñāna* disappears; but actual *mokṣa*, as suggested by the parallel cited in this connection—*Devo bhūtvā devān apyeti*—results only after divorce from the physical body. This process of realising *Brahman*, we may state in passing, is exactly like the one described in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (VI. v. 60—64) which, as we have already seen,¹⁷ also agrees with Brahma-datta's view in holding that the *Jīva* is not eternal.¹⁸

So the central teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, according to these thinkers, is to be found in injunctive statements relating to self-knowledge and not in the *mahāvākyas* as the *Advaitins* hold. But the import of injunctive statements in the *Veda* may be understood in two ways—either as *bhāvanā*¹⁹ according to the *Bhāṭṭas* or as *nīyoga* according to the *Prābhākaras*. These two views represent one

¹⁵ See Rāmānuja's *Śrī-bhāṣya* (First Four *Sūtras*) (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition, p. 258).

¹⁶ See extract quoted in note 14. Such immediacy of knowledge is what is known as *bhāvanā-janya-pratyakṣa* which is recognized by Buddhists as well. Compare, e.g., *Tīkā* on *Nyāya-bindu* of Dharma-kīrti (pp. 14-15).

¹⁷ See Note 7.

¹⁸ See commentary printed in the Veṅkateśvara Press Edn. (Bombay) (see also *Ibid.*, VI. vii. 29 and 30; 93—96).

¹⁹ The word *bhāvanā* here is distinct from that referred to in Note 16.

phase of the difference between the *Pūrva-pakṣas* considered in the two *varṇakas* into which it is usual to divide Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Samanvaya-sūtra*. We need not enter here into a discussion of the ethical and psychological implications of these views; it is enough for our purpose merely to note the distinction. Brahma-datta seems to have adopted the *niyoga* view as is shown by Ānanda-jñāna's commentary on the *Sambandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara. In this elaborate and most useful Introduction to Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Br. Upaniṣad*, Sureśvara criticises both these ways of interpreting the *Upaniṣads* and in explaining the apparent duplication of criticism, he writes :—

भावनावर्त्मनैकारम्ये विध्यर्थासिभवो यथा ।

अधिकारपरिचायां तथा प्राक्प्रतिपादितम् ॥

नियोगपक्षमाश्रित्य विध्यर्थासिभवो यथा ।

ऐकाल्म्यसिद्धौ यत्नेन तथात्र प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

(Sts. 796-97)

In commenting upon these stanzas, Ānanda-jñāna remarks :

वास्तविककारमतेन वेदान्तेषु विधिमाशङ्क्य तत्कृत्याभावं.....अवोचमित्यर्थः ।

इह तु ब्रह्मदत्तादिमतेन ज्ञानाभ्यासे विधिमाशङ्क्य निरस्त्यते । तन्न पुनरुक्तिः ॥

The principle of *niyoga* itself seems to have been applied in more than one way to the interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*, and there are specific references in old works to at least two ways—one resulting in what is termed the *Niṣprapañcī-karaṇa-niyoga-vāda* and the other, in what is termed the *Dhyāna-niyoga-vāda*. Rāmānuja, for instance, discusses them in his *Śrī-bhāṣya*²⁰ and it is clear, from what we have stated so far, that Brahma-datta held the latter of these two views. The former view signifies *niyoga* in

²⁰ See Nirṇaya Sāgara Edn., pp. 251 and 254. See also *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* of Vedānta-deśika (ii. 43 and 44) and Bhāskara's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I. iv. 21 (p. 83).

respect of what in *Advaitic* terminology may be described as *Tat-padārtha-śodhana*, but it is not relevant to our present purpose to enter into the details of it.

In explaining the discussion in Rāmānuja's *bhāṣya*, just referred to, the *Śruta-prakāśikā* ascribes both the *niyoga* views to *jāran-māyā-vādins*, who are termed *jarat* or 'old' presumably to contrast them with Śaṅkara and his followers whom it describes as *sākṣān-māyā-vādins*.²¹ If we are right in describing Brahma-datta as a *Vedāntin* advocating *dhyāna-niyoga*, we may also, it seems, conclude that he was a *māyā-vādin*. This conclusion agrees with the reference to *ajñāna* and its eventual removal in the passage quoted above from the *Naīṣkarmya-siddhi*. It also harmonises with our previous statement that the content of the meditation leading to *mokṣa* represents, according to Brahma-datta, a matter of fact and is not a mere fiction (*āropita*). If the *ātman* and *Brahman* are not really two, the commonly assumed distinction between them must in some sense be illusory or due to the operation of *māyā*. It is, however, hard to say in what precise form Brahma-datta enunciated the doctrine. Especially is it difficult to reconcile it with his belief that the *Jīva* has birth as well as death. In this connection, it is necessary to refer to the statement in the *Śaṅkṣepa-śārīraka* of Sarvajñātman (III. 217—221) that the *Vākya-kāra* who commented upon the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* was a *māyā-vādin*. The *Vākya-kāra* is believed to have been Brahmanandin and the commentaries on the *Śaṅkṣepa-śārīraka* generally corroborate this belief. But one alone among them, *viz.*, *Subodhinī* (printed in the Ānandāśrama Edn. of the work) takes the *Vākya-kāra* as Brahma-datta. This is probably an error, particularly as the passage quoted from Yāmuna-muni in Note 4 above, mentions Brahma-datta in addition to *Ācārya-taṅka* with whom Brahma-

²¹ See Nirṇaya Sāgara Edn. already referred to—p. 255.

randin is identified.²² If it be not an error, Brahma-datta would be an early and illustrious exponent of *Upaniṣadic* teaching whose authority more than one later school of *Vedānta* found it advantageous to quote.²³

So far, we have treated of the theoretical teaching of Brahma-datta and we may now state what it is possible to gather about its practical side. Brahma-datta, as we know, distinguishes the knowledge of *Brahman* as conveyed by the *Upaniṣads* from the one resulting through meditation. It is the latter alone that can, by removing *ajñāna*, lead to *mokṣa* or final disappearance in *Brahman*. In other words, the knowledge of *Brahman* that the *Upaniṣads* impart is in no case adequate to bring about release; it has to be followed up by meditation which should be continued till the end of life. That it should not cease till then, if it is to fulfil its object, is indicated by its comparison with the meditation alluded to in *Devo bhūtvā devān apyeti*.²⁴ According to the principle involved there the *upāsaka* gets to know immediately the *upāsya-devatā* in this life, but for actual union with it, he has to wait till dissociation from the physical body takes place.²⁵ The same is also the implication of placing *mokṣa* on a footing similar to *svarga* by making it the fruit of observing a *Vedic vidhi*. *Svarga* is attainable only after death and the conception of *mokṣa* is likewise eschatological. We find further support for this conclusion in that the *dhyāna-niyoga-vādin* does not, according to Rāmānuja, admit *jīvan-mukti* as Śaṅkara does.²⁶ In one word, while

²² See, for example, *Ṭikā* on Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṁgraha*, p. 153, Benares Edition, 1924.

²³ See p. 34 of *Śrī-bhāṣya* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edn.).

²⁴ Br. Up. IV. i. 2—7.

²⁵ See *Ṭikā* on St. 27: *Bṛhad-vārtika*, p. 1357, and the Com. *Candrikā* on *Naishkarmya-siddhi* (i. 67).

²⁶ See Rāmānuja's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edn.), pp. 259-260.

mokṣa is a *drṣṭa-phala* according to the *Advaitin*, it is an *adrṣṭa-phala* according to the *dhyāna-niyoga-vādin*. What place does *karma* occupy in such a scheme? Śaṅkara, it is well known, discards *karma* as a cause of *mokṣa*, though he admits its indispensability as a means of getting the desire for *jñāna* (*vividiṣā*) which is the cause of *mokṣa*. In the case of a person that has acquired the necessary enlightenment and has realised *Brahman*, i.e., a *jīvan-mukta*, there is no need for any *karma*. This follows easily from the premises of *Advaita*, and *karma-sannyāsa* to him is, as it is said, *svataḥ-prāpta*. But even in the case of one that is still striving to acquire such enlightenment, there is, according to Śaṅkara, no obligation to perform *karma*, provided one has already achieved *Sattva-suddhi* or *Vairāgya*; for that is conceived as the sole purpose of *karma* in *Advaita*. In such a case, *karma-sannyāsa* may not be *svataḥ-prāpta*, but it is *vidhi-prāpta*.²⁷ The disciple in this stage has to confine his attention entirely to the acquiring of the *jñāna* requisite for attaining *mokṣa*. In Brahma-datta's view also, there is a corresponding stage of discipline when the disciple, after knowing *Brahman* mediately through the formal study of the *Upaniṣads*, is trying to attain *mokṣa*. It is the stage when meditation in the form of *ahaṁ brahma asmi* is practised; and Brahma-datta's view is that *karma* is obligatory then. Since, as we have seen, meditation has to continue in this view till the end of life, there is no possibility of any one, however much advanced he may be in spiritual life, renouncing *karma*. This view would count as *jñāna-karma-samuccaya* which is the last of the features we have to notice of Brahma-datta's teaching. Our support for concluding that Brahma-datta was a *Samuccaya-vādin* is that it is as such that he is cited and

²⁷ See Śaṅkara's Introduction to *Aitareya Upaniṣad*.

criticised by Sureśvara in the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*.²⁸

We may now summarise the doctrines of Brahmadatta to which we have so far referred :—

- (1) The *Jīva*, like the physical world, comes into being from *Brahman* and is finally lost in it.
- (2) The central teaching of the Upaniṣads is to be found, not in assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi*, but in injunctive ones like *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ*.
- (3) The import of such injunctive statements is *nīyoga* and not *bhāvanā*.
- (4) The distinction that may be supposed to exist between the *Jīva* as *upāsaka* and *Brahman* as *upāsya* is not real.
- (5) There is no stage in the life of the *Vedāntic* disciple when *karma* may be dispensed with.

²⁸ See passage quoted in Note 14, as also St. i. 67: *Sāṅgatyam nāstyato'nyayoh*.

THE DOUBLE AUTHORSHIP OF AṆUBHĀṢYA

, G. H. BHATT, Esq, M.A.,

Asst. Prof. of Sanskrit, Baroda College, Baroda.

Ever since the first publication of Aṇubhāṣya in 1897 by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal it was generally believed that Vallabhāchārya, the exponent of the Śuddhādvaita system of Vedānta, was the writer of the whole of Aṇubhāṣya, as we possess. It was, however, suggested¹ in the year 1924 that the Aṇubhāṣya is not the production of Vallabha alone but has found a hand to complete it in the shape of his son Viṭṭhaleśa—a feature not at all uncommon in the history of Sanskrit literature.² The same view was further endorsed by Pandit Pathak Shastri of Poona.³ It is here proposed to bring to light the abundant evidence, hitherto unknown, in support of the above theory.

Let us first examine the internal evidence. The first striking evidence is of language. The works of Vallabha differ from those of his son, Viṭṭhala, in style and language. Vallabha writes in a very simple prose containing short sentences pregnant with much meaning.⁴ His style may be

¹ Cf. Prof. M. G. Shastri's Introduction to his edition of Aṇubhāṣya (Bombay, 1924).

² A striking parallel instance is furnished by Kādambarī written by Bāṇa and his son Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa.

³ Cf. Pathak Shastri's Introduction to his edition of Aṇubhāṣya (Bombay S. S.).

⁴ Two extracts from Vallabha's prose works other than the Bhāṣya are here given by way of illustrations :—

सत्त्वस्य कलं मोक्षः । स ज्ञानसाध्यः । ज्ञानं च शान्तान्तःकरणसाध्यम् । भजनोयं च रूपं ध्येयम् । तेन घोररूपध्यानेन चित्तमपि तथा भवति । (सुबोधिनी I. 2-26.)

प्रपञ्चमेव निन्द्येत्युक्त्वा शुद्धं भजनं वारयन्ति । तथाऽन्ये जीवं व्यापकमुक्त्वा । अत उभयनिराकरणार्थं जीवजडयोः स्वरूपमुच्यते । अयं प्रपञ्चो न प्राकृतः । नापि परमाणुजन्यः । नापि विवर्तात्मा । नाप्यदृष्टादिद्वारा जातः ।

(तत्त्वदीपप्रकाश I. 27.)

well compared with that of Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. From another standpoint it may be called चूर्णिका style. With Viṭṭhala the case is quite different. He is very fond of long compounds and sentences and of words which are likely to give alliteration. A perusal of his works leads us to believe that he had a very great command over classical Sanskrit language and literature and there too he was much influenced by Bāṇa's Kādambarī. His overfondness for compounds may be a result of his acceptance of Daṇḍin's theory that superabundance of compounds is the soul of prose. His style may be called उत्कलिका. Almost all his works are full of passages¹ justifying the above remark.

In the Bhāṣya also we find two different styles exactly corresponding to those of Vallabha and Viṭṭhala. Some portion² of the Bhāṣya completely answers to the description

¹ Cf. स च चिरकालोत्ससुदितप्राचीननिरतिशयकृपाफलसारनिस्पधिनजिज्वरणा-
कमलानुरागविलाससाभिलाषबीजाद्य ततो निजपरिजननिरोधतः प्रियादोषकननिमित्तं
कृतप्रतिज्ञाविविधव्याजजनितगतागतकषिंताद्य . . . six lines more—न ज्ञातुं शक्यते ।
(विद्वन्मयङ्गन, pp 97-98. Benares S. S. 34)

अन्यथा निजमखविहितिकुपितदशशतभगकृताशनिस्तराहारावसन्न . . . 5 lines
more—कथं वदेयुः ।

(Ibid, pp. 171-172.)

अखण्डवरपण्डितप्रसूतचण्डपाखण्डवा-
ग्विखण्डनसुचण्डिमा धरणिमण्डलाखण्डलः ।
नमन्वृपतिमण्डलीमुकुटताण्डवैर्मण्डितः
सपादनखमण्डलः पितुरिहास्तु मे मयङ्गनम् ॥

(Ibid, p. 210.)

² Cf. इदमत्र विचार्यते । वेदान्तानां विचार आत्मभूयो न वेति । . . . ।
शब्दचक्षुरादिवन्न सदिधार्थप्रस्तियावकः । (अष्टभाष्य on I. 1. 1.)

न च सहस्रकर्मत्वेऽनिर्गोचः । पराधीनकर्मत्वे पक्षैतदिति । . . निस्त्रिंशत्स्यैव समाधि-
रित्ययि । . . (अष्टभाष्य on II. 3. 89.)

यद्येकवारं प्रकटः स्यात् तदा तत्र फलमङ्गीक्रियेतापि । प्रतिभक्तं प्रतिभक्तं चाभिर्भाषः . . .
तदेवात्र भक्तप्रत्यक्षेण निर्णयः । (अष्टभाष्य on III. 2. 25.)

of Vallabha's style, while the other portion¹ is in keeping with the style of Viṭṭhala. We are therefore forced to come to the conclusion that the Anubhāṣya has been written by both Vallabha and Viṭṭhala.

The next internal evidence is of thought and matter. A critical study of the works of both the father and the son will clearly show that there is a remarkable difference in their mentality. One and the same thing is viewed by them from different standpoints and this is carried to such an extent that Viṭṭhala does not remain satisfied with the explanations of his father and is therefore compelled to express his own opinion in the matter by offering some alternative explanation introducing it by his usual यद्वा. This has invariably happened in almost all the works of Vallabha and the commentators do not fail to point out the addition made by Viṭṭhala,² and what is more, the additional explanations very much differ from the original ones of his father—a fact clearly indicating difference in their mentality. Moreover, there are certain Sūtras of the Vedānta-Sūtras which are differently explained by the

¹ (cf. अथर्वोपनिषत्सु क्वचिद्गोकुलवृन्दाकाननसंवरद्गोपरूपमनल्पद्रुमप्रसूनविरचित-
विचित्रतथ्यलीक . six lines more निरूप्यते । (अणुभाष्य on III 3 1)

यथैकस्यैवान्योन्याभावस्यानन्तभावप्रतियोगिकतद्रूपत्वं three lines more—
वाङ्गीक्रियते । (अणुभाष्य on III. 3. 3)

² In his उत्पत्तिप्रमाणेनन्ध (विद्यावैजयन्ती Series of Benares) Vallabha explains the 27th verse of the first chapter Viṭṭhala, not being satisfied with his father's explanation, expresses his own view by saying इदमुक्तं भवति । वस्तुतस्तु 29 lines more पुरुषोत्तमजी, the commentator thereon, remarks—एतस्यार्थस्य श्रौतत्वबोधनाय प्रभवः (another name of Viṭṭhala) तात्पर्यमस्याहुर्दुक्तं भवतीत्यादिना । In a similar manner Viṭṭhala adds his own explanation to his father's explanation of the 59th verse of the above-mentioned निबन्ध This remark is also applicable to Vallabha's धर्मोपनिषद्, a commentary on Bhāgavata,

father and the son.¹ There is also one Sūtra² explained by Vallabha in the Bhāṣya and Viṭṭhala has not at all hesitated in incorporating his own interpretation in the body of the text of the Bhāṣya. This difference of opinion is seen in the portions of the Bhāṣya. The Sūtras of the first two and a half Adhyāyas are more or less interpreted in the most natural manner, generally in keeping with the spirit of the Upaniṣads. The writer of the first portion is always conscious of the fact that the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa try to harmonize different conflicting passages of the Upaniṣads and the interpretation of the Sūtras must be at any rate in keeping with the general tenor of the Upaniṣads. Most of the quotations in the portion, alleged to have been written by Vallabha, are therefore from the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads, the Śrauta-Sūtras, Manu, Gītā and rarely from Bhāgavata,³ even though the last one is looked upon by Vallabha as one of the four authoritative works of his Sampradāya. Even the word 'Puṣṭi' ('grace'), the most important word in the religion founded by Vallabha, is mentioned only once and that too as a side remark.⁴ Some of the Sūtras containing the word स्मृति or any form of the स्मृ are taken to refer to some Upaniṣadic passage or to some Gītā verse. It is only once that the reference is made to Bhāgavata.⁵ The

¹ Contrast Viṭṭhala's explanation of ब्र० सू० II. 3. 42 given in his विद्वन्मण्डन, p. 91, with that of Vallabha in the Bhāṣya. Similarly contrast the explanations on ब्र० सू० II. 3.43, IV. 4.22.

² आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात् । (ब्र० सू० I. 1. 11.). Read the Bhāṣya thereon and the remark made by the commentator.

³ The total number of quotations from Bhāgavata is about 138, out of which only 30 are found in the first two and a half Adhyāyas, while the remaining are to be found in the latter portion.

⁴ मर्यादामार्गस्य तथैव निर्माणात् । यत्रान्यथा स पुष्टिमध्य इति । अशुभाष्य (on II. 3. 42).

⁵ The Sūtra अपि स्मर्यते occurs four times. In the first two cases the reference is to Gītā, in the third case to Manu and in the last case to Bhāgavata. स्मरन्ति च occurs thrice. In the first place it refers to Katha and Svetāśvatara, in the last two places the reference is to Bhāgavata.

first portion again contains many references to पूर्वमीमांसा । All these characteristics are to be found in Vallabha alone and it should therefore be held that the first portion of the Bhāṣya was written by him. The latter portion, however, contains as a general rule many references to the principal religious tenets of Vallabha's school. The writer of the portion seeks every opportunity to usher in his own religious beliefs. In some places in the Bhāṣya a long discussion is given about things which should find place in some religious works. It has been above shown that Viṭṭhala's alternative explanations are religious in character and the same thing happens in the second part of the Bhāṣya. There are many references¹ to the system of गौतम of which Viṭṭhala was a great scholar. The interpretation of स्मृ in the Sūtras (referred to in Note 13) in the latter portion of the Bhāṣya is generally in keeping with the religious doctrines as the reference in almost all cases is made to Bhāgavata for which Viṭṭhala had much predilection. It is thus obvious that the author of the second portion of the Bhāṣya is Viṭṭhala. The preponderance of religious beliefs in Viṭṭhala's Bhāṣya may be due, not to his ignorance of the nature of the Brahma Sūtras, but to his strong desire of refuting Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda which was, in his (Viṭṭhala's) eyes, untenable. In exploding Śaṅkara's theory of Māyā Viṭṭhala was more or less influenced by the former's way of arguing.² It is therefore clear that the mentality of Vallabha and Viṭṭhala was so different that the latter could not see eye to eye with his father, and this accounts for the different strata of thoughts in the Bhāṣya.

¹ Cf. Aṇubhāṣya on ब० सू० III. 2. 37 ; III. 3. 3. विद्वन्मयहन, pp. 106, 105, etc.

² Śaṅkara first explains the Sūtras naturally and then introduces his *own* theory by remarking अयमत्राद्यः and therein upsets everything that he has said before. Viṭṭhala also does the same thing in his Bhāṣya.

Further we find in the Bhāṣya references¹ to भक्तिहंस and विद्वन्मण्डन—works decidedly written by Viṭṭhala. In one place² Viṭṭhala is mentioned by his name. These references are absurd unless we suppose that the portion containing the references has been written by Viṭṭhala. Vallabha cannot refer to the works of Viṭṭhala who was only fifteen years³ old when the former breathed his last.³ The references, again, cannot be dismissed on the ground of interpolation as they are found even in the oldest manuscript of the sixteenth century. It can thus be shown that Viṭṭhala has his hand in completing the Bhāṣya.

Turning to the external evidence, we find that Viṭṭhala in his विद्वन्मण्डन refers to *his own* Bhāṣya on particular Sūtras.⁴ This would be meaningless unless we suppose that some part of the Bhāṣya was written by him.

Moreover, almost all the commentators of Aṇubhāṣya from the learned Puruṣottamji (born 1668 A.D.) down to Giridharji (born 1791 A.D.) remark in their commentaries on the Aṇubhāṣya on ब्र० सू० III. 2. 34 that the Bhāṣya from that Sūtra up to the end has been written by Viṭṭhala.⁵ Yogi Gopeśvarji (born 1780 A.D.), the writer of ररिम, a commentary on Puruṣottamji's प्रकाश, gives new introductory

¹ भक्तिहंस quoted in the Bhāṣya on ब्र० सू० III. 3. 3. विद्वन्मण्डन quoted in the Bhāṣya on ब्र० सू० III. 2. 41; III. 3. 54; IV. 2. 16; IV. 4. 14; IV. 4. 17.

² In the Bhāṣya on ब्र० सू० III. 2. 41.

³ Vallabha died in 1531 A.D., while Viṭṭhala was born in 1516 A.D.

⁴ Viṭṭhala himself says इदं तु यथा तथा परात् तच्छ्रुतेरित्यधिकरणो निरूपयिष्यामः । (विद्वन्मण्डन p. 56.)

⁵ Puruṣottamji in his प्रकाश remarks as इत आरभ्य प्रभूषाणम् (= श्रीविद्वत्प्रसादम्) इति प्रतिभाति । Aṇubhāṣya with प्रकाश, p. 969 (Benares edition).

verses¹ in his रश्मि on the ब्रह्मसूत्र भाष्य प्रकाश on III. 2. 34, wherein he distinctly says that the Bhāṣya henceforth has come from the pen of Viṭṭhala. Kṛṣṇachandra (born in the first half of the seventeenth century), the author of भावप्रकाशिका, a summary of 'Aṇubhāṣya, endorses the same view.² Puruṣottamji in his आवरणभङ्ग, a commentary on Vallabha's तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध, more than once refers to Viṭṭhala's portion of the Bhāṣya.³

The last evidence is historical. From Vallabha's references, in his सुबोधिनी, to the interpretations of the Sūtras—interpretations not to be found in the present text of the Aṇubhāṣya—we are led to believe that Vallabha must have written a big Bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtras and must have later on summarised it in the form of Aṇubhāṣya, and this is quite possible when we see that Vallabha is in the habit of giving small and big editions of his works.⁴ The very name Aṇubhāṣya (= a small Bhāṣya) suggests the same thing. All the original MSS. of Vallabha's works came into the possession of Gopīnāthaji, Vallabha's eldest son, after the death of the father. Gopīnāthaji died in about 1564 A.D. and was soon followed

- ¹ प्रभवाज्ञात्रयभाविनीं गतिमिहोद्भाष्याशु तत्त्वानुगः
सार्धाध्याययुगं चकार रहितं (=सूत्राष्टकरहितम्) स्वाचार्यवर्यः स्वयम् ।
शेषं सूचितमित्यतोऽन्यदपि निर्मातुं प्रवृत्तस्तत—
स्तन्नन्यूनप्रतिपूरको विजयते श्रीविट्ठलदीक्षितः ॥ १ ॥
श्रौतं स्मार्तं प्रमेयं यद्विन्नमित्येव संस्थितम् ।
तदेकीकरणे शक्तो यः श्रीविट्ठलदीक्षितः ॥ २ ॥
तद्भाष्यं प्रथितुं स्वज्ञो वावदीति जनः कथम् ।
तथापि वक्षि तत्तत्त्वं तच्चरणैकनिविष्टधीः ॥ ३ ॥

Gopeśvarji further remarks तदेतत्पूरयितुं श्रीविट्ठलदीक्षिताः स्थान-विशेषात्प्रकाशादिववदिति सूत्रादारभ्य भाष्यमारभन्ते ।

² इत आरभ्य प्रभूणां लेख इति प्रतिभाति । भावप्रकाशिका on III. 2. 34.

³ इदं यथा तथा प्रपञ्चितं साधनाध्याये हानौ तूपायनेत्यधिकरणे प्रभुभिः (=श्री-विट्ठलैः) (आवरणभङ्ग on तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध, p. 60, Benares edition).

⁴ Almost all the works of Vallabha have got double editions, e.g., सूक्ष्मटीका and सुबोधिनी commentaries on Bhāgavata, the former small, the latter big, प्रकाश and निबन्ध and so on.

by his only son Puruṣottama—an incident which made the widow of Gopīnāthaji turn mad. Owing to the mental derangement she had a quarrel with Viṭṭhala, Vallabha's second son, and did not give any MSS. to him. Viṭṭhala tried his level best to secure the MSS. of his father but succeeded in getting a fragment of the Aṇubhāṣya up to III. 2. 33 together with the MSS. of other works. Seeing the Bhāṣya incomplete he thought himself duty bound to complete it and he did it accordingly. It is needless to mention that the big Bhāṣya of Vallabha is now irretrievably lost.

It is now clear from the external and internal evidence that Aṇubhāṣya has been written by Vallabhāchārya and his son Viṭṭhaleśa, that the latter's Bhāṣya begins from III. 2. 34 and that Vallabha's Bhāṣya came to an abrupt end on account of the loss of original MSS. due to the family quarrel. It can therefore be held, without any fear of contradiction, that there is double authorship of Aṇubhāṣya.

A SCHOOL OF SOUTH INDIAN BUDDHISM IN KĀNCHĪ

PROF. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Madras University*)

1. Kānchī, the Conjeevaram of Anglo-Indian usage, has been within historic times the capital of the country known to outsiders as Drāviḍa. Drāviḍa, though in its origin applicable to all the Tamil land, has become confined to one division of it, the northern portion of the eastern half of the Tamil country. But the terms, Chola, and Pāṇḍya were known to Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas on Pāṇini. We have to come down to the days of Patañjali for a reference to the city of Kānchī as such. While the city may have existed, possibly under another name, the city must have acquired fame and become an important centre by the time that Patañjali settled down to writing his Mahābhāṣya. Even in Tamil literature the three kings of the South, Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya, seem to be the earlier and more important, while the territory dominated by Kānchī is said to have been reclaimed to civilisation by the Chola King, Karikāla. Patañjali's knowledge of the South must have been fuller than that of his predecessors, as he has, at any rate, one note on the usage of the South in respect of Sanskrit terms.¹ We may, therefore, take it that Kānchī was a place of importance in the South in the age of Patañjali. The body of

¹ Where he refers to the term *Narasī* being used for large lakes.

Mahābhāṣya, I. i. 19.

Bhandarkar—Dakhan.

Bom. Gaz., I. i, p. 140.

Tamil literature, called the Śaṅgam works collectively, have references to Kānchī, and we know of chiefs who held rule there. There are one or two poems which refer to that city, and describe it elaborately. The best known among them is the Perumpānāṟrupaḍai, a poem composed with the set object of praising the liberality of the chief that ruled over Kānchī at the time, Toṇḍamān Iḷam Tiraiyan. The Tamil *kāvya* Maṇimekhalai devotes one whole section to it, and describes certain features of the city not referred to in other works. At the time to which the description in Maṇimekhalai has reference, the ruler of Kānchī was a Chola monarch, who is known by the royal designation Neḍumuḍi Kiḷli, that is, 'the Kiḷli of the High Crown.' He came to the throne in succession to the great Chola, Karikāla, either immediately after, as in all probability was actually the case, or in the second generation, and the first chief of importance is one described as Toṇḍamān, the great one among the Toṇḍaiyar, and Iḷam Tiraiyan, Tiraiyan the younger, involving by implication that there was an older Tiraiyan. There is one such known in this body of literature called, without any modifying adjunct, Tiraiyan, associated with the territory of the Toṇḍaiyar, with a place called Pavattiri.² Pavattiri probably was the capital of the Toṇḍaiyar at the time, whose chief hill is described as Vengāḍam (modern Tirupati). It is apparently to distinguish him from this Tiraiyan that the other is given the attribute 'the younger.' Iḷam Tiraiyan as ruler of Kānchī seems to have followed the Kiḷli referred to above. In general terms, Kānchī is described as a place

² Pavattiri known in later inscriptions is 'Pavattiri that had been swallowed up by the sea.' The modern village Reddipalem in the Gūḍūr Taluq is described in inscriptions as 'Kākaṇḍi in Kaḍalkoṇḍa Pavattiri.' Kākaṇḍi, it must be noted, was the old name by which Kāveripaṭṭinam itself was known. (Nellore Ins., I, pages 443, 446; Ins. 87—105.)

of very considerable importance, containing a fort, a palace, and a number of temples, of which one Viṣṇu shrine is specifically mentioned by name, Bauddha Vihāras and so on.

2. Kānchī figures as the capital city of that region in the earliest Pallava charters known to us. In the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Baṇavāsi across on the western side of the peninsula, the founder Mayūrasarman is said to have gone to Kānchī to complete his Vedic studies. It is perhaps this reputation of the city as a seat of learning that is responsible for the later Pallava charters on copper plates describing it as a *ghaṭika* of the Brahmans. In the period of the great Pallavas for which we have a vast amount of information in the Pallava charters themselves, it maintained that reputation. Most of the temples in the city came into existence in this age, and if several of them were in existence before, they received considerable addition and elaboration so that we might date the existing buildings to the age of the Pallavas, except in a few cases. The association of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin with Kānchī, which we find stated in a recently discovered Sanskrit work. *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, ascribed to Daṇḍin, seems to have some justification.³ These two poets are said there to have been related to each other as great-grandfather and great-grandson and are said to have come into Kānchī from the region of what is now Gujarat. They resided in the courts of Simhavishṇu and Rājasimha respectively. In fact Daṇḍin is said to have been tutor to the Pallava prince Rājasimha, according to one reading, at any rate, of the *Kāvyādarśa*. It undoubtedly was a great centre of Sanskrit learning, and it maintains that

³ This is confirmed in the original *Kathā* with a change of one detail that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of a contemporary of Bhāravi, Dāmodara by name, not of Bhāravi himself (*vide* Pundit Harihara Sastri's paper among the summaries, No. 20, pp. 44-7).

position to some extent even now, the only other place that challenged its eminence in this direction in some periods of history being Śrīraṅgam in the south.

3. In Buddhist history and Jain tradition alike Kāñchī figures as an important centre of Buddhism as well. The *kāvya* Maṇimekhalai contains an elaborate description of, at any rate, one Buddhist establishment that existed in the city to which the Chola ruler referred to above made vast additions. In the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang there are references to parts of the city sacred to Buddha. It is here as a great Buddhist centre that the Jain teacher Akaṣaṅka held a disputation and destroyed Buddhist heresy.⁴ Diñnāga was born in the Simhavaktra gate of the city, and Dharmapāla was similarly prince of Kāñchī. At the time of the *kāvya* Maṇimekhalai, Kāñchī happened to be for some time the residence of the great Buddhist divine and teacher Aravaṇa Aḍigal, the highest authority in the Tamil land for the orthodox teaching of the Buddha. It is in connection with him that Kāñchī is brought into reference in Maṇimekhalai.

4. Maṇimekhalai, the heroine, was the daughter of a very comely dancing woman Mādhavi. She was the child of a rich merchant's son, who, owing to his devotion to Mādhavi, the mother, practically lost all his wealth, and, in a moment of contrition, resolved to go away from the place to Madura with a view to rehabilitating himself by setting up as a merchant there. His one difficulty was want of capital. His chaste wife, Kannahi, offered to part with the only one of her costly jewels yet left with her for the purpose. The husband and the wife started on their journey unknown to others of the family even and reached Madura. In an attempt to sell the jewel, he was shown

⁴ Epitaph on Malli Sena, Epi. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 186 and 189.
J. Bo. Br. R.A.S., XVIII, 213 ff.
Fleet—Bom. Gaz. I. ii., page 407.

up as being in possession of stolen property, and the jewel was readily taken to be that which the queen of Madura had lost recently. He was ordered to be put to death, and the jewel recovered, by the hasty monarch. The chaste wife called upon the gods to burn the city, and having got across the borders into the Chera country immolated herself. When news of this calamity reached Kāveripattinam, the courtesan, whose attachment to the young merchant was real, resigned herself to a life of repentance for her contribution to this tragedy, and her young beautiful daughter who had just attained the age of maturity, similarly resolved to become a Buddhist nun. The heir-apparent of the Chola ruler had already set his heart on her and attempted to take possession of her somehow, losing his life ultimately in the effort. Under the protection of her guardian-angel, the young woman passed through her trials successfully and received her initiation from Aravaṇa Aḍigal at Kānchī ultimately. In the course of these transactions she first of all went to a small island called Maṇipallavam near Ceylon where, on seeing a Buddha seat of miraculous power, she learnt the history of her previous life. She returned to Kāveripattinam and, on the advice of this Aravaṇa Aḍigal, she went on as a Buddhist novice for some time there. When the time had come for her to learn the heretical systems of religion before she was initiated into orthodox Buddhism, she proceeded to Vanji, the capital of the Cheras on the west coast. Learning all that the heretical teachers had to teach there, she ultimately came down to Kānchī, to which place Aravaṇa Aḍigal had already proceeded, because Kāveripattinam had been swallowed up by the sea. She was initiated into the orthodox teaching of the Buddha and entered the Buddhist order as a nun. That is the whole story of the *kāvya*. The work actually consists of thirty separate books, each one of the books or cantos dealing with

one incident in her life-story. There are three of such books devoted to her change of religion; book 27 gives an account of the various heretical systems that prevailed at the time and a summary of what each system had to teach. Book 29 deals with her initiation into the orthodox teaching of the Buddha. Book 30 just expounds that orthodox system.

5. In the canto expounding Buddhist logic (29) Aravaṇa Aḍigal starts with the statement that the great Jina was 'the first being' and he recognised only two *pramāṇas*, namely, *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna*. Other *pramāṇas* or instruments of knowledge are not valid according to him. This position is taken to be the general characteristic of Buddhism in later periods of history.⁵ But the point here is that it seems to refer to the existence and recognition in other systems of the other *pramāṇas* and a critical attitude by which the rest are actually rejected as being included in the second. It is this particular attitude that is of value from the chronological point of view. Aravaṇa Aḍigal actually teaches this as the

⁵ A discussion was raised on this particular point by Professor Kuppuswami Sastri of Madras and Professor Adhikari of Benares that all Bauddhas accepted only two *pramāṇas*, and this particular point therefore cannot be of assistance from the point of view of chronology. The chronological importance of this particular point consists in this. There is a clear statement in the chapter on the instruments of knowledge as accepted by the Bauddhas that there were other *pramāṇas* which were rejected by the Bauddhas as being included, or at least capable of being included, in *Anumāna* itself. What were the other *pramāṇas* considered and rejected, would be a matter of interest and even of chronological value. The statement that there were ten *pramāṇas* recognised by Vyāsa, eight by Kṛtakoti and six by Jaimini, and their rejection are involved actually in this statement. Diñnāga is stated to have definitely rejected *Sabda* and *Anumāna* as invalid. But here is a statement that all the others of the category, even of ten, are not exactly rejected but are regarded as superfluous, which may be an indication that Aravaṇa Aḍigal taught before Diñnāga, and after Kṛtakoti, the Vṛttikāra.

orthodox method according to the teaching of the Buddha himself and of nobody else. These, as far as we know, are the only two *pramāṇas* recognised by the Buddhist logician Diñnāga whose date may now be taken to be A.D. 400. If Aravaṇa Aḍigal came after Diñnāga, one may expect him to quote the authority of the great logician. The fact that he does not do so, and refers back to the actual teaching of the Buddha himself, may be taken to be evidence that this saint represents a school of teaching anterior to Diñnāga. Diñnāga, it will be remembered, came from Kānchī, and according to Hiuen Tsang he belonged to the Simhavaktra part of the city of Kānchī. The place where Aravaṇa Aḍigal taught was similarly a suburb of Kānchī at the time. The presumption, therefore, is that there was a school at Kānchī which taught this system of logic, and of which perhaps the most shining exponent was Diñnāga. Is this position that Aravaṇa Aḍigal was a predecessor of Diñnāga sustainable on the basis of the age of the Maṇimekhalai itself?

6. The *kāvya* Maṇimekhalai is, in its subject-matter, a continuation of the narrative of the Śīlappadhikāram, as has been pointed out already. In the poems constituting the prologues and the epilogues of the work, there are references, clear and unmistakable, that the authors intended that the two books should constitute a single poem. Either poem without the other will not constitute a full epic. The authors were friends, according to Tamil tradition, and Iḷango Aḍigal, an ascetic prince, the author of the first, at any rate, refers to the author of the other poem, the grain merchant Śittalai Śāttan of Madura, in the body of his work more than once. The former was a Chera prince, and the latter was a grain merchant of Madura. Śāttan's name figures among the forty-nine names constituting the third academy of Madura as handed down in Tamil literary tradition. The two works,

therefore, must be regarded as works contemporary with the Śāṅgam on this basis alone, and, as a consequence, whatever was the age of the Śāṅgam, must be the period when these works were produced. A body like the Śāṅgam could have existed for generations. There is clear evidence of a brilliant epoch, the works produced in which constitute more or less the whole body of literature known as Śāṅgam works now. That they were works of a single epoch can be proved by the internal evidence of that literature as a whole.

7. In the whole of this work there are references to Buddhism and incidents connected with Buddhist teaching. In none of these contexts do we find any allusion to the teaching of the Mādhyamika school or to its prominent exponents Nāgārjuna and Deva. Nāgārjuna and Deva are now recognised to have lived before A.D. 250, and the former is stated in Chinese authorities to have been a contemporary of a Śātavāhana ruler, a statement which clearly fixes them to a period somewhat anterior to A.D. 250. How is this omission to be explained? In the exposition of the various existing systems, heretical and other, this system would have found mention if Aravaṇa Aḍigal was opposed to it. But since Śāttan, the author, omits to mention the system prevailing in Ceylon, the same reason may have led him to omit the Mādhyamika system as well. But there is this to be said against such an assumption. The Mādhyamika system seems to have been a system hostile to orthodox Buddhism at the time, and in the Buddhist tradition of Ceylon reference is made to prominent incidents, by way of disputation. Deva and Nāgārjuna came into contact actually in that manner, before the former adopted the actual teaching of the latter. Having regard to the great importance of the departure made by Nāgārjuna, the omission may well be interpreted as due to non-existence; in other words, as due to Aravaṇa Aḍigal having

taught earlier than Nāgārjuna in the Tamil country. Ceylon was not altogether unknown in this work. Maṇimekhalai went to the island of Maṇipallavam near Ceylon, and there is reference to the footprints of the Buddha on the Samantakūṭa in Ratnadvīpa, as it is called, certainly one part of Ceylon. The absence of omission of the teaching of the Buddha and Buddhist divines living in the island may be because Aravaṇa Aḍigal may have regarded himself as belonging to the same school of orthodox teaching of the Sthaviravāda (Theravāda). The only alternative conclusion seems to be to say that the author was unaware of the existence of Buddhism in Ceylon, or that Buddhism did not exist in Ceylon, either of which would be too much to prove.

8. At the very commencement of the book dealing with heretical systems, the Vaidika *pramāṇas* are described, and reference is made to three teachers of these—Vedavyāsa, Kṛtakoti, and Jaimini. To these are ascribed the acceptance of ten, eight and six *pramāṇas*, respectively. The discussion winds up with the statement that the systems recognised at the time were only the well-known six, *Lokāyata*, *Bauddha*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Naiyāyika*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Mīmāṃsā*. The respective teachers of these are recited as Bṛhaspati, Jina, Kapila, Akshapāda, Kaṇāda, and Jaimini; and the recognised *pramāṇas* at the time are given as *pratyaksha*, *anumāna*, *śabda*, *upamāna*, *arthāpatti* and *abhāva*. It must be noted here that in this recital *Mīmāṃsā* is given as a single system.

Two other peculiarities must also be noted here. Among the six systems, which according to the Maṇimekhalai include *Lokāyata* and *Bauddha*, and to which the six Vaidika *pramāṇas* are applicable, will be noted the omission of two of the well-known six systems of Hindu philosophy as distinct from the non-Brahmanical systems. They are the Yoga system of Patañjali and the Vedānta

of Vyāsa. Excluding, therefore, the two non-Brahmanical systems, and including the two above-mentioned, we get the six orthodox systems of philosophy, accepted ordinarily as such up to the days perhaps of Śaṅkarāchārya. The Sarva-siddhānta-saṁgraha ascribed to Śaṅkarāchārya mentions these six⁶ systems as *Vaidika* in point of character. It, therefore, is noteworthy that the Maṇimekhalai, in the first place, should exclude Yoga and Vedānta and in the second place, that it should include *Lokāyata* and *Bauddha* among these systems. The Sarva-siddhānta-saṁgraha referred to above specifically mentions the *Lokāyata* of Bṛhaspati, *Ārhata* and *Bauddha* systems as opposed to the Veda, and as such hostile.⁷ They have according to him, therefore, to be refuted by general principles of reasoning (*yukti*) as the authority of the Veda is inapplicable. In the light of this, the orthodox idea regarding these systems, it is remarkable that a professed Buddhist should include the *Bauddha* system among those to which the *Vaidika pramāṇas* are applicable. That is not all; he also includes the ostensibly atheistic *Lokāyata* in the group, and follows it up by a clear statement that these six *pramāṇas* are those in use at the time when he was writing. The only possible explanation for this seems to be that the work was written at a time when the newly formulated instruments of knowledge by Bodhāyana were still in vogue, that even systems outside of the Veda like that of the *Lokāyata* and *Bauddha* were tested by the same kind of an organon as the more orthodox systems, and before they narrowed themselves down to only a few of these *pramāṇas* as being applicable to their own particular system. The *Lokāyata* confined itself to *Pratyaksha* and nothing else, notwithstanding the

⁶ Sarva-siddhānta-saṁgraha, Introductory Chapter, Sl. 13.

⁷ Ibid., Śloka 14.

fact that *Anumāna* was unconsciously accepted also as a means of knowledge; and the *Bauddha* had limited itself to only two, *Pratyaksha* and *Anumāna*. One other matter of consequence here is that the six recited do not include *Ārḥata*, the system of the Jainas, which is dealt with separately as an independent system among those considered heretical by the Buddhists. It is discussed under the name *Nirgrantha* (*Nikaṇḍa*).

While at this subject we may as well note down the systems passed in review in this chapter of Maṇimekhalai. They are (1) *Vaidika*, (2) *Śaiva*, (3) *Brahmavāda*, (4) *Vaiṣṇava*, (5) *Veda*, (6) *Ājīvaka*, (7) *Nirgrantha*, (8) *Sāṅkhya*, (9) *Vaiśeshika*, and (10) *Bhūta*. Though some of these may seem at first sight to be repetitions, there are minute differences between them noted, and therefore there was some justification for regarding them as separate systems. All these are not included in the sixteen systems discussed in the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* of Mādhavāchārya, much less in the eleven systems included in the *Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha* of Śaṅkarāchārya. There is a set of twelve systems recited in the *Vijñāna-mātra Śāstra*, which is according to Professor Teitaro Suzuki of a somewhat later date than *Aśvagosa*.⁸ They are (1) *Sāṅkhya*, (2) *Vaiśeshika*, (3) *Māheśvara* (as the Creator), (4) *Mahā Brahma* (Brahma, as the Creator), (5) *Kāla* (Time as the Creator), (6) *Space* (as the Creator), (7) *Water* (as the Creator), (8) *World* (self-created), (9) the *Quarters* (as Creator), (10) *Ego* (the principle of existence), (11) *Śabda* (immortal sound, regarded as equivalent to the *Mīmāṃsā*) and (12) *Lokāyatika*. In addition to these twelve, the same Buddhist work recites the six well-known heretical teachers from the point of view of Buddhism, (1) *Pūraṇa Kaśyapa*, (2) *Markali Gosāla*, (3) *San-*

⁸ *Aśvagosa's 'Awakening of the Faith,'* p. 110.

jaya Belatṭi-Putta, (4) Ajitakeśakambalin, (5) Kakuda Kātyāyana and (6) Nirgrantha Jñātiputra. Out of this list of eighteen in the Vijñānamātra Śāstra, it is only two which are specifically recited in the Maṇimekhalai that are not discoverable, *viz.*, the fourth; Vaishṇava and possibly the fifth, the Veda pure and simple, unless it is equated with (11) Śabda of this system. A comparison, therefore, of these systems may lead to the inference that the Maṇimekhalai was probably written in the same atmosphere of Buddhism as perhaps that of the writer of the Vijñānamātra Śāstra.

The mention of the three Vaidika schools of *Pramāṇa*, and their teachers Vedavyāsa, Kṛtakoti and Jaimini brings to our notice a point of great importance. That Jaimini is the teacher of Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Vyāsa is the teacher and expounder of Uttaramīmāṃsā are well known. Kṛtakoti is hardly known. Kṛtakoti, however, seems to be the name of a work rather than that of the author,⁹ and is said to be a commentary on the whole of the Mīmāṃsā including the two divisions, *Pūroa* and *Uttara*. These two together are said to have consisted of twenty books, of which the first sixteen deal with *Pūroa*, and the remaining four with *Uttara* Mīmāṃsā. The Pūrvamīmāṃsā of twelve chapters is ascribed to Jaimini

⁹ It was pointed out at the Conference by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, B.A., Research Student from Madras, that on a consultation of four manuscripts in comparison with the published texts, the name Kṛtakoti appears as that of an individual and not of a work. The position here taken however is not affected by this correction if this correction should turn out to be the true reading. If Kṛtakoti were the name of the work, the author could very well be referred to by the name of the work if it is of sufficient importance to be well-known. The point of importance here is that Bodhāyana and Upavarsha were two different persons, and that Bodhāyana wrote the commentary (Vṛtti) on the whole of the Mīmāṃsā, and perhaps came to be known as Kṛtakoti thereby.

and is an investigation into ' *dharma* ' for its subject. Of the remaining chapters, the four last are entitled Uttara and ascribed to Vyāsa and their subject-matter is an enquiry into ' *Brahma*.' The remaining four chapters called Saṅkarsha Kāṇḍa deal with the Devatās and are usually included in the Pūrva. The whole of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra composed of twenty chapters had a *bhāṣya* or commentary written by Bodhāyana, and known by the name Kṛtakoti. Owing to the vast extent of this, a slight abridgment of this commentary was made by Upavarsha who had another name Kṛtakotikavi according to a work Saṁyamināmamālā.¹⁰ Even that was found too big for the ordinary understanding, and the part of sixteen books of it constituting the Pūrvamīmāṃsā was further abridged by Devasvāmi. Thereafter the subject divides itself into two distinct works, Pūrva and Uttara, and they get further abridged by various commentators by retaining certain chapters and omitting others up to the time of Bhāṭṭakumārila and Prabhākara. This account of the Mīmāṃsā is given in a work called Prapañchahr̥daya published in the Travancore Sanskrit Series by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Hence for our present purpose, Kṛtakoti is a commentary on the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra including the two divisions, Dharmakhaṇḍa and Brahmakhaṇḍa. The author of this elaborate commentary was Bodhāyana, otherwise known generally as Vṛttikāra. This author was earlier than Upavarsha, Devasvāmi, Bhavadāsa, Śabarāsvāmi and onwards to Bhāṭṭakumārila and Prabhākara. The commentators following Upavarsha seem to have been responsible for the division of the work into two distinct parts Dharmakhaṇḍa and Brahmakhaṇḍa, and since then the two parts seem to have been maintained so distinctly as ultimately to give the character of distinct Śāstras to the

¹⁰ Manuscript in the Tanjore Palace Library.

two divisions. Maṇimekhalai, it must be remembered, refers to Kṛtakoti as a teacher along with Jaimini and Vedavyāsa. According to the Prapañchahr̥daya, the Dharmakhaṇḍa or Pūrvamīmāṃsā is ascribed to Jaimini, Brahmakhaṇḍa or Uttaramīmāṃsā to Vedavyāsa. Bodhāyana, however, compiled a commentary on the whole of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra, both Pūrvā and Uttara Khaṇḍas. The collocation of the three names therefore is not in reference to distinct works, but seems to have reference to the distinctly authoritative position of the teachers. It must, therefore, have reference to a time when the authority of the commentator was at its highest, and stood as high as that of the two respective authors. If we should now, therefore, determine the date of Bodhāyana and Upavarsha, that might throw some light upon the age of the Maṇimekhalai. Bodhāyana was certainly anterior to Upavarsha. Upavarsha preceded Devasvāmi; Devasvāmi was followed by Bhavadāsa, Bhavadāsa was followed by Śabarasvāmi. Bodhāyana's date may be somewhere about the commencement of the Christian era, and Maṇimekhalai may have followed close upon that, in the first or second century A.D., on this basis. It is the general opinion that the Vṛttikāra, Bodhāyana as he now turns out to be, was responsible for the introduction into the Mīmāṃsā, discussions on the validity of knowledge, and that is what exactly is the position in which he is represented in the Maṇimekhalai, although the Tamil classic associates Jaimini and Vedavyāsa with him in the exposition of the *pramāṇas* applicable to the Vaidika path.¹¹

9. This book again refers to the teaching of the Ājivakas and Nirgranthas. The point worth remarking

¹¹ For the whole of this discussion see a note by Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. V, pt. i, p. 107 ff. On p. 114 of this article he notes evidence for regarding Upavarsha as distinct from Āchārya Bodhāyana.

in the reference to these two systems is in that they are, in this work, regarded as distinct systems not connected with each other. The Ājīvaka teacher is made to say that Markali was the worshipful one and that their holy book was a work known as Navakadir. Later Tamil writers on religious topics take it generally that the teachings of the two were divisions of Jainism.¹² The confusion between an Ājīvaka and a Jaina is as old as the Divyāvadāna itself.¹³ Maṇimekhalai maintains their distinct character. Even before the date of Sivaññāna Siddhi inscriptions refer to a tax in the Tamil country called Ājīvaka *Kāśu*, and that is supposed to have been levied for the benefit of Jaina settlements. The reference, therefore, to Ājīvaka as a separate sect distinct from and independent of Jainism is evidence of a time for Maṇimekhalai when their distinct character was fully recognised.

10. The story of the poem is laid at Puhār or Kāveripaṭṭinam at the mouth of the Kāveri. In the course of the story the city is said to have been overwhelmed by the sea, and some of the more important citizens removed themselves from the place for safety to other places such as Vanji on the west coast and Kānchī in the north. Thereafter Uṇaiyūr continued to be the capital, and references to the Chola capital are invariably to this latter city. This transformation is traceable even in the Śāṅgam literature itself. The Śirupāṇāṇṇupaḍai, a poem included in the Śāṅgam collection and having reference to a chief in the region not far from Kānchī, speaking of the respective capitals of 'the three crowned kings' of the south mentions only Uṇaiyūr as the Chola capital and has no reference

¹² Sivaññāna Siddhiyār, the first verse in the Ājīvaka Section (X).

¹³ B. M. Barua—Ājīvakas, part i, p. 75.

whatsoever to Puhār. The occasion for reference, it must be remembered, is merely to indicate that in comparison with the capital of the patron of that particular poem, these far-famed royal capitals themselves were poor. If Puhār had not suffered badly, this omission in that particular context would be altogether inexplicable. The book therefore has reference to a period of time somewhat earlier in the epoch of the Śāṅgam than the very last period to which this poem may be referred. The existence of that chieftain in the country round Kānchī with his important cities scattered all over the region known in historical times as Tonḍamaṇḍalam and Perumbāṇappāḍi, and the reference to the royal capitals of 'the three crowned kings' in an unfavourable comparison is again indication of an age when the kingdoms had declined visibly and the chieftains were coming into prominence. This happens in a region where the Pallavas held supreme authority from somewhere about the middle of the third century onwards to almost the tenth century.

11. The ruler contemporary with Maṇimekhalai in Kāveripattinam is known by the title Neḍumuḍi Kiḷḷi, 'Kiḷḷi of the high crown,' and was the successor apparently of the great Chola Karikāla. His son by a Nāga princess was the Tonḍaimān ruler, Iḷam Tiraiyan, associated with Kānchī. Iḷam Tiraiyan seems to be a Śāṅgam celebrity. He is praised as a patron in one of the Śāṅgam poems, Perumbāṇāṟrupaḍai, the author of which composed another poem in celebration of the great Chola ruler Karikāla, so that it is clear that he and Karikāla must have been famous within the lifetime of one poet, although it is possible that the poet lived on to a ripe old age. Kānchī was at the time of the Maṇimekhalai under the viceroyalty of the Chola prince Iḷam Kiḷḷi, the younger brother of the ruler at Puhār. This younger brother won for the Chola king, his elder brother, a victory at a place

called Kāriyāru, against the combined armies of the Chera and the Pāṇḍya. The identification of this river Kāri has so far not been satisfactorily made. It is now possible to identify it rather closely. The learned Editor of the work, Pandit Māh. Swaminatha Aiyar, has drawn attention to the occurrence of the name in a slightly different form in the Periya Purāṇam.¹⁴ He also draws attention to the reference that a Chola king is said to have died at Kāriyāru.¹⁵ Later references make it clear that the Kāri referred to is a river, and if a Chola king probably died there, the reference is to his falling in battle on the banks of the river. The text states that the prince after the battle carried off a white umbrella, the symbol of protection that the king gave to his subjects. The victory is said to have been won against those with the emblem of the bow and the fish, meaning thereby the Chera and the Pāṇḍya.

12. - The Pāṇḍya seem to have been only an accessory: the Chera must have been the principal enemy. During the period of the works under reference the ruling Chera was Śenguṭṭuvan by name. His predecessor had extended his authority across the middle of the Peninsula, comprising the Coimbatore and Salem districts, and had through the assistance of the Malayaman chieftain defeated the chief Ori in the region of the Kollimalais¹⁶ in the Salem district, and is said to have consummated this victorious expansion of his territory and authority by celebrating an *abhisheka* of his in which he was able to bathe simultaneously in the waters of the two seas, the eastern and the western. This statement is explained by the fact that he celebrated a great *abhisheka* or royal ablution by bringing the water

¹⁴ Periya Purāṇam—Tirunavukkerasu-Nāyanār Purāṇam, Stanza 343.

¹⁵ Puṇṇānūru, 47; Maṇimekhalai, Canto 19, 126-127.

¹⁶ Aham, 209 and Poems referring to Kāri and Ori.

of the two seas by means of relays of elephants.¹⁷ Under his successor, Śenguṭṭuvan, the effort at expansion continued, and the opportunity was given by a great civil war that took place in the Chola territory between the ruling Chola and nine of his cousins, who simultaneously revolted against the succession of, it may be, Neḍumuḍi Kiḷli Śenguṭṭuvan reduced the rebels to subjection and restored his cousin the Chola to a position of authority as a result of this victory. The victory was achieved at a place called Nerivāyil not far from Uṟaiyūr the capital.¹⁸ Śenguṭṭuvan therefore had advanced so far as that. It was probably on a subsequent occasion that the Chola ruler's brother Iḷam Kiḷli of Kānchī gained a victory over the combined armies of the Chera and the Pāṇḍya at Kāriyāru. The territory between the two Pennars almost was included in the region generally known as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which at one time was also called Perumbāṇappāḍi, the region of the Bṛhad Bāṇa. Over a considerable part of this region ruled the Malayaman chieftain Kāri with his capital at Tirukkovilūr at this period. North of this territory was Toṇḍamaṇḍalam proper with its headquarters at Kānchī. The territory of the Tīraiyan chief extended northwards to include the Pulicat Lake within it and possibly the northern boundary was marked by the Svarnamukhi river which empties itself into the Bay of Bengal a little to the north of the Pulicat Lake. Pavat-tiri was the capital of an elder Tīraiyan, and Vengadam is generally spoken of as the hill of the Toṇḍaiyar.¹⁹ So the region properly belonging to the Toṇḍaiyar must have been actually to the northward of Kānchī, Kānchī being included within it. The viceroyalty of Kānchī therefore

¹⁷ Padirūppattu, iii; Padigam, 2.

¹⁸ Śilappadhikāraṁ, Book 28.a 117-17. Padirūppattu V.

¹⁹ Aham, 85, 213, 340.

extended as far north as Tirupati and Kālahasti. That is the course of the Svarnamukhi river if it did not go farther north to include the Gūḍūr Taluq within it. The war, therefore, must have taken place, it may be, by the activity of the people of Toṇḍaiyar supported by the Chera and the Pāṇḍya, the natural enemies of the Cholas, as it were, or it may be to settle the point of rivalry between the Malayaman chief and the Chola viceroy. This Kāriyāru, where the battle was fought, is now identifiable with some degree of certainty with a stream which passes through the railway station of Sūlūrpet, and empties itself into the Pulicat Lake. Through most of its course, this river constitutes a twin stream, both of them taking their rise in the Nagari hills, one in the western group called Kalingi on the survey map, and the other taking its rise in the eastern group which is named on the larger maps as Kāleru. The two unite a little way down Sūlūrpet, and the united stream empties itself into the Pulicat Lake. The name Kāleru now seems to be the name Kāri of old.²⁰ There is a place called Rāmagiri some distance from the source of the Kāleru stream in the eastern spurs of the Nagari hills, somewhere to the north of Satyaveḍu. The Śiva temple in the village goes by the name Vāliśvaram described in the records of the Chola and early Vijayanagar periods as the temple of Kārikkarai Uḍaiya Nāyanār, that is, the Lord of the place Kārikkarai. Kārikkarai by itself would mean the bank of the Kāri. The Periya Purāṇam in the context already noted above, refers to this temple where Appar or Tirunāvukkarasu (Vāgiśvara in Sanskrit) is said to have worshipped. In describing the life of this devotee of Śiva, he is said to have gone to the great temple at Tiruvālangāḍu near Arkonam, then

²⁰ Kāleru = Kāla + eru; the second word is river in Telugu. The first word would mean black which is the meaning of the Tamil word Kāri = Krishna in Sanskrit.

to Trippāśur near Tiruvallūr, and then travelled a great distance crossing hills and streams till at last he came to Tirukkārikarai. After worshipping Śiva there, he reached in the next stage of his pilgrimage Kālahasti. Vālīśvaram at Rāmagiri answers to the Kārikkarai of this itinerary very closely, and as the writer of the *Periya Purāṇam*, the Life of the Śaiva Saints, lived in the period of the Cholas, the reference in the work may be regarded as relating to the period of the inscriptions. The tradition that Appar travelled in the seventh century along this line to various temples referred to above is an indication that the seventh century tradition knew of this Kārikkarai. The name could not have come into use all of a sudden in the seventh century seeing that it is the name of a minor natural feature, that of a river. The temple on its bank may have come into existence at any time, but the river must have been there. Therefore we may take it that this is the stream referred to as the battlefield where the Chola fought against the Chera and the Pāṇḍya combined. This finds support in the fact that the territory and towns much farther north were included in the Tamil land of the Toṇḍamān or Tiṟaiyan chieftains, and in the inscriptions of the Chola period there is mention of a place called Kākaṇḍi described as having been situated in the district of Pavattiri, which became submerged in the sea. Kākaṇḍi is another name for Kāveripattinam, derived from a ruler Kakaṇḍa,²¹ and if this northern city took its name from that, the capital city of the Cholas, that region must have been under the authority of the Cholas. Kāriyāru may, therefore, be now definitely taken to be the eastern of the twin streams forming the river Kāḷingi which flows into the Pulicat Lake as one stream.

²¹ Maṇimekhalai, XXII, 25-38.

13. From what has been said in the section above of the battle fought on the banks of the river Kāri, it is likely that the period referred to was the period of the ascendancy of Senguttavan Chera in the south, and that is the later period of the greatest activity of the Third Tamil Śāṅgam. The advance of the Chera and the Pāṇḍya so far north, it would be difficult to postulate at any other period subsequent to A.D. 300, as afterwards the region was dominated by the Pallavas who were a comparatively minor, though considerable, power up to the middle of the sixth century. From the beginning of that century, they were rapidly coming into great importance, so much so that at the end of it they stood out the dominant power in South India. The Chola country had been reduced more or less to comparative insignificance, Pallava authority being recognised as far south as the Kāveri early in the following century. The Pallavas maintained their dominance till about the tenth century, and the powers with whom these had to contend in the particular region indicated were the Chālukyas, western and eastern, and when the western Chālukyas were overthrown, the Rāshtrakūṭas. The likely period of battle between the actual contending parties in this battle seems almost impossible after A.D. 300 in our present state of knowledge of South Indian history.

14. Before concluding, however, it may be as well to invite attention to one or two other points which have been made use of as decisive factors in settling the chronology of the work. One of these is the astronomical detail in the work which refers to the *Nakshatra Viśākha* as the fourteenth. This implies the counting of the *Nakshatra* from the *Kṛttikā* as the starting point. If this detail were taken bodily from the old Buddhist tradition as the reference is merely to the date of the birth of the Buddha, at which there was to be the miraculous ap-

pearance of his begging bowl also, nothing could be argued from this. But in regard to the chronology of the work, such tradition may have been centuries older. There is nothing, however, to show that it was so copied from an older tradition. There is a reference to Kuchchara-Kuḍikai.²² This is an exact equivalent of the Sanskrit Gurjara Guṭikā. The philological equivalence is absolutely sound; but the argument built upon it involves other assumptions which cannot yet be taken to be established beyond doubt. The mention of the term Gurjara there is taken to involve the assumption that the Gurjaras must have constructed a structure. I am aware of the tradition among the Gurjaras themselves that they were expert builders as noted by the late Mr. Jackson.²³ Among the skilled artisans who are referred to in the same work as having been employed in the building of the royal hall of Kāveripaṭṭinam, the Gurjaras do not find mention. The Magadhas, the Mahrattas, the Avantis²⁴ and the Yavanas are said to have co-operated with the artisans of the Tamil land in the construction of this great audience hall. While therefore the philological equivalence may be admitted as quite correct, that is not the only possible equivalent for the term. The term is used there to indicate a small shrine of the guardian-deity of Kāveripaṭṭinam, called Champāpati. The term *Guṭikā* does not necessarily imply that it was anything like a big structure or temple. The fact seems to be that it was a cave with a small awning in front in lieu of a verandah (this is the kind of

²² Canto 18, line 152, Maṇimekhalai.

²³ See Appendix A, Bom. Gaz., I, pt. i, note.

²⁴ In a more elaborate recital, we have the Magadhas as jewel-workers; Yavanas as carpenters; Avantis as blacksmiths; Kośalas as painters; and Vatsas as stucco-workers; and there is another people, the name of which is gone, described as goldsmiths. None of these come anywhere near the Gurjaras.

structure that was among the earliest known in South India) which could in Tamil be described as a *Kuchchara-Kudikai*, which would mean nothing more than a small shrine with short rafters and roofed with thatch of some kind. Further, the thesis that the Gurjaras were foreigners and were unknown in India before the Hun invasions is a thesis which has yet to be proved. The connection between the Huns and the Gurjaras has no legs to stand upon worth the name, and their ethnical connection seems altogether unprovable. The matter will have to be taken up for separate investigation, and the matter stands at present, like so many other dynastic names. The term Gurjara is a native word which has been Sanskritised somewhat absurdly, and an origin devised to explain the absurd Sanskritisation as in the case of the Pallava, Chālukya, Hoysāla and so on. It seems, therefore, clear, that it would be putting the cart before the horse to hold this detail as a decisive indication of the age, and of a weight sufficient to overthrow the whole volume of evidence set forth above. From the chronological point of view, therefore, Maṇimekhalai must be regarded as a work of the first two centuries of the Christian era, and the School of Buddhism referred to therein, presided over by Aravaṇa Aḍigal, must have been a school of that age, or anterior to that. Hence the conclusion seems reasonable that the system of Buddhist logic taught by Aravaṇa Aḍigal was the system that found its shining exponent in the famous Buddhist logician, Dinnāga, in his work *Pramāṇa Samuchchaya* and elaborated by his commentator Dharmakīrti.

15. This conclusion is confirmed in a way much more definitely than by any other piece of evidence hitherto discussed in the work itself. In Chapter XXIX where Aravaṇa Aḍigal discusses the instruments of knowledge by which knowledge or truth has to be acquired he gives the

five-limbed syllogism of *Akṣhapāda* and *Vātsīyāna* as the accepted method of approach. Though there is perhaps later on an indication that these five may be reducible to three, he teaches the five-limbed syllogism as the current method of approach. It is well known that Diṇnāga it was that reduced the five-limbed syllogism of *Akṣhapāda* and *Vātsīyāna* to the three-limbed syllogism of Aristotle. The other distinctive features of Diṇnāga's logic seem also to find their root here, but will receive fuller treatment elsewhere. What has been said above gives a clear enough indication that the school of Buddhism, at the head of which stood Aravaṇa Aḍigal, was anterior to that of Diṇnāga whose date is now generally accepted as in the fourth century A.D., say, roughly about A.D. 400.

THE CATUḤŚATAKA OF ĀRYADEVA

WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMENTARY OF CANDRAKĪRTTI
RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE TIBETAN VERSION
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CHAPTER VII

BY

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati, Santiniketan.

INTRODUCTORY.

Āryadeva is one of the greatest teachers of Buddhism and how deeply the people venerated him is clearly shown by the epithet *ācārya* (Tib. *slob dpon*) used by such an author as Candrakīrtti, a great master of the Prāsāṅgika school and the celebrated writer of the commentary, *Prasannapadā*, on the *Mūla-madhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna. The most important work by Āryadeva is the *Catuḥśatakaśāstra* or *Catuḥśataka* as it is generally known. It is a treatise of the Mādhyamika school. As the name itself implies, it is composed of four hundred *kārikās* or verses divided into sixteen *prakaraṇas* or chapters, each of them consisting of twenty five *kārikās*. Unfortunately the original Sanskrit text is not yet found in its entirety, the only remains being some fragments discovered and edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 449-514, to whom every lover of philosophy is grateful. Candrakīrtti wrote a commentary on this work, but this too, in its original Sanskrit version is

perhaps lost for ever excepting the portion published with the text in the fragments referred to above.

Out of a total of 400 kārīkās of the *Catuhśataka* we have now only $131\frac{1}{4}$ in the fragments and $10\frac{1}{4}$ traced as quotations in the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrtti, i.e., $141\frac{1}{2}$ in all. Thus $258\frac{1}{2}$ kārīkās are lost to us. And we should try to reconstruct them, if possible.

Now, the last eight chapters (IX-XVI) of the book were translated by Huen-tsang into Chinese and there is a commentary on these chapters by Dharmapāla. Prof. Dr. G. Tucci of the University of Rome (now in the Visvabharati at Santiniketan) has brought out an Italian translation of this Chinese version together with the Chinese text.¹

The entire work together with the commentary by Candrakīrtti is, however, to be found only in the Tibetan, the text and the commentary being translated into it by an Indian scholar, Paṇḍita Sūkṣmajñāna and a Tibetan scholar, Bhikṣu Sūryakīrtti (Dge sloṅ ṅi ma grogs).

In a volume ² published in 1923 Prof. P. L. Vaidya of Wellington College, Sangli (Bombay), has reconstructed in Sanskrit the lost kārīkās in the Chapters VIII-XVI, and translated them into French together with those found in the fragments and the *Prasannapadā*. His work is, however, marred by many inaccuracies. The present writer has discussed it fully and has reconstructed again almost all the kārīkās of the Chapters VIII-XVI. He thinks that it is only by such discussion that one may hope to get back some day the actual readings of the lost kārīkās. The work is in the press.

¹ *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. X.

² *Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuhśataka*, Chapitres, VIII-XVI.

The only possible way for carrying on the work is to translate the book into Sanskrit mainly from the Tibetan version. Of course, the Chinese version will help much. Scholars know how literal and in most cases faithful a Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit work is. Indeed, it is wonderful and the Tibetan translators have made the impossible possible in rendering Sanskrit books so faithfully and literally into a language which belongs to an entirely different family. Chinese translations are, however, not so accurate, for generally they are very figurative or explanatory, and as such cannot be relied upon so much as the Tibetan with regard to their power of suggesting the actual Sanskrit readings.

In the present paper I propose to reconstruct in Sanskrit the lost kārīkās of the seventh chapter of the *Catuhśatakaśāstra* from its Tibetan version and to edit the full Tibetan text of that chapter together with all existing original kārīkās giving copious extracts in Tibetan from Candrakīrti's commentary followed by its Sanskrit translation by me. There will also be given at the end an English translation of the text.

In preparing this edition I have used two Xylographs (*Tanjur*, Mdo, Tsha and Ya) of the Narthang edition belonging to the Visvabharati Library, one of the *Catuhśataka* itself and the other of the *Catuhśatakavṛtti* in which all the kārīkās of the former are quoted in toto.

The following abbreviations are used in the paper :

CS = *Catuhśataka*.

CSV = *Catuhśatakavṛtti*.

HPS = Mahāmahopādhyaya Haraprasad Shastri or his *Catuhśatikā* in the *Memoirs of the A.S.B.*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 449-514.

X=Xylograph.

Xx=Xylographs.

* An asterisk put before a kārikā indicates that it is an original kārikā, *not* reconstructed.

* — * Words put between two asterisks in a kārikā imply that the kārikā is a reconstructed one excepting only those words.

TEXT.

[विषयसम्भोगाभिनिवेशप्रहाणोपायसन्दर्शनम् ।]

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མཚན་གསལ་བྱེད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཀློང་གི་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྩིས་ཤིང་གི་ཉེས་དམིགས་བརྟན་པས་དེ་ལ་སྦྱོར་བ་བསྐྱེད་པར་བྱ་བའི་དོན་དུ་ལས་དག་སྤྲོད་པའི་ཐབས་བརྗོད་པར་འདོད་པས་བཤད་པ།

—क्षेत्रप्रहाणीपाय उक्तः । साम्प्रतं संसारदोषोपलम्भसन्दर्शनेन तत्रो-
त्पाद्योद्देगार्थं कर्मप्रहाणीपायकथनकाम आह—

སྒྲུབ་བསྐྱེད་བྱ་མཆོ་འདི་ལ་མཐའ།

ནམ་པར་ཀུན་དུ་ཡོད་མིན་ན།

གྱིས་བྱོད་འདིར་ནི་བྱོང་བ་ལ།

འཛིགས་པ་ཅིས་ན་སྒྲེ་མི་འགུར ༥ ༡ ༥¹

अस्य दुःखसमुद्रस्य सर्वथान्तो न विद्यते ।

निमग्नस्येह वासस्य भौतिस्ते किं न जायते ॥ १ ॥

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osv: འདིར་སྐྱུ་ས་པ། ལང་ཚོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྐྱུགས་པ་དག་གིས་ཀུན་
 ཏུ་སྒྲིངས་པ་ལ་འཁོར་བས་འཛིགས་པ་མི་འབྱུང་ངོ་ ༥ བཤད་པར་བྱ་ཞེ།

¹ In *b* X of CSV adds *han* after *tu* omitting *na* at the end. In *c* it has *byed* for *byin* supported by the commentary itself.

² X wrongly *mtsho*.

=अत्राह । यौवनादिदर्पसम्भूतस्य संसाराद् भयं नोद्भवति । उच्यते—

ཡང་ཚེ་སྐབ་དུ་བྱུང་གུར་ནས།

སྤྱར་ཡང་མདུན་དུ་བྱུང་བར་འགུར།

གནས་ཀྱང་འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ལ་ནི།

འགྲོས་ཀྱི་འགྲན་པ་ལྟ་བུར་མངོན་॥ २ ॥¹

पश्चाद् यौवनमुत्पद्य पूर्वमुत्पद्यते पुनः ।

अस्मिँल्लोके स्थितिरपि गतिस्थर्धैव दृश्यते ॥ २ ॥

CSV: དེའི་ཡང་ཚེ་དེ་སྐབས་པ་མི་རིགས་སོ། སྤྱི་བ་དང་འཛི་བ་བཞིན་
དང་། འཁོར་ལོས་འཛིར་བར་བྱེད་པའི་གྲིབ་མ་བཞིན་ནོ། ། ཇི་ལྟར་སློབ་ཆགས་
ནས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བ་དང་འཛི་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་འགུར་ཞིང་མདུན་དུ་བྱུང་ནས་སྐབ་དུ་
འབྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡང་ཇི་ལྟར་ཁ་མཁན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་དེ་ལ་འཛིར་བ་ནས་ཀྱི་
གྲིབ་མ་མདུན་དུ་བྱུང་ནས་སྐབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡང་ཚེ་ཡང་ཡིན་ནོ། །

=तस्य यौवनदर्पो न युज्यते । जन्ममरणवत्, चक्रपीडकच्छायावच्च ।
यथा प्राणिनां जन्ममरणे परिवर्तमाने पूर्वं भूत्वा पश्चाद् भवतः, अपि च यथा
छिन्नवता चक्रेण तिलान् पीडयतां छाया पूर्वं भूत्वा पश्चाद् भवति, तथा
यौवनमपि भवति । .

As regards the *sthiti* of *yauvana*, etc., it vies with old age and death as to which of them would come first. So says the CSV :

¹ In c X of CS *an* for *ni* and *hdren* for *hgran* in *d*.

སྒྲིལ་ཞིང་མགོགས་པའི་བདག་ནི་སྒྲིལ་དུ་འོ་བདག་ནི་སྒྲིལ་དུ་འོ་སྒྲིལ་དུ་པན་
 ཚུན་འགོས་ལ་སྒྲིལ་ལས་དུ་འགོ་བ་ནས་ས་བཞིན་ནོ། དེ་ལྟར་ལང་ཚོ་ལ་
 སྒྲིགས་པ་ནས་ས་མི་གནས་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་དབྱུད་དེ།

= ॥ ५० ॥ अत्रोऽहं पूर्वमहं पूर्वमिति परस्परमाजौ साहसेन पथि
 गमनवत् । एवं यौवनादौनां स्थितिः परीक्षणीया ॥ २ ॥

In the Skt. text, *d*, I have translated the word *h̄gros* simply by *gati*. See *Sragdharāstotra*, Bibl. Ind., 1908, p. 53. Sarat Chandra Das explains it in his Dictionary saying "gait, manner of walking of men, horses, etc." Can it be translated here by *āji* 'running match,' 'race-course,' as I have done in the preceding paragraph?

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CSV: འདིར་སྒྲིལ་པ། འགོ་བའི་ཚོས་ཅན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་
 བཞིན་མི་བླ་བར་འགོ་བ་ཡོད་མོད་ཀྱི། དེ་ལྟར་ལང་དའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཡིན་པས་
 དེ་ལ་མི་འཇིགས་སོ། ། བཤད་པར་བྱ་ཏེ།

= अत्राह । यद्यपि गतिधर्मकत्वाल्लोकस्यावश्यमेव गतिल्लथापि स्वयं
 तस्य न तस्माद्भयम् । उच्यते—

སྒྲིད་པར་བྱོད་ལ་རང་འདོད་ཀྱིས།
 འགོ་བ་བཞུགས་ལང་ཡོད་མིན་ན།
 བཞུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་དང་འཇིགས་མེད་པར།
 རྒྱོད་དང་ལྟན་པ་སུ་ཞིག་འགྱུར། ॥ २ ॥¹

¹ In a X of CS *kyi* for *kyis*, and in b that of CSV *gzar* for *gtan*.

खेच्छया विद्यते नैव गतिरन्या भवे तव ।

परतन्मोऽपि निर्भीको भवेत् कः खलु बुद्धिमान् ॥ २ ॥

CSV : འཁོར་བ་ན་དྲུ་དེ་དང་དེར་འབྱམས་པ་ལ་རང་གི་འདོད་
པས་ལྷ་དང་མི་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འགྲོ་བར་འགྲོ་བ་ནས་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་ས་ཡོན་ནི།
ཡང་གང་ལ་རང་གི་འདོད་པས་དོར་ཞིང་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ས་ཡོན་པ་དེ་རང་དབང་
ས་ཡོན་པར་གྱུར་ནས། གལ་ཏེ་རང་དབང་ཅན་ལྟར་མི་འཛིགས་པར་འགྱུར་བ་
ན་ནི་དེ་ལས་ཆེས་མིངས་པ་གཞན་སྤྲུའི་གཞི་ཡོད་དེ། རྫོང་དང་ལྷན་པ་ནི་གཞན་
དབང་དྲུ་གྱུར་པ་དང་འཛིགས་པ་མེད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།

=संसारे नित्यं तत्र तत्र भ्रमतः खेच्छया देवमनुष्यादिषु गतिषु गमनं
कदापि न भवति । अपि च यः खेच्छया त्यक्त्वा न गच्छति स आत्मवशो न
भवति । यदि [पुनर्] आत्मवशवन् निर्भीको भवेत् तस्मान् मूढतरः कोऽन्यो
भवेत् । बुद्धिमान् हि परवशभूतो न निर्भीको भवति ॥ ३ ॥

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CSV : འདིར་བཤད་པ།

འཁོར་བར་འཁོར་བའི་སྤྱོ་བོ་ལ།

འགྲོ་གང་ལས་དབང་གིས་འགྱུར་བ།

དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཅི་ནས་འགྲོ་བར་ནི།

འགྱུར་བ་མིན་པར་ལས་བཅད་བྱ།

འདིར་སྤྲུས་པ། འདིའི་བདེ་བས་ཕྱོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་གཙོད་པར་མི་
ཁུས་ཀྱི། མ་འོངས་པའི་སྤྱོ་བ་ལ་ནི་སྤྱར་བར་བྱའོ། བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ།

OSV: ཇི་ལྟར་འདས་པའི་དུས་དོན་མེད་པར་སྐྱབས་བསྐྱེད་པས་འདས་པ་
དེ་བཞིན་དུ་མ་འོངས་པ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་མི་འགྱུར་བ་དེ་ལྟར་བྱོས་ཤིག་ཅེས་སྒྲུབ་
སོ། ། འདིར་བཤད་པ།

ནམ་པར་གྲོལ་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་ཕྱིར།

ཆོ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་འབད་པར་བྱ།

འཇིག་རྟེན་གཞན་དུ་དམ་ཆོས་ལ།

དད་སྦྱིངས་པ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཡོད།

མདོ་ལས་ཀྱང་། སངས་རྒྱུ་འབྱུང་བ་བརྒྱལ་རྟེན་འགྱུར་གྱི། མི་ནི་ཐོབ་
པ་ཆོག་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་རྟེན་པར་འགྱུར། ཀྱི་མ་དད་པ་དང་ནི་ཆོས་ཉན་པ་འདི་འབྲེལ་
བསྐྱེད་པ་བརྒྱུད་ཡང་ཆོས་རྟེན་དཀའ་ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ། །

འདིར་སྒྲུབ་པ། ཡང་ཅི་འཁོར་བ་འདི་མཐའ་ཡོད་དམ་འོན་ཏེ་མེད།
གཤམ་ཏེ་ཡོད་ན་ནི་དེའི་ཆོ་བསྐྱེད་པས་མེད་པར་མཐའ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འབད་པ་
འབྲས་བྱ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ། ཅི་སྟེ་མེད་ན་ནི་དེའི་ཆོ་བསྐྱེད་པས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མཐའ་
མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འབད་པ་འབྲས་བྱ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ།

བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། འདི་ནི་གཅིག་དུ་ངེས་པར་བརྒྱུད་པར་མི་ལུས་སོ།
གང་ལས་ཆོ་ན། རང་བཞིན་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་དང་། རང་བཞིན་མེད་པའི་མཐའ་
དང་ལྡན་པ་དང་མཐའ་དང་མི་ལྡན་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱང་རིག་པ་དང་མ་རིག་པའི་རྒྱ་ཅན་

¹ The actual reading in X is *las* for *mithah*, but as it does not seem to me to give here any suitable sense, and is demanded by the context the latter is suggested by me.

² X *bsgrim*.

³ X *la*.

མེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དང་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་ཀྱོན་གཞན་དུ་མ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ལས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དང་།
 ཀྱོན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཤིན་དུ་དཀོན་པའི་ཕྱིར་དེ། འདི་གཉིས་ཚུར་ངེས་པར་རྣམ་པར་
 བཞག་པ་མི་ལུས་སོ།། ངེས་པར་མེད་པ་དེ་ཉི་པར་བཟུན་པའི་ཕྱིར་བཤད་པ།

=यथातीतः कालो निरर्थकः क्लेशेनातिक्रान्तस्तददनागतोऽपि तथा न
 भविष्यतीति तथा कुर्वित्युक्तम् । अत्राह—

“अस्मिन्निबोधमं काले कुर्याद् विमुक्तिसिद्धये !

निश्चयः परलोके कः सद्धर्मभक्तिसम्भवे ॥”

सूत्रेऽपि “लभ्यते बुद्धोत्पादशतं लभ्यते च मनुष्यलाभसमूहः । अद्वा
 धर्मश्रवणं च श्रुतेऽपीदृशेषु कल्पेष्वतिदुर्लभमिति ।”

अत्राह । अथास्य संसारस्यान्तोऽस्ति न वा । यद्यस्ति तदा विना
 प्रयासेनान्तोऽस्तीत्युद्यमो निरर्थक एव । अथ नास्ति तदा कृतेऽपि प्रयासेऽन्तो
 नास्तीत्युद्यमो निरर्थक एव ।

उच्यते । नेदमेकान्तेनावधारयितुं शक्यम् । कुत इति । निःस्वभावत्वात् ।
 निःस्वभावस्यान्तवत्त्वानन्तवत्त्वज्ञानाज्ञानहेत्वभावात् । तद्वयस्याप्यनेकप्रत्ययान्त-
 रायत्तत्वात् । प्रत्ययानामप्यतिदुर्लभत्वादिदं द्वयमत्र निश्चयेन व्यवस्थापयितुं
 न शक्यते । तमनिश्चयमुपपादयन्नाह—

ཉན་པོ་མཉན་བྱ་འཆད་པོ་རྣམས་།

འབྱུང་བ་ཤིན་དུ་རྟེན་དཀའ་ཉྱེ།

དེས་ན་མདོར་ན་འཁོར་བ་ནི།

མཐའ་མེད་མ་ཡིན་མཐའ་བཅས་མིན་༥ ॥^१

ओदओतव्यवक्रणामुद्भवोऽत्यन्तदुर्लभः ।

संसारस्तेन सूत्रे नानन्तवानन्तवान् न च ॥ ५ ॥

¹ X *rid.*

² In c X of CSV de nas for des na.

མཉན་པར་བྱ (ओतव्य) = བདེན་པ་མགོང་དང་ཇེས་སྤྱོད་པའི་གསུང་
(सत्यदर्शन and अलुक्लवाक्य). འཛོད་པོ་ (वक्तृ, व्यासृ) = དེ་བཞིན་
གཤེགས་པ་ (तथागत). They are all ཤེན་དུ་རྩེད་པར་དགའ་
(अतिदुर्लभ). It is said there that the birth (*utpāda*)
of a Tathāgata is like an ཡུ་དུམ་བ་རའི་མེ་དྲོག་ (*Udumbara-*
puspa), i.e., the flower of the glomerous fig tree (*Ficus*
Glomerata) which is never seen.

CSV says that it is in the *Sūtra* called *Āgamānu-*
padiṣṭavastucaturdaśaka (ལུང་མ་བཟུན་པའི་དངོས་པོ་བཅུ་བཞི་)¹
that the Buddha did not expressly accept either of
the two views that the world has an end and that it has
not.

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CSV: གཤམ་དེ་གསུང་རབ་གནས་པས་གཉིས་ཡོད་མོད་ཀྱི། དེ་ལྟར་ན་
ཡང་ཉན་པ་པོ་མི་སྲིད་དོ། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། གང་གི་ཕྱིར།

= यद्यपि प्रवचनस्थित्या द्वयं भवत्येव तथापि ओता न सम्भवति ।
कुत इति । यस्मात्—

ཕལ་མོ་ཆེར་ནི་མི་རྣམས་ནི།

དམ་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཕྱོགས་ཡོངས་འཛིན།

དེས་ན་སོ་སོའི་སྤྱོད་པོ་རྣམས།

ཕལ་ཆེར་ངེས་པར་ངན་འགྱོར་འགྱོ། ། ༥ །²

¹ See Mahāvvyutpatti, § 206-5 (with Tib. ASB, ed. pp. 138-139): antavāl lokah, anantavāl lo°, antavāms ca anantavāms ca lo°, naivāntavān nānanta-
vāl lo°. This is a very well-known fact. See, for instance, *Majjhimanikāya*
Vol. I, p. 426.

² For the affix *mo* in the phrase *phal mo cher* cf. *chen mo* 'great,' *legs mo*
'fine,' 'good.'

प्रायेण यदसत्यं परिगृह्णन्ति मानवाः ।

तस्मात्पृथग्जनाः प्रायो ध्रुवं गच्छन्ति दुर्गतिम् ॥ ६ ॥

CSV: བཤེན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་པལ་རྩེར་མ་རིག་པས་སྒྲོངས་
ཤིང་གཞན་སྤྱུག་བསྐལ་བ་ལ་དབང་ལ། སྤྱིས་བྱ་དམ་པ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་སྤང་
པས་སྒྲོག་ཆགས་གསོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་དགེ་བ་བཟུང་ལས་ཀྱི་ལས་བར་
མཆོམས་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་མི་འདི་དག་ནི་པལ་རྩེར་ངན་སོང་དུ་འགྲོ་བར་
འགྱུར་དེ།

=यस्मात् सत्त्वाः प्रायेणाज्ञानान्धाः परक्लेशे रमन्ते । एते हि नरा
असत्यव्यसंसर्गेण प्राणिवधादिदशाकुशलकर्मपथानन्तर्यात्¹ प्रायेण दुर्गतिं
गच्छन्ति ॥ ६ ॥

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CSV: འདིར་བཤད་པ།

འགྲོ་བ་ཡངས་པར་འགྲོ་ཕྱིར་རམ།

བཤེན་སོ་སོར་འགྲོ་བ་འམ།

འགྲོ་བ་ཡངས་པ་སྤྱད་བྱེད་པ།

དེས་འདིར་སོ་སོའི་སྤྱོད་པར་བཤད་པ།

འདིར་སྤྱོད་པ། ངན་སོང་ནི་མི་ཁོས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དང་སྤྱུག་བསྐལ་རྣམས་
པ་སྤྱོད་ཆོགས་པ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་མངོན་པར་དབང་བའི་གནས་མ་ཡིན་སོད་ཀྱི།
དེ་ལྟ་ན་ཡང་བསོད་ནམས་དག་གི་སྤྱོད་ནས་བདེ་འགྲོ་འི་འགྲོ་བ་མངོན་པར་དབང་
བའི་གནས་ཡོད་དེ། དེའི་ཉེ་བར་འཛོལ་དང་བྲལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་

¹ There are five kinds of *ānantarya karman*, 'acts that bring with them immediate retribution,' viz. matricide, patricide, killing an Arhat, causing schism, and wounding a Buddha.

ལས་སྐྱོབ་པ་མི་བྱེད། བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ངན་སྲོང་ལྷར་བདེ་འགྲོ་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱོབ་
པར་རིགས་དེ། འདི་ལྷར།

—आह चात्र—

“यत्पृथुं गच्छति गतिं गतिं गच्छति वा पृथक् ।

गतिं पृथुं जनयति तेनोक्तोऽत्र पृथग्जनः ॥”

अत्राह । यद्यपि दुर्गतिरक्षणात्वाद्¹ विविधक्षेत्रभावाच्चाभिरतिस्थानं न
भवत्येव तथापि पुण्यद्वारा सुगतिगमनमभिरतिस्थानं भवति । तस्मात् तत्र
खेदो न कर्तव्यः । उच्यते । दुर्गताविव सुगतावपि खेद उचितः । तथा हि—

ས་སྟེང་སྒྲིབ་པའི་ནམ་སྒྲིབ་ནི།

ཙྰའྲི་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་པར་མགོང་།

དེས་ན་སྒྲིབ་པ་གསོད་གནས་དང་།

མཚུངས་པར་དམ་པ་ནམས་ལ་སྒྲུང་། ॥ १ ॥²

दृश्यते भूतले पापविपाकस्य विडम्बना ।

भवो हि भासते तेन सूनाख्यानसमः सताम् ॥ ७ ॥

CSV: བདེ་འགྲོར་སྐྱེས་པ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཡིད་དུ་མི་འོང་བའི་ལས་
དེའི་ནམ་པར་སྒྲིབ་མ་³ལྷས་པ་ལས་ཡིན་ལག་དང་ཉིང་ལག་ཉམས་པ་དང་དབང་
པོ་མ་ཚང་བ་ཉིད་དང་། དབུལ་བ་ཉིད་དང་། མཐུ་རྒྱུང་བ་ཉིད་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་
དུ་དབུལ་བ་ཉིད་དང་དམ་པས་ཁ་ན་མ་གྲོ་བ་སྟོད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་དོགས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་
བའི་ཙྰའྲི་བ་ཁྱད་པ་ཆེས་མི་དགའ་བ་ཉམས་སུ་སྟོང་བར་འགྱུར་རོ།

¹ For eight kinds of *akṣaṇa* (*mi khom pa*) see *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, §120; *Bodhi caryāśvāvatārapañjikā*, p. 10:

नरकप्रेतनिर्यद्यो ह्येच्छा दीर्घायुषोऽमराः ।

मिथ्याद्वग्बुद्धकान्तारौ ब्रूकताद्याविद्याद्यथाः ॥

² In b X of CS *hdi* for *hdri*. In c X of CS *bsod* for *gsod*.

³ X *pa*.

⁴ X *da*.

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—अत्राह । यदि सतां भवः सूनास्थानसमः किं तस्मात्लोकस्य गोद्वेगः ।
उन्मत्तहस्तिनो मदोन्मादवद् उन्मत्तस्वभावत्वात् । किमस्य सर्गस्य लोकस्यो-
न्मादः । तथेत्याह । उन्मत्तलक्षणात्वात् । इह धातुवैधग्यादनवस्थितचित्तवृत्तिं
एद्वलं लोकस्यदुन्मत्त इति कथयेत्, स्वभावेन चलचित्तमप्यनवस्थितवृत्तिमेव
(कथयेत्) । तथा हि—

ནམ་ཤེས་གནས་པ་མེད་པ་ལས།
གལ་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་པར་གྱུར་ན་ནི།
ཤིང་གནས་སྤྱོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཞེས།
མཁས་པ་སྤྱི་ཞིག་སྒྲུབ་པར་འགྱུར་༥༥༥

विज्ञानस्यानवस्थानादन्मत्तो जायते यदि ।

तत् को भवस्यं न ब्रूयादुन्मत्त इति पण्डितः ॥ ८ ॥

*हौषमानां रुजं दृष्ट्वा गमनादेर्विपर्यये ।

सर्वकर्मक्षये तेन करोति मतिमान् मतिम् ॥ ८ ॥¹

CSV: यथा गमनादि²जनिता रुजश्चङ्क्रमणादि³परिवर्जनेषु पूर्वाक्षेप-
वेग⁴क्षयादनुपूर्वं क्षीयन्ते तथा सर्वेण सर्व⁵ सर्वरुजः सर्वकर्मोच्छेदैः । ततः सर्व-
कर्मप्रबन्धोच्छेदमर्थयमानः⁶ कुशलः पुनश्च⁷ सर्वकर्मक्षयाय⁸ यतते ।

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CSV: तदेवं सर्वकर्मक्षयः सर्वदुःखनिवृत्तिकारणमिति सर्वकर्मक्षये
मतिमता मतिः कार्येति ।⁹ इतश्च युक्तः संसारत्यागो धीमतां भयकारणत्वात् ।
तथा हि —

गद-के-रुजस-सु-गतिमा-मि-अ- ।

सोमा-मि-सु-के-रुज-मि-अ- ।

दे-के-गतिमा-मि-अ-कुस-म- ।

सर्वे-रुज-गद-मि-रुज-मि-अ- ॥ १० ॥⁹

*यदैकस्यापि कार्यस्य दृश्यते नादिकारणम् ।

तदा कस्य भयं न स्याद् दृष्ट्वैकस्यापि विस्तरम् ॥ १० ॥

¹ In a according to Tib. for *hīyamanān rujan* one should read *hīyamanā rujo*, the word *ruj* being in plural number (*sidug bshal dag*). This is supported also by the *Vṛtti*. In b HPS *gamanāda* for our *gamanāder* which is undoubtedly better and supported by Tib. (*hgro la sogs pañi*).

² Tib. *yathāsanacāṅkramaṇādi-* (*je ltaṣ sdod pa dan ḥchags pa la sogs pas*) for *yathāgamanādi-*.

³ Tib. omits *caṅkramaṇādi-* reading simply *parivarjane* for which HPS *pari-varjaneṣu*.

⁴ This is according to Tib. reading *ḥphen sugs*; HPS -*āvedhaparikṣayād*.

⁵ Tib. *thams cad du*, HPS omits it. For the phrase see *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 39, 140, 270; *Dighanikāya*, Vol. II. p. 57.

⁶ Restored from Tib. : *las thams cad rgyun chad pa don du gñer ba*; HPS wrongly *sakalocchedamanvayamāṇaḥ*.

⁷ Tib. *skyes bu*, HPS omits it.

⁸ HPS adds here *ayan*.

⁹ In a X of CS *gis* for *gi*.

CŚV : इहैकस्यापि तावत् कार्यस्य भौतिकस्य चैतनिकस्य¹ वा पूर्व-
पारम्पर्येण परीक्ष्यमाणस्यादिकारणं यदा न दृश्यतेऽनादिमत्त्वाज्जगत्प्रवृत्तेः,²
एवमेवैकस्यापि कार्यस्यानन्त्यमतिविस्तरं³ दृष्ट्वा तदा कस्येह पुरुषस्या⁴धिगत-
भयस्य जगत्प्रवृत्तिदर्शनाद्भयं न स्यात् ॥ १० ॥

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CŚV : अपि च । यदयमभिलषन्तृष्णाया परिस्यन्दते, तस्य यदि
नियमतः⁵ सिद्धिः स्याद् युक्तं स्पन्दितुम् । तस्य च—

ॠगुस'गु'स्रस'ऊ'देस'वर'वे ।
ॠगुस'वर'ॠगुस'व'स'यी'वे' ।
गुस'व'देस'वर'स्रस'ॠगुस'वे ।
दे'यी'दे'वे'उ'ते'वे'ॠगुस' ॥ ११ ॥⁶

*सिद्धिः सर्वस्य कार्यस्य नियमेन न जायते ।

नियमेन कृतस्यान्तः किं तदर्थं विहन्यते ॥ ११ ॥

CŚV : इह हि सर्वस्यैव कार्यस्य प्रारम्भस्य सिद्धिर्भवति न वा । सिद्धस्य
तु सर्वस्यैव⁷ कार्यस्य नियमादवश्यमेव विनाशो भवति । तत्र यस्य कृतस्या⁸-
चिरादवश्यमेव नियमतो विनाशः किं तदर्थमयं बालो⁹ विहन्यते ॥ ११ ॥

¹ HPS after *bhauṭikasya* reads *vāṭṭikasya paṭṭikasya vā* which does not suit here, nor is supported by Tib. according to which we have only *caitasikasya (sems las gyur)*.

² For *jagatpravṛtteḥ* Tib. has lit. *ekaikajanmaparamparāyāḥ (skye ba gcig nas gcig ba brgyud pa)*.

³ As it is in Tib. (*zin tu rgyas par=ativistaram, or suvistaram*); HPS *savistaram*.

⁴ In Tib. *puruṣasya* is omitted.

⁵ Tib. *hes par*; HPS *niyogataḥ*.

⁶ In c for la X of CŚV pa.

⁷ Tib. omits *sarvasyaiva*.

⁸ Tib. *acirād (yun mē riñ bar)* for which HPS *sucirād*.

⁹ Tib. *loko (kjiḡ rten)* for *bālo*.

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CSV : यथा च कार्यस्य¹ ध्रुवो विनाशस्तथा कर्मणोऽपीति प्रतिपाद-
यन्नाह—

ལས་ནི་འབད་པས་བྱེད་འགུར་ཞིང་།

བྱས་ཟིན་འབད་པ་མེད་པར་འཛིན།

དེ་ལྟར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ཁྱེད་ལ་གོ།

ལས་ལ་ཆགས་བྱལ་འགའ་ཡོད་མེད ॥ २३ ॥

*यत्नतः क्रियते कर्म कृतं नश्यत्ययत्नतः ।

विरागोऽस्ति न ते कश्चिदेवं सत्यपि कर्मणि ॥ १२ ॥

CSV : इह खलु महता यत्नेन बह्वभिः साधनोपायैः कर्म क्रियते । तत्तु
महता प्रयत्नेन बह्वभिरपि साधनैः कृतमयत्नादेव कार्यवद्² विनश्यति । तदेव-
मतिमहा³पुरुषकारसाधन⁴मपार्थकमिति⁵ कर्मणि कथं नाम न स्याद् वैराग्यं
विदुषः । तव पुन⁶स्तत्कर्मचरणाद्⁶विरागाभावो जडतामेव वेदयते ॥ १२ ॥

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CSV : अत्राह । यद्यप्ययत्नात् कार्य⁷ नश्यति तथापि सुखहेतुत्वान्न
तच्च वैराग्यं भवतीति । उच्यते—

འདས་ལ་བདེ་བ་ཡོད་མིན་ཞིང་།

ས་འོངས་པ་ལའང་ཡོད་མིན་ལ།

¹ Tib. *hbras bu la* ; HPS *kāyasya*.

² Tib. *hbras bu ltar* ; HPS *kāyavat*.

³ Here *tad* and *ati*- are wanting in Tib. ; for *-mahā*- HPS *-mahat*.

⁴ For *sādhana* (*sgrub byed*) ; HPS simply *-dhana*.

⁵ According to Tib. the sentence is to be put as *'sādhane' pārthake karmāṇi*.

⁶ For *tava punaḥ* (*khyod ni star yan*) ; HPS *tat punaḥ punāḥ*.

⁷ HPS *kāyaṇ*.

ད་ལྷ་བྱང་བའང་འགྲོ་ཉིད་དེ།
ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ངལ་འདི་གང་ཕྱིར་ཡིན། ༡༢ ॥¹

*अतीतस्य सुखं नास्ति नाप्यप्राप्तस्य विद्यते ।

वर्तमानोऽपि चात्येव अमोऽयं कस्य नाम ते ॥ १३ ॥

CSV : अतीतस्य तावद् विज्ञानस्य सुखं नास्ति निरुद्धत्वात् । अनागतस्य सुखं नास्ति असम्प्राप्तत्वात् । वर्तमानस्य सुखं नास्ति स्थित्यभावात् । तदेवमसति सुखे तेनानुग्रहाभावात् सुखसम्भोगलालसस्य योऽयं सुखहेतुकर्मोपार्जनश्रमो भवतः स कस्य कृते भवतु । विफल एव सर्वथा सुखहेतूपार्जनपरिश्रमोपायास इत्यभिप्रायः ॥ १३ ॥

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CSV : अत्राह । यद्यप्येवं तथापि स्वर्गसुखार्थमवश्यमेव कुशलं कर्म कर्तव्यमिति । उच्यते—

མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མཐོ་རིས་ཀྱང་།
དུལ་བ་དང་མཚུངས་འཛིགས་བསྐྱེད་འགྱུར།
རྣམ་པར་ཀུན་དུ་རྣམས་ལ།
སྤྱིད་གང་འཛིགས་པ་མི་བསྐྱེད་དཀོན། ༡༣ ॥²

*स्वर्गे निरयतुष्योऽपि विदुषां स्थाद् भयङ्करः ।

सर्वथा दुर्लभस्तेषां भवो यो न भयङ्करः ॥ १४ ॥

CSV : तत्र विविधसंक्षेपोदय³द्वारत्वात् तीव्रतर⁴विषयसम्भूतक्षोभाभि-
सन्दीपितत्वान् मोहभूयस्त्वाच्च स्वर्गमपि निरयवद् भयङ्करत्वात् परिवर्जयन्ति

¹ In c for da X of CS de which is wrong ; and in d for ñal it reads (karman).

² In b X of CS skye for bskyed.

³ Tib. skye ba (-jñāti, janman=) udaya ; HPS °kleśāya dvāra°.

⁴ There is nothing for -tara- in Tib.

सन्तः । अपिशब्दश्चात्र भिन्नक्रमः¹ स्वर्गशब्दानन्तरं² द्रष्टव्यः । तिरुतु तावदन्यो
भवः स्वर्गोऽपि विदुषां निरयतुल्य इति व्याख्येयम् ॥³

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CSV: अपि च । यथा खलु पण्डिताः संसारदोषप्रत्यवेक्षानिपुणा
दुःखामिज्वालापरिगतमेकान्तदुःखं संसारं यथावदौक्षन्ते तथा खलु—

གཤམ་དེ་གྱིས་པའང་རྣམ་ཀུན་དུ།

འཁོར་བའི་སྤྱུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཤིས་གུར་ན།

སྐད་ཅིག་དེ་ལ་སེམས་དང་ནི།

རྣམ་ཅིག་གཏན་དུ་འཛིག་པར་འགུར་ ॥ १५ ॥

*संसारदुःखं जानीयाद् यदि बाह्योऽपि सर्वज्ञः ।

गच्छेदत्यन्ततो नाशं सह चित्तेन तत्क्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥

CSV: .यदुःखं भावयन्त⁴ आचार्याः संसारादुद्दिजन्ते तद्यदि पृथग्जनः
शक्त्यादध्यक्षयितुं तदा तत्क्षणमेव⁵ शतघा⁶ विशीर्येत हृदयम् । अनवबोधात्
त्वयम्⁷ अभिरमते संसारे । अत्यन्ततो नाशं गच्छेन्मोक्षमित्यर्थः ॥

¹ Tib. 'kramaprayogañ adding *prayoga* (*sbyar*) after 'krama-.

² In the X read *thog* for *thogs*.

³ Tib. has, however, used *api* properly reading *mtso ris kyan* in the text.

⁴ Tib. *bsams pa na* according to which the reading that can be suggested here is *bhāvayantaḥ*. HPS *ākārayantaḥ*.

⁵ Tib. adds here *dehena saha* (*lus dan than cig*).

⁶ Tib. omits it.

⁷ Tib. adds *riktena saḥāyena pravicchannaśatrukāryavaḥ* (*grogs poñi gsob kyis gyogs pañi dgra la bya ba ltar*).

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CSV: अपि च । संसारे क्रियासु सामर्थ्यवतः समीहमानस्य सुखं
स्यात् । स च निरूप्यमाणः—

सोमस'उक्'क्षेम'प'उक्'मिक्'दगोक् ।

क्षेम'उक्'क्षेम'द'द'द'प'मिक् ।

देस'क्'क्षेम'प'क्'क्षेम'क्षेम'क्षेम ।

द'द'प'मिक्'द'क्षेम'द'क्षेम'क्षेम'क्षेम ॥ २७ ॥¹

*अमानौ दुर्लभः सत्त्वो मानौ नास्ति दृष्टान्वितः ।

उक्तः सुदुर्लभस्तेन ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः ॥ १६ ॥

In a for Tib. सत्त्वः (*sems can*) HPS शक्तः .

CSV: शक्तस्यैव क्रियासु पुरुषकारेणा²नुपात्त³सुखवेदनौघविषयो-
पार्जनान् उपपात्तपरिरक्षणाच्चावश्यमेव पुरुषस्य⁴ मान उपजायते । मानतश्चाय-
मात्मानं विशेषतः परिकल्पयन्नधिकमसहमानस्तदुपजिघांसया निर्दयो भवति ।
निर्दयस्य चास्यापाय⁵पर्यवसानतया [कुत्र सन्ति]⁶ सम्पदो यतोऽस्य सुखानुभवः
सम्भाव्येत । अत एव भगवता ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः पुद्गलो दुर्लभ इत्युक्तं
कुलभोगैश्वर्यमानेन नियतमधःपतनात् ॥

The word *jyotirjyotiḥparāyana* is not explained in the *Vṛtti*. As the Tib. version, *snañ ba nas snañ bar*

1 In cX of CS omits *ba* after *snañ*, and adds *ni* after *bar*.

2 Tib. omits *kriyāsu puruṣakāreṇa*.

3 For *anupātta*^o (Tib. *ma thob par*) HPS *upātta*.

4 Tib. adds *zo śa dan lan* which in Skt. literally means *dadhīmāṃsavaṣaḥ*.

5 Tib. literally *durgati* (*śan hgro*).

6 Here four letters are wanting in HPS and now supplied from Tib. *ga la yod* (= *kutrahānti*).

hogro ba, shows, it means 'one who goes from light to light,' and it is supported by *Samyutta Nikāya* Vol. I, p. 93, and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* Vol. II, p. 85, (see also *Dīgha Nikāya* Vol. III, p. 233), in which the Buddha says that there are four kinds of people, viz. (1) *tamotamaparāyaṇa* (*tamastamahparāyaṇa*), (2) *tamojotipa*° (*tamojyotiḥpa*°), (3) *jotitamapa*° (*jyotistamahpa*°), and (4) *jotijotipa*° (*jyotirjyotiḥpa*°),¹ meaning respectively (1) 'one who goes from darkness to darkness,' (2) 'one who goes from darkness to light,' (3) 'one who goes from light to darkness,' and (4) 'one who goes from light to light.'²

As regards the last term, *jotijotipa*° the following lines are quoted from the *Samyutta Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 93):

Kathaṇ ca mahārāja puggalo j o t i j o t i p a r ā y a ṇ o
hoti || || Idha mahārāja ekacco puggalo uccakule paccā-
jāto hoti° pahūtavittūpakaraṇe pahūtadhanadhañṇe, so
ca hoti abhirūpo°, so kāyena° vacāya° manasā sucari-
taṃ carati°, caritvā° paraṃ maraṇā° saggaṃ lokam
uppajjati || seyyathāpi mahārāja puriso pallaṅkā vā
pallaṅkaṃ saṅkameyya°, hatthikkhandhā vā hatthik-
khandhaṃ saṅkameyya°, tathūpamaṃ mahārāja imaṃ
puggalaṃ vadāmi || Evaṃ kho mahārāja puggalo j o-
t i j o t i p a r ā y a ṇ o hoti || ”

¹ I do not know why in the Pali Text Society edition of the books referred to the first words *tamo* and *joti* of these compounds are printed separately as *tamo tamaparāyaṇa*, etc. The same mistake is committed also in its *Pali-English Dictionary*; consequently these compound words *jotijotiparāyaṇa*, etc., are not to be found there being only *jotipa*°, etc.

² Mrs. Rhyis Davids (*Kindred Sayings*, Part I, p. 118) translates the terms in plural number as follows according to the commentary: "Those that are joined to darkness and fare to light," etc.

CSV: यद्येवं मानिनः पापाचरणादपायनिष्ठा इति गर्हिता विपर्ययेण
त्वमानिनः स्वर्गसुखसाधनधर्माचरणात् प्रशस्यास्ततश्चैकान्तेन [न]⁸
गर्हितः संसार इति । उच्यते । धर्मेऽपि वैपरीत्यादयुक्तः सङ्गः । तथा हि—

२६३॥ यथापापं चरन्ति पापिनः ।

यथापापं चरन्ति पापिनः ।

यथापापं चरन्ति पापिनः ।

यथापापं चरन्ति पापिनः ॥ २७ ॥

*निवृत्तविषयस्येह विषयः किल लभ्यते ।

केनापि हेतुना धर्मे विपर्ययोऽपि स स्मृतः ॥ १७ ॥⁵

CSV: यः किल⁶ विषयेष्वनास्थस्तान्⁷ परित्यजति ब्रह्मचर्याभ्युपगमात्
तस्येत⁸ पूज्यतस्येश्वरकुले स्वर्गे⁹ वोत्पन्नस्य¹⁰ [इष्टो¹¹ विषयो लभ्यते । यस्मादयं

¹ HPS *brahmamāninaḥ*, Tib. *ho na* (= *atha* or *tu*) and then *rlom pa can ma yin pa dag* (= *amāninaḥ*).

² Tib. omits *taiḥ* in HPS after *tataś ca*.

³ As the sense requires we should read it here though not found either in Skt. or Tib.

⁴ In a X of CSV *nas* for *na*; and that of CS *logs* for *log*.

⁵ In a for *nivṛtta*^o (*log*) HPS wrongly *nivṛtti*^o. In d for *sa smṛtaḥ* Tib. *saḥsmṛtaḥ* (*aḥ dag ḥḥod*).

⁶ Tib. omits it.

⁷ HPS adds after it *viśayān*.

⁸ HPS *iḥa* for *itaiḥ*; Tib. literally *tataḥ* (*de nas*).

⁹ It is according to Tib.: *phyug poḥi rigs sum mtho ris su skyes pa la* (= *śvarakule svarge votpannasya*); HPS *īśvara*^o *svargeṣṭūpannaḥ*.

¹⁰ The bracketed portion is left out in HPS and reconstructed from Tib.

¹¹ Literally Pali and Buddhist Skt. *manāpa* (*yid du ḥoṇ ba*). See 170^a (*yid yon*).

त्वागशील इव खयं लब्धक्यं फलमभिसम्पादयति तस्माद् धर्मो विपरीतः ।
 स चैवं विपरीतोऽपि केनापि हेतुनेति सतामनभिमतेन केनापि विपरीत-
 भू] ¹ तेन लोकेन्द्राङ्गीकृतश्चेति ² नात्राभिविशेषो व्यायान् ॥

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CSV: एवं तावद्धर्मो विपरीतत्वान्वाच्यः । यदपि तद्धर्म³ फलमैश्वर्यं
 तदपि खवशत्वाभावाद् विविधव्यसनस्थानत्वाच्च नास्त्येयं विदुषा । तथा हि—

བསོད་ནམས་འབྲས་བུ་ཕྱག་པ་ཉེ།

དེ་གཞན་ལས་ཡོངས་བསྐྱེད་བུ་ན།

དྲག་ཏུ་གཞན་ལས་བསྐྱེད་བུ་གང་།

དེ་ནི་ཇི་ལྟར་བདག་གིས་འགྱུར་ ॥ १८ ॥⁵

*पुण्यस्य फलमैश्वर्यं तच्च रक्ष्यं सदान्वतः ।

कथं नाम तदात्मीयं यद् रक्ष्यं सर्वदान्वतः ॥ १८ ॥

¹ The Tib. runs :

ཡུལ་ཡིད་འོང་བ་དག་དམིགས་སོ། གང་གི་ཕྱིར་འདི་འདོར་བའི་རང་
 བཞིན་ཡིན་བཞིན་ཏུ་རང་གིས་ཐོབ་པའི་ངོ་བོ་ཙན་གྱི་འབྲས་བུ་མངོན་པར་སྐྱབ་
 པར་བྱེད་པ་དེའི་ཕྱིར་ན་ཆོས་ནི་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་
 ཡིན་ཡང་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ (Read གྱིས་) བྱུ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཉེ།
 དམ་པ་ནམས་མི་བཞེད་པ་གང་ཞིག་གིས་ཁས་སྒྲུངས་པ་ཉེ། དེའི་ཕྱིར།

² HPS *tena loka nāngi*° for °bhū]tena loka nāngi°.

³ For -dharma- Tib. -karma- (las).

⁴ HPS omits *eva-* (Tib. *rañ*) of *evavaśa-*; for -vaśa- HPS -vaśi-.

⁵ In d X of CSV seems to read *dī* for *jī*.

CSV : पूर्वज्ञतस्य पुण्यस्य¹ फलमैश्वर्यम् । तच्चात्मीयसंज्ञितम् । तच्चेह सदैव रक्षणीयं² प्रत्यर्थिभ्यः । यदि तदात्मीयं³ स्यान्नैव⁴ प्रत्यर्थिभ्यो रक्षणीयं स्यात् । यच्च परैराच्छेद्यत्वात् सततमाघीयमानं⁵ रक्षाविधानं कथं तदात्मीय-मिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तदयं रक्षाविधाननिरन्तरः परमनिर्द्वैतः⁶ कदा नृगम विषयरसमास्वादयेत् । तस्मात् फलमप्यस्य नानुग्रहाय पर्याप्तम् ॥

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CSV : अनवस्थितत्वाच्च लौकिकस्य धर्मस्य तत्रास्था न ज्यायसी ।
तथा हि—

འཛིག་རྟེན་ཚུལ་ལུགས་གང་དག་གང་ ।

དེ་དང་དེ་ལ་ཆོས་རྗེས་འཛིག་ ।

དེ་ཡི་ཕྱིར་ནི་ཆོས་ལས་ཀྱང་ ।

འཛིག་རྟེན་ལྟོབས་རྩལ་ཏུ་བྱུར་སྒྲུང་ ॥ १० ॥

*या या लोकस्थितित्तां तां धर्मः समनुवर्तते ।

धर्मादपि ततो लोको बलवानिव दृश्यते ॥१८॥

¹ Tib. *bsad nams* ; HPS *karmanah* The former is undoubtedly better

² Tib. *bsruñ bñr bya ba*, supported by the context ; HPS *sahrakasyate*.

³ Tib. *bdag gi ba*, and supported by the context ; HPS *ātmanīnam*.

⁴ Tib adds here: *anātmīya-* (?) *-dasyūdakāgnivātādibhyah* (*mi bdag brgyas can dan rkun po dan chu dan me rlun la sog pa*).

⁵ Tib. *tsul bya dgos pa* which gives the reading in Skt. *vidheya-* for *ā dhīyamāna-*.

⁶ It is not supported by Tib. reading *mchog tu ḥchams śin* which may be translated by *paramanṛtya*. Is the reading *ḥchag sa* for *ḥchams*? In that case the meaning here would be : *param caṅkramamāṇah*.

CSV : लोको हि यां यां स्थितिं व्यवस्थापयति कन्यादानोद्वहनादिका¹,
तां तां धर्मः सम²नुवर्तते । तस्यास्तस्याः स्थितेर्धर्म इति प्रसिद्धेः³ । न चैष
स्वभावव्यवस्थितस्य न्यायो युज्यते यद्देशकालभेदयोरन्यथात्वादन्यथा स्यात् ।
ततो नात्रात्यन्तादौरो युक्तः ॥

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CSV : अत्राह । अभिलषितविषयसमुत्पादमन्तरेण सुखवेदानुभवो
नास्ति । स च विषयोत्पादः कृतपुण्यानामेव यस्माद्भवति तस्माद् विषयार्थिना
कर्तव्य एव धर्म इति । उच्यते—

ཡུལ་ནི་དགོང་པས་ཡིད་འོང་ན།

ཡུལ་དེ་འང་ངན་པར་བརྗོད་བ་ཡིན།

གང་ཞིག་བདང་བ་ལིགས་འགུར་བ།

དེ་གུ་བ་བ་ཡིས་ཅི་ཞིག་དགོས། ॥ १० ॥⁴

*विषयस्य शुभेनेष्टो विषयः स च कुत्सितः ।

अथान् यस्य परित्यागो निष्पन्नेनापि तेन किम् ॥ १० ॥⁵

CSV : यो⁶ऽयमिहेष्टपञ्चकाम⁷गुणात्मको⁸ विषयो रूपशब्दगन्धरस-
स्पर्शव्यसंज्ञितः स शुभेन कर्मणा लभ्यते । स एव सत्त्वानां मोक्षकामाणां

¹ According to Tib. here *dāna* is *nāgdāna* (*rjod pa*) and for *udvahana* it has *strel ba* meaning *possession*.

² Tib. omits *sum-*.

³ Tib. *grags par hgyur ba* *phyr ro* : HPS *prasiddhagamānāt*.

⁴ In c. Xx of CS and CSV *ses* for *legs* the only reading that can be suggested from Skt. In d. for *yi* X of CS *yi*.

⁵ In b. for *kutsita* Tib. lit. *darganana* (*nan par btsi ba*) = *aganya*, which fig. gives the same sense. In the commentary Tib. has, however, the same word, *kutsita* (*smad par hgyur*). In c. Tib. lit. reads only *tyāgaḥ* (*biaḥ ba*) and not *parityāgaḥ* (*yoḥs su btun ba*).

⁶ Tib. omits *ayam*.

⁷ Tib. *hdod* ; HPS wrongly *-kāya-*.

⁸ Tib. adds here *ista* (*yiḍ du ḥoḥ ba*).

कुत्सितोऽनेध्यन्तिमात्र इव श्वा । यस्य च ज्ञेयान् परित्रागोऽनर्थमूलकत्वाद्
अनिवृत्तदुःखा¹मुच्यनात्मकत्वेनानिर्दृष्टिकारत्वाद्² रागादिज्ञेयोत्पादकत्वेन प्रमाद-
स्थानत्वाच्च निष्पन्नेनापि तेन न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमिति ॥

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CŚV : अत्राह । यद्यपि विषयस्य कुत्सितत्वाद् विषयसाधनार्थो³ धर्मो
निष्प्रयोजनस्तथाप्याज्ञारसास्वादसुखगुरुणि राज्यानीति तदर्थं राज्या⁴धिपत्य-
पुण्येषु⁵ प्रवर्तितव्य⁶मिति । उच्यते । नैव हि सर्वेषामाज्ञया कार्यं भवति ।
ततश्च—

वाङ्'ल'वाङ्'लुङ्'द्वे'स'मे'द'प ।

दे'ल'के'स'दे'व'मे'द'प'र'द'सु'र ।

वाङ्'ल'वाङ्'लुङ्'दे'व'वा'द'दे' ।

दे'के'मे'व'द'लु'व'ले'स'पु ॥ ३७ ॥⁷

*कार्यं नास्माज्ञया यस्य तस्य धर्मो निरर्थकः ।

आज्ञार्थः खलु यस्य स्यात् स जडो नाम जन्मनि ॥ २१ ॥⁸

¹ Tib. *sdug. bsñal ba dan* (=duḥkha-) ; HPS omits it.

² Tib. omits *anirvṛtikaratvād* ; but appears to read : *rtag tu so mi gsod pañi* *phyir dan* which gives no sense here.

³ Tib. *yuḥ sgrub pañi don du* ; HPS 'sādhano.

⁴ Tib. *rgyal srid* ; HPS *rājñā*.

⁵ Tib. *bsod nams dag* (X *bdag*) *la* ; HPS omits *puṇyeṣu* reading simply *dhīpatyeṣu*.

⁶ Tib. *prayatitavyam* (*ḥbad par byaḥo*).

⁷ For c X of CŚV reads *gañ la chos don gñer ba ñid*.

⁸ HPS *nāsty anupāyasya* for *nāsty ājñāyā yasya* in a.

CSV : यस्य हि समीहितार्थं संसिद्धिरन्यथा न सम्भवति स ^३[पर-
स्तत्साधयितुं प्रवर्तित्यत इत्याज्ञादानश्रमं प्राप्नोति । परो विनाज्ञया भुवं सिद्धि-

¹ After 'lārtha- Tib -bhedā or -viseśa- (rnam pa), and it does not read sam (an lag) in saṃsādhī-.

• ² From here the following is supplied from Tib.

གཞན་གྱིས་དེ་སྐབ་དུ་གཞུག་པའི་ཕྱིར་བཀའ་ལྟར་སྦྱོལ་བའི་ངལ་བ་ཐོབ་
པར་འགྱུར་གྱི། གཞན་ཞིག་བཀའ་ལྟར་མེད་པར་ངེས་གྲུབ་པར་འབྲང་བ་མེད་
པར་འཐོབ་པ་དེ་ལ་ནི་བཀའ་ལྟར་དགོས་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་ལ། གང་ལ་བཀའ་
དགོས་པ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ལ་ནི་དེའི་རྒྱ་ཚེས་ (x ཚེས་) ཀྱང་དོན་མེད་དོ།
དེ་ལྟར་ན་རེ་ཞིག་བཀའ་དོན་དུ་ (Here X adds མི, but it is not required) གཉིར་
བ་དེ་ཚེས་ (x ཚེས་) མེད་དོ། འོ་ན་ནི་བཀའ་ལྟར་དགོས་པ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་
ལ་ཚེས་ འབྲས་ བྱ་དང་ བཅས་ པར་ འགྱུར་ བས་ དེའི་དོན་ ཏུ་རིགས་སོ་ཞེ་ན།
བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ།

གང་ཡང་བཀའ་ལྟར་དོན་གཉིར་ཉིད། (See note 9)

དེ་ནི་སྐྱེ་ནང་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བྱ།

རྒྱན་པོ་འི་རིགས་དང་མི་རིགས་པར་སྦྱོད་པར་མི་རྣམས་པ་ཁོ་ན་བཀའི་དོན་
དུ་གཉིར་བར་འགྱུར་གྱི། མཁས་པ་ནི་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་གཡངས་པའི་དོགས་ཀྱི་ངལ་བ་
བདེ་བར་མི་སེམས་སོ། གཞན་ཡང་འདི་བཀའ་ལྟར་ལ་གནོད་པས་སྤོང་བ་དང་
བྲལ་བ་ལས་དེ་དང་ཇེས་སུ་མི་མཐུན་པ་དག་ལ་འཇུག་པས་གནས་པ་ན་འདོད་
བཞིན་དུ་བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་པ་བྱེད་དོ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཆེས་སྒྲིག་པའི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་
འགྱུར་བས་དོན་དུ་གཉིར་བར་མི་རིགས་སོ། གལ་ཏེ་འདི་དགོ་བའི་ལས་ཀྱིས་
བཀའ་ ཅས་དོན་དུ་གཉིར་བར་འགྱུར་ཞིང་མི་བདེ་བའི་སྤང་པོ་གྲུབ་སྤྱད་དོན་
དུ་གཉིར་བར་བྱེད་ན་ནི། དེ་ལས་ཆེས་རྒྱན་པ་གཞན་སུ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པར་འགྱུར།

CSV: ཇི་ལྟར་སྒྲུབ་པ་འབྲས་བྱུང་འདོད་ན་སྒྲུབ་ཅི་དོན་དུ་ལས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་
 དུ་སྒྲུབ་ཅི་དོན་ཡང་འབྲས་བྱུང་ཆེད་དུ་སྒྲིན་པ་ལ་སྒྲོང་བ་འཇུག་གི།། དེའི་
 སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུབ་དང་འདྲ་བར་འགྱུར་དུ་འོང་བས་འབྲས་བྱུང་ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་
 སྒྲིན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལས་ལ་འབད་པར་མི་བྱའོ། དེ་ལ་མཁམས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་
 དེ་ལས་བརྒྱུག་པར་འགྱུར་བར་དོགས་པར་མི་བྱ་ཉེ། འདི་ལྟར།

གང་དག་དག་བ་མི་འདོད་པ།¹

དེ་དག་མི་དག་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱེད།།

བྱ་བ་མངོན་པར་འདོད་པ་ལ་ནི་རང་དང་གཞན་གྱི་བདེ་བ་འགྱུར་བྱའི་སྐྱེ་
 ཡིན་པའི་སྒྲུབ་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་མཆོག་ཡིན་ན་གང་དག་དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་བའི་
 སྐྱེ་ཡིན་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྒྲུབ་མི་འདོད་པ་དེ་དག་ད་ལྟར་རང་དང་གཞན་ལ་གཏན་དོན་
 མ་ཡིན་པར་གྱུར་པའི་མི་དག་བ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱེད། གང་དག་སྲིད་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཡིན་
 བས་བསོད་ནམས་དག་ཀྱང་བྱེད་བར་མི་ཤོད་པ་དེ་དག་ཇི་ལྟར་ནང་ན་འགྲོའི་ཙུ་
 བས་བསོད་ནམས་མ་ཡིན་པ་དག་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར།

—यथा भटकः फलेच्छायां भवत्यर्थं कर्म करोति तथा सोऽपि जनः
 फलनिमित्तं दानमिच्छायां प्रवर्त्तते। तस्माद् भटकवद् भवतीतीष्टफलनिमित्तं
 दानमिच्छायां न प्रयतितव्यम्। तत्र पण्डितानां तत् कर्म प्रतिजोमभूतमिति
 नाशङ्कितव्यम्। तथा हि—

शुभं न कामयन्ते ये ते कुर्वन्त्यशुभं कथम् ॥

अभीष्टे हि कार्ये स्वपरसुखोद्भवहेतुतया पुण्यकार्ये प्रधाने सति ये तदपि
 संसारहेतुत्वाद् कामयन्ते ते साम्प्रतं स्वपरात्मन्तानर्थभूतमशुभं कथं कुर्वन्ति ।²

¹ X *sor ba* for *stoh ba*.

² As noted before, here in the first line X has *la* for *pa* and in the second *dag* for *dge*.

ये भवहेतुरिति पुष्ट्यान्यपि कर्तुं न शक्नुवन्ति ते कथं दुर्गतिमूलमित्य-
पुष्ट्यानि कुर्वन्ति ॥

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གང་གིས་འགྲོ་བ་འབྱུང་འཁོར་གྱི།
 ཚེགས་འདྲ་སྐྱུ་མའི་སྐྱེས་བྱ་ལྟར།
 མཐོང་བར་གྱུར་པ་དེ་དག་ཆེས།
 གསལ་བར་གོ་འཕང་དམ་པར་འགྲོ། ॥ १ ॥¹

जगद् यन्त्रसमूहाभं मायापुरुषसन्निभम् ।

येऽपश्यंस्ते व्यक्ततरं गच्छन्ति पदसुत्तमम् ॥ २ ॥²

CSV : འབྱུང་འཁོར་ནི་སྤད་བྱ་དང་གིང་དུ་མ་སོགས་པ་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་
 ཡིན་ལ། སྐྱུ་མ་ནི་གསང་སྤྲུགས་དང་སྤྲན་ཆེན་པོའི་ཕྱོད་ས་ཀྱི་ཀྱེན་ལས་བྱུང་
 བའི་སྐྱེས་བྱ་³ དང་བྱད་མེད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཆ་བྱེད་⁴ དག་གོ། ཇི་ལྟར་གང་དག་
 ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ལས་མི་སྐལས་པ་ནས་ས་ལ་ཀྱུན་ནས་ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་གྱུར་འགྱུར་བ་
 དེ་དག་ཁོ་ནི་དེའི་རང་བཞིན་ལ་སྐལས་པའི་འབྱུང་འཁོར་དང་སྐྱུ་མ་སྐལ་སྐྱེས་
 བྱ་³ དང་བྱད་མེད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཕྱོང་པ་ཉིད་མཐོང་བ་ནས་ས་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཀྱུན་
 ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་གྱུར་མི་འགྱུར་བ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་གང་དག་གིས་འགྲོ་བ་དེན་ཅིང་
 འབྲེལ་བར་འབྱུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་འབྱུང་འཁོར་དང་སྐྱུ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལྟར་རང་
 བཞིན་དང་བྲལ་ཞིང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་རང་གི་ངོ་བོར་མཐོང་བ་དེ་དག་ནི་ཕྱིན་

¹ In d CSV *pa* for *par*.

² For the second half one may read also: *ye pu'gyanti vyaktatarāṃ yūnti te padam uttamam*.

³ X *pa* for *bu*.

⁴ X *byad* for *byed*.

ཅི་ལོག་གིས་ཀུན་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་འཁོར་བ་ལས་བརྒྱལ་ནས་བསོད་ནམས་དང
 རྩིག་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལས་འདས་པའི་སྤངས་ལས་འདས་པའི་གོང་ཁྱིད་གཅིག་པུའི་
 མཐར་ཐུག་པར་འགྱུར་རྟེན།

==यन्त्रं ह्यनेकसूत्रकाष्ठादिभिः सम्पद्यते। माया रहस्यमन्त्रमहौषध-
 बलप्रत्ययोद्भूतस्त्रीपुरुषवेशाः। यथा यानि विपरीतानि कर्माण्यपण्डितानां
 संक्षेपहेतवस्तानि खलु तत्स्वरूपपण्डितानां यन्त्रमायाकाशानां स्त्रीपुरुषस्वभाव-
 शून्यतादर्शनां संक्षेपहेतवो न भवन्ति तथा ये जगत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादाद् यन्त्र-
 मायादिवत् स्वभावरहितमभावस्वरूपं पश्यन्ति ते विपर्ययसमुत्पादितं संसार-
 मुक्तौर्ध्वं पुण्यपापकार्यातीतनिर्वाणपुरैकान्तगा भवन्ति ॥

175

CSV. དེའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་ན་སྐྱེ་མའི་རང་བཞིན་དང་(?)¹ མི་དང་པའི་
 ཚེས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལ་མཐའ་པ།

=तस्मादेवं मायास्वभावस्य अविश्वासधर्मस्वभावस्य च (?)
 विज्ञानाम्—

གང་དག་པ་ནི་འཁོར་བ་ན།

ཡུལ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དགའ་མེད་པ།

དེ་དག་ལ་འདྲིར་ནས་ཀྱན་དུ།

དགའ་བ་འཐད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཉིད། ३༡ ॥²

येषां भवति संसारे न रतिर्विषयेरपि ।

एतस्मिन् सर्वथा तेषां रतिर्नैवोपपद्यते ॥२५॥

¹ The X is very illegible here and two letters could not be clearly read .

² In a X of CSV *mi* for *na*. In c X of CS *han* for *hdir*.

CSV : ཕྱལ་ལ་ཆགས་པ་ནི་བྱིས་པ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོར་བར་གནས་པའི་རྒྱ་
 ཡིན་གྱི། གང་དག་ལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལོགས་པར་སོ་སོར་བརྟགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་
 ལྟོར་བར་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བ་དང་ལྷ་དང་སེའི་ཕྱལ་ཆེས་སུ་མཐུན་པ་ནས་སྤྱི་
 ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བར་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་གཞན་སྟོབ་རབ་
 ཆེས་སུ་མཐུན་པ་སྟོབ་པ་དང་གྲ་བ་དང་ན་བ་དང་འརྱི་བ་དང་ལྷ་དང་སྟོབ་སྤྲུགས་
 འདོན་པས་ལྟུག་པའི་ནས་པ་ཅན་ལ་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བ་ཡོད་པར་འགྱུར་
 རམ་ཞེས་མི་སྤྱོད་པར་སེམས་ཀྱིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་འདྲིར་ནས་ཀྱན་དུ་དགའ་བ་
 འཐད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཉིད་ཅེས་བཤད་དེ། སམས་པ་ནས་སྤྱི་དགའ་བའི་རྒྱ་བྱིན་
 ཅི་ལོག་སྤངས་པའི་ཕྱིར་ལྟོར་བར་དགའ་བ་མ་ཡིན་དེ།

==विषयरगो हि बालानां संसारस्थितिहेतुः। येषां धर्मस्वभावसुप्रत्य-
 वेक्षणात् संसारेऽभिरतिर्न चानुकूलेष्वपि देवमानवविषयेष्वभिरतिर्ननु तेषामुदे-
 गात्वनुकूलजन्मजरारब्धाधिभृत्यशोकपरिदेवनासंग्रामविशेषवत्यन्यस्मिन्नभिरति-
 र्भवेदित्यसम्भवो मन्यते। तेषामिह रतिः सर्वथा नोपपद्यत इत्युच्यते। पण्डितानां
 हि रतिहेतुविपर्ययसप्रहाणात् संसाररतिर्न भवति ॥¹

ནལ་འཁྱོར་སྟོད་པ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་ལས་མི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་འདོད་པ་ལོངས་སྟོད་ལ་ཞེན་པ་
 སྤང་བའི་ཐབས་བརྟན་པ་སྟེ་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་བདུན་པའོ།¹

¹ The colophon in CSV runs as follows :

སྟོབ་དཔོན་འཕགས་པ་རྣའི་ཞལ་ལྷ་ནས་ཀྱི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་ནལ་འཁྱོར་
 སྟོད་པ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་ལས་མི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མངོན་པར་འདོད་པའི་
 ཕྱལ་གྱི་ལོངས་སྟོད་མངོན་པར་ཞེན་པ་སྤང་བའི་
 ཐབས་བརྟན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སྟེ་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་
 པ་བདུན་པའི་འབྲེལ་པའོ།

॥ योगाचार चतुःशतके मालुषेष्टसम्भोगाभिनिवेशप्रहाणोपाय-
सन्दर्शनं सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ॥

= आचार्यार्थदेवीये बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके मालुषाभीष्ट-
विषयसम्भोगाभिनिवेशप्रहाणोपायसन्दर्शननामक-
सप्तमप्रकरणवृत्तिः ।

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

151

1. There is in no way the end of this ocean of miseries ; you are submerged in it, yet why have you, a fool, no fear ?

152

2. Having followed behind, youth again comes forth in front ; life, too, in this world appears like a competition in a race.

153

3. In the world you cannot move away from your position according to your own desire. What intelligent person, being dependent, is yet fearless ?

154

4. All cannot be left to the future. Act so that you may not be even now an ordinary man as you have been in the past.

155

5. The appearance of one who listens, of that which is to be listened to, and of one who speaks, is difficult to be secured. It is, therefore, said in the *Sūtra* that the world is not one that has an end, nor one that has no end.

156

6. As most people adopt the wrong side (view), it is certain that most ordinary men will fall into misfortune.

157

7. The representation of the effects of sin is seen on the earth. Therefore the world appears like a slaughter-house to the good.

158

8. If one is regarded as insane on account of the unsettled state of one's mind, then what wise man would not call him insane who is attached to the world ?

159

9. Having seen the disappearance of pain arising from movements at the cessation of the movements, a wise man makes up his mind to destroy all action.

160

10. Who is there that would not be frightened by the fact that the extent of a single effect is not known just as the first cause of an effect is not known ?

161

11. All work begun does not necessarily lead to success ; but there is a necessary end of all undertakings ; why then should one be disturbed for it ?

162

12. An action is done with effort, but the deed is destroyed without effort. In spite of the fact you have no aversion towards action !

163

13. There is no happiness of one that has gone by, nor of one that has not yet come, the present, too, is passing ; for what, then, is this effort of yours ?

164

14. Heaven itself is terrible like hell to the wise ; to them a terror-less world is altogether difficult to obtain.

165

15. If even a fool thoroughly realized the miseries of the world, he would along with his mind come to a total end (*i.e.*, attain *mokṣa*).

166

16. A man who is not haughty is difficult to be found, and there is none who is haughty yet kind ; therefore it is said that 'one who goes from light to light' is very difficult to be found.

167

17. Verily here an object of enjoyment is obtained by him who has turned back from it. Therefore though acting in a contrary manner, duty is traditionally enjoined on an uncertain ground.

168

18. The consequence of meritorious act is wealth and it is to be always protected from others ; how can that then be regarded as one's own which is to be always protected from others ?

169

19. Duty (*dharma*) follows the established custom of the world, whatever it may be ; therefore it appears that the world is, as it were, stronger than duty.

170

20. A desired object (of enjoyment is obtained) by good action ; but that object (in fact) is condemnable ; what is the necessity of that, even it is effected, the abandonment of which is better ?

171

21. To him who does not want to command, *dharma* (religious duty) is useless, and he to whom it is (desirable) for the sake of the command (it gives over men) is stupid in this life.

172

22. If having seen the consequence of that which has not yet come you have attachment for it, owing to attachment for *dharma*, what makes you, who has seen the end of that which has not yet come, fearless ?

173

23. Merit is in every way just like the wages of a hired labourer. How can those who do not want even good commit evil ?

174

24. The world is just like machines as well as an illusory man ; those who have realized it apparently attain to the highest position.

175

25. Those who are not pleased in this world even with (agreeable) objects cannot at all get pleasure here.

CORRIGENDA

TO

THE CATUḤŚATAKA OF ĀRYADEVA

P. 837, l. 2, read *sdo* for *sio*; l. 5 *dhāvavakat* for *gamana-*
vat; *asthitiḥ* for *sthitih*. P. 840, l. 11, read *brgyar* for *brgyad*.
P. 841, l. 8, add *uktam* after *sūtre'pi*. P. 842, l. 2, read *ḥchad*
for *ḥchod*. P. 844, l. 7, add *upadravarahitatvāt* before *tasmāt*.
P. 845, l. 12, read *asmāḥloke sarvasya* for *asya sarvasya lokasya*.
P. 854, l. 23, read *sam* for *sum*. P. 862, l. 16, read *dānādikarmaṇi*
for *dānabhikṣāyām*; *tasmān nivartanam* for *tat karma pratiloma-*
bhūtam iti.

SECTION X
PAPERS IN SANSKRIT

॥ श्रीः ॥

वैदिकवाङ्मयम्

(VEDIC LITERATURE)

PANDIT KEDĀRANĀTHA VIDYĀBHUṢANA

(Jaipur)

अयि विद्वद्वरेण्याः, समुपस्थिताः सभ्याश्च !

नाविदितचरमेतच्छ्रीमतां यद् वैदिकवाङ्मयं कियत्परिमितमिति । यद्यपि बहवोऽद्यावधि वाङ्मयस्यास्य ग्रन्थाः संमुद्रिताः संप्रकाशिताश्च परं 'कैटे-
लागस् कैटेलागरम्' नामकस्य विदुषा आप्रैकृपण्डितेन रचितस्य सूची-
पत्रस्य समवलोकनेन सम्यग् ज्ञायते यदद्यापि कियन्तो ग्रन्था नाममात्रेणैव
परिचिताः । तेषां यदि क्रमशो मुद्रणं भवेत्तदा भूयान् वर्षसङ्घः समपेक्षितः
स्यात् कर्मणोऽस्य कृते ।

अद्य यावत् संमुद्रितेषु वेदग्रन्थेषु प्रज्ञात् प्रत्नतमम् ऋग्वेदपुस्तकं नाम ।
ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् दश मण्डलानि सन्ति । तत्र—

प्रथममण्डले — दीर्घतमसस्तत्पुत्रस्य च ३६ सूक्तानि,
अङ्गिरसस्तद्वंशीयानां च ३२,
कण्वस्य तद्वंश्यानां च २७,
अगस्त्यस्य २७,
गोतमस्य तत्पुत्रस्य च २७,
परुच्छेपस्य दिवोदासपुत्रस्य १७,
मधुच्छन्दसो विश्वामित्रपुत्रस्य ११,
पराशरस्य शक्तिपुत्रस्य ८
शुनःशेपस्य अजीगर्तपुत्रस्य ७,
कश्यपस्य मरीचिपुत्रस्य १,

एषमन्येषामपि महर्षीणां नाम्ना विख्यातानि संख्ययैकनवत्युत्तर-
शतं सूक्तानि सन्ति ।

द्वितीयमण्डले—गृत्समदस्य भृगुवंश्यस्य, तद्वंशधराणामन्येषां च
संभूय ४३ सूक्तानि,

तृतीयमण्डले—विश्वामित्रस्य तदन्वयिनां च ६२ सूक्तानि,
चतुर्थमण्डले—वामदेवस्य तदन्वयिनां च ५८ सूक्तानि ।
पञ्चममण्डले—अत्रिणो महर्षेस्तत्कुलजानां च ८७ सूक्तानि,
षष्ठमण्डले—भरद्वाजस्य महर्षेस्तदीयवंशधराणां च ७५ सूक्तानि ।
सप्तममण्डले—वसिष्ठस्य महर्षेर्वासिष्ठानां च १०४ सूक्तानि ।
अष्टममण्डले—महर्षेः कण्वस्य तदुद्भवभवानां च १०३ सूक्तानि,
यत्रैकादश बालखिल्यसूक्तानि सायणाचार्येणापि
वेदभाष्यकारेणान्याख्यातानि परं बाष्कलशाखाया-
मेतानि वर्तन्ते ।

नवममण्डले—११४ सूक्तानि केवलं सोमविषयकाणि सन्ति । नास्मिन्
मण्डले काप्यन्या देवता ।
दशममण्डले च—प्रथममण्डलसदृशं नैकमहर्षिसंकलितानि सूक्तानि
१८१ संख्यातानि । अत्र देवतानाम्नैव सूक्ताना-
मुल्लेखः, न ऋपिनाम्ना ।

एवं संकलने सूक्तसंख्या १,०२८,
संगणने शब्दसंख्या १,५३,८२६,
,, अक्षरसंख्या च ४,३२,०००
एषा किल परिमितिः ऋग्वेदग्रन्थस्य ।

‘वेद’ इति ‘मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्’ इति परिभाषया मन्त्रब्राह्मणौ
संभूय वेदनाम्नाऽऽचिख्यासितौ परं मुख्यो भागो मन्त्रात्मक इति मन्त्र-
भागस्यैव वेदसंहितानाम्ना प्रसिद्धिः । अस्यां किल दाशतय्यां संहितायां
यावन्ति सूक्तानि यावन्ति च पदानि, यावन्ति चार्णांसि तदत्र संख्यात-
मेव । एतदद्भुतमत्र यददसीयाक्षरसंख्या भारतवर्षीयज्योतिःसिद्धान्त-
विद्विश्चरपरिचिता कलियुगमानात्मिका सूर्यभगणभोगतुल्या ४,३२,०००
संख्येति । अस्त नाम ।

प्रातःस्मरणीयैर्महर्षिभिः कियता किल परिश्रमेण संकलितान्येतानि
सूक्तानि, किर्याश्चात्र वंशानुक्रमिकः कण्ठाग्रीकरणश्रम इति नातिरोहितं
कस्याप्येतद्विदः ।

भवेदत्र किमपि निधानमत्रेति सहसैवाभ्युदेति मुनसि शङ्का श्रममेनं
बुद्धिपथे समानीतवतः ।

वैदिकवाङ्मयम्

या किल ऋग्वेदसंहिताधुना पठनपाठनक्रमे प्रचलिता सा शाकल-
शाखीया ।

बाह्वृच्यस्य २१ एकविंशतिः शाखाः किल । तासु सेयं शाकलशाखा
सांप्रतमुपलभ्यते । अस्यां च १०,४०२ तः १०,६२२ पर्यन्तं चर्चा संख्या ।

ऋग्वेदीयब्राह्मणग्रन्थाश्च —

ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम्, कौषीतकिब्राह्मणम्, पैङ्ग्यब्राह्मणम् च ।

तेषु पैङ्ग्यब्राह्मणमद्याप्यनुलब्धम्, अप्रकाशितं च ।

ये किल 'वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलम् ।' 'वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानाम् ।' 'वेदाः
प्रमाणम् ।' इत्यादयो वेदप्रामाण्यवादाः प्रचलन्ति ते किमप्यत्र पूर्वैर्ऋषिभिः
संस्थापितं भवेदित्यनुमां जनयन्ति ।

वर्तमानकाले याः संहिताः समुपलभ्यन्ते ताः कृष्णद्वैपायनेन भग-
वता बादरायणेन संकलिताः । शाखाभेदेन संहितानां बहुत्वेऽपि प्रतिपाद्य
विषयाभेद एव ।

विशेषतो यज्ञयागादिविधानमेव श्रौतग्रन्थानां लक्ष्यम् । 'त्रैगुण्यविषया
वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन' इति भगवदुक्तिश्च वेदानां त्रैगुण्यविषयत्व-
माख्यापयति । यद्यपि किं सिद्धयति यज्ञादिकर्मणेति संशयः समुदेति
सर्वस्य जनस्य । 'अग्नौ हुतं विधिना द्रव्यमदृष्टमुत्पादयतीति' भारतीयानां
सिद्धान्तः । अत एव बौद्धैः शतशः प्रयत्नैः खण्डितोऽप्ययं सिद्धान्तो
जागर्त्यद्यापीति दृढमूलत्वमस्य दुर्निवारम् ।

अस्मिन् काले पुनरपि पाश्चात्यविदुषामत्र समादरमाकलन्तो भार-
तीया विद्वांसो निबद्धादराः समालोक्यन्ते । परं खेदास्पदं यद् वैदिक-
ग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनस्यापि न कश्चन प्रकारः समाविष्कृतोऽद्यापि । प्रकाशना-
प्रकाशनयोर्नास्ति तथाविधावश्यकता यथा किल वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य पठन-
पाठनप्रचारस्य विशेषतया समावश्यकत्वम् ।

वैदिकभाषैवाधुना लुप्तप्रचारा । सायणमाधवादिभिर्यदि वेदग्रन्थानां
भाष्यादिरचना न कृता स्यात्तर्हि इयानपि वेदार्थो नावबुद्धयेत् ।

वयमेकामृचमुदाहरणत्वेन विलिखामोऽत्र ।

'सप्त युञ्जन्ति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनामा ।

त्रिनाभिचक्रमृजरमनर्व यत्रेमा विश्वा भुवनाधितस्थुः ॥

(ऋग्वेदसंहिता—मण्डलं १ अध्यायः २२ सूक्तम् १६४)

अत्र किल सप्तसप्ततेः सूर्यस्य रथवर्णनम् ।

एकचक्रं रथं सप्त [अश्वः] युञ्जन्ति । सप्तनामा एक एवाश्वो बहति ।
त्रिनाभिचक्रं [एनद्] अजरमनर्वम् । यत्रेमा विश्वा भुवनाधितस्थुः ।
अयं किल शब्दानामर्थः ।

यदि वास्तवं प्रतिपाद्यस्यार्थस्य सर्वतोमुखं विवेकं कुर्मस्तर्हि प्रत्यक्षत
एव ज्ञायते यद् भगवान् वेदः सूर्यस्य क्रान्तिवृत्ते स्थितिं तत्प्रकारं च
शिक्षयतीति ।

क्षणमवधीयतां श्रीमद्भिरत्र । यथा—भगवानम्बरमणिराकाशे यत्र
प्रकाशते तत्स्थानमारभ्य कल्प्यमानं सूर्यमार्गत्वेन निर्दिष्टं वृत्तं क्रान्तिवृत्तं
नाम । पृथिव्याः समानं भागद्वयं विदधद् यद् वृत्तं परिकल्पितं तद्
विषुववृत्तं नाम ।

क्रान्तिवृत्त (Ecliptic or Zodiac) विषुववृत्त (Equator) योः
प्रथमः संपातो वसन्तर्तुप्रारम्भकत्वात् पूर्वस्मिन् बिन्दौ वर्तमानो वसन्त-
संपातनाम्ना प्रसिद्धः । एवं पश्चिमबिन्दौ द्वितीयः संपातः शारदसंपात-
नाम्ना व्यवहृतः शरदृतुप्रारम्भस्तत एव च भवति ।

सूर्यस्य परितो भ्रमणं कुर्वाणा ग्रहाः पृथ्वी च यदा वसन्तसंपातशर-
त्संपातयोः समायान्ति तदा क्रान्तेरभावः संजायते । क्रान्तिर्नाम दक्षिणो-
त्तरयोः संपातादन्तरम् । पृथिव्या वार्षिकं यत् सूर्यपरिक्रमणं तत्र पृथिवी
सूर्यस्य संमुखे वारद्वयमायात्येकस्मिन् वर्षे । प्रथमं वसन्तसंपाते २१ मार्च
दिवसे, द्वितीयवारं च शरत्संपाते २२ सितेम्बरदिवसे नियतं समागमनं
पृथिव्या दिनेष्वेतेषु । वसन्तसंपातमारम्भे धृत्वोत्तरां दिशं प्रति यत्
पृथिवीभ्रमणमूलं सूर्योदयस्थानभेदं प्रत्यहमाकलयामः तस्य पराकाष्ठा
२३°२८' अष्टाविंशतिकलाधिकत्रयोविंशत्यंशा नियता । प्राचीने काले
सेयं परमाक्रान्तिः २४ अंशैः (चतुर्विंशतिरंशाः) परिगणितासीत् । एवमेव
दक्षिणायामाशायामपि सूर्यस्योदयभेदे विज्ञात आसीत् । "एषामंशानां
चतुर्विंशतिसंख्याक्रान्तां भागत्रयमवधीकृत्य यानि वृत्तानि कल्पितान्यासन्
तेषामहोरात्रवृत्तानीत्यास्ते संज्ञानम् । वसन्तसंपातात् सूर्यो यावता कालेन
त्रिंशदंशपरिमितामेकां राशिमत्यति तावता कालेन सूर्यस्योत्तरगमनं १२
अंशाः (द्वादशांशाः) संजायते । अर्थात् प्रथमराशौ १२ अंशाः क्रान्तिः ।
एवं द्वितीयराशौ ८ अंशाः (अष्टांशाः) क्रान्तिः । तृतीयराशौ च ४
चत्वारोऽंशाः । संभूय द्वादश, अष्टौ, चत्वारि च चतुर्विंशतिरंशाः परमा

वैदिकवाङ्मयम्

क्रान्तिः । एवमेव शरत्संपातमारभ्य दक्षिणदिश्यपि वृत्तत्रयी प्रत्यंतव्याहोरात्राणाम् । मासि मासि राशिसंचारः सूर्यस्येति प्रतिवर्षं द्वादशराशिपरिक्रमणं नियतमेव । एतमेव विषयं 'सप्त युजन्ति रथमंकचक्रम्' इत्यादिश्रुतिः कथयति । अर्थात् एकं क्रान्तिवृत्तमेव सूर्यस्थितिसूचकम् । परं विषुववृत्तमेकम्, उत्तरतश्चाहोरात्रवृत्तत्रयम्, दक्षिणतश्चाहोरात्रवृत्तत्रयमेवं सप्त । वृत्तानि यदि पृथक् पृथक् परिगणितानि स्युस्तदा सप्तसंख्यया जायन्ते एतान्येव सप्त वृत्तानि सूर्यस्याश्रवत्वेन छन्दोनाम्ना व्यवहृतानि । काव्यमालायामस्मदीयायां यत् पिङ्गलसूत्रं प्रकाशितं तदीयभूमिकायामस्माकं गुरुचरणैर्विद्यावाचस्पतिश्रीमधुसूदनशास्त्रिभिर्जयपुरराजपण्डितसभामुख्यैरेतत् सम्यक् प्रतिपादितम् । येषां भवेदत्र मनोऽभिनिवेशस्तैस्तत्र सर्वमप्याकलनीयम् ।

एवं गूढानां विषयाणां प्रतिपादनाय भूयसायासेन संकलिता एता वेदसंहिताः शिष्यपरम्परया सुसंरक्षिताः प्राचीनैर्महर्षिभिस्तत्परवर्तिभिश्च विद्वद्भिः । पूर्वं नासीन्मुद्रणकला लेखनकलापि चेति कण्ठाग्रीकृत्यैव वैदिकग्रन्थानां संरक्षणमभूत् । सेयं ऋषिपारम्परी धन्यवादाहर्हा ।

भट्टोच्चमूलरप्रभृतीनां पाश्चात्यविदुषां श्रमेण मायणभाष्यसंवलितानि ऋग्वेदसंहिता सुपरिष्कृतेति सार्वजनीनम् एवं वेबरप्रमुखा अपि विद्वांसो भूयांसमायासं स्वीकृत्य संस्कृतैतिह्यग्रन्थानारचयामासुः । तथैव प्रोफेसर एग्लिङ्गमहाशयं शतपथब्राह्मणग्रन्थस्याङ्गलभाषयानुवादः कृतः । काशीमलंकुर्वाणैः प्रिन्सिपलप्रिफिथवेनिसप्रभृतिभिश्च बहूपकृतमित्यपि विदितचरम् । अधुनापि च प्रोफेसर मैकडानल्, प्रोफेसर कैलेण्डप्रभृतयो विद्वांसः पाश्चात्या निबद्धादरा अत्रेति परमः प्रहर्षः ।

एवं भारते वर्षेऽपि सत्यव्रतसामग्रमिभिराचार्यैर्नूतनपरिपाठ्या एतरेयालं चन-निरुक्तालौचनादिग्रन्थानां रचनं कृतम् । तथैव च समीक्षाचक्रवर्तिभिः श्रीमधुसूदनशर्मविद्यावाचस्पतिभिर्मैथिलैर्जयपुरमधिवसद्भिर्नितरां श्रमः स्वीकृतो वेदोद्धरणाय । समीक्षाचक्रवर्तिभिर्मैथिलैर्ग्रन्थरचना कृता नाद्यावधि सा विदुषां दृष्टिपथमायाता । अत्र तदीयग्रन्थानामप्रकाशनमेवासीन्निदानम् । परं प्रहर्षावसरा यदधुना तैः स्वीयानां ग्रन्थानां मुद्रणं प्रारब्धम् । तेषु—१ यज्ञमधुसूदन ग्रन्थः (यज्ञपद्धतिविषयकः ।)

२ ब्रह्मविज्ञानम् (वैदिकमतेन ब्रह्मप्रतिपादकम् ।)

३ इन्द्रविजयकाव्यम् (देवासुरसंग्रामविषयकम् ।)

इत्यादयो ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशितमुपाक्रान्ताः । ब्रह्मविज्ञानस्यैकोऽशोऽहोरात्र-
वादनामको वर्षेऽस्मिन् समुद्रय संप्रकाशितः । तत्र किमपि वैशिष्ट्यमा-
कलय्य समुपस्थापयामोऽत्र कियन्ति चित् पद्यानि ।

‘सूर्यः स्थिरस्तिष्ठति विश्वमध्ये ।

चन्द्रेण साकं भ्रमतीह पृथ्वी ।

गन्धर्व इत्थं जमदग्निरूचे

स वामदेवश्च स वामदेव्यः ॥

नृचक्षा एष दिवो मध्य आस्ते

आपप्रिवान् रोदसी अन्तरिक्षम् ।

स विश्वाचीरभिचष्टे घृताची-

रन्तरा पूर्वमपरं च कंतुम् ॥

(१०-१३-२)

‘प्रजा ह तिस्रो अत्यायमीयु-

न्यन्या अर्कमभितो विविश्रे ।

बृहद्ध तस्थौ भुवनेष्वन्तः

पवमानो हरित आविवेश ॥

(ऋ० सं० ८ म० १०१ सू० १४)

तथैव

द्यौः कोऽर्थ इत्यत्र मतद्वयं स्यात्

प्राधान्यतस्तत्र च कंचिदाहुः ।

सूर्येन्दुताराग्रहसंकुलाङ्गं

यद् दृश्यते व्योम तदस्ति साद्यौः ॥

द्यौरेष संवत्सर उच्यते रवे-

र्यावान् प्रकाशः परितः प्रवर्तते ।

तद्देवचर्कसकला हि देवता

मिथोऽन्वयादत्र किलैकता गताः ॥

संवत्सरो देवसमुच्चयोऽथवा

गावोऽथवा सर्वरसप्रदोहनाः ।

द्यौरुच्यते व्योम तु लक्षितं हितै-

स्ततो हि गोदेवकुलप्रवृत्तयः ॥

वैदिकवाङ्मयम्

यावत्तु सूर्येण विभास्यते तद्
ब्रह्माण्डमेतस्य कपालमर्द्धम् ।
अर्द्धार्कभक्तं दिवमाहुरर्द्धं
कपालमुर्वी घटितं तु पृथ्वी ॥

(अहोरात्रवादः)

अत्र किल पृथिव्याः सूर्यस्य परितो भ्रमणम्, तथा च सूर्यस्य यावन्तं प्रदेशं प्रकाशो व्याप्तस्तस्याकाशभागस्य पूर्वोत्तरभागभेदेन सूर्यकेन्द्रमवधीकृत्य पृथिव्याकाशकल्पनेति नूतनः संदर्भः ।

एवं वैदिकग्रन्थेषु संवत्सरः प्रजापतिश्च पर्यायशब्दौ । संवत्सरो नाम सूर्यस्यैकवारं यस्मिन् विन्दौ स्थितिरवलोकिता तत्रैव पुनरागमने यावान् कालः समपेक्षितस्तत्परिमितिः । संवत्सरस्य भागरचनानूकला यज्ञयागादिक्रिया । परमेषा क्रियोच्छिन्नमूला प्रायोऽधुनेति समाहितैर्भाव्यं संस्कृतभाषा-विद्विरत्रेति संप्रार्थनमस्माकम् ।

डेकनकालेजपुस्तकालये, सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये, ओरिएण्टल- (मद्रास) पुस्तकालये, इण्डियाआफिसपुस्तकालये च यावन्तोऽप्रकाशिता वेदग्रन्थास्तेषां संस्कृतिः करणीया मुद्रणादिना ।

अथ दर्शपूर्णमास-ज्योतिष्टोम-अग्निष्टोम-आप्तोर्याभिप्रभृतयो यागास्तेषां समुपलभ्यमानानां पद्धतीनां संग्रहोऽप्येकदा करणीयः । अथ तत्र किंमूलो विसंवाद इत्यपि निश्चेतव्यम् । अथ वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य Research (अन्वेषणम्) करणीयं यावच्छक्यम् । कोटरेषु प्रक्षिप्तानां देवानांप्रियै रक्षितानां च प्रत्नानां वैदिकपुस्तकानां समन्वेषणं क्रयादिकं च विधाय करणीयोऽस्मिन् विषये प्रयत्नः । नोचेदुच्छिन्नप्रायेयं विद्या स्वरूपेनैव कालेनोन्मूलितप्राया स्यात् ।

यथा किलाभिनिवेशः पाश्चात्यविदुषां वैदिकवाङ्मयालोढने तथैव भारतीयैर्विपश्चिद्विरपि प्रयतितव्यमत्र ।

ये किल प्रसिद्धाः पारंगताश्च विद्वांसस्ते किल संप्राप्त्यर्थं विषयैऽस्मिन् कार्यकरणार्थम् ।

याः शास्त्रा लुप्ता याश्च लभ्यमाना अपि नाद्यापि प्रसिद्धिसुपागतास्ताः प्रथमं समाविष्करणीयाः । ब्राह्मणग्रन्थाः, आरण्यकग्रन्थाः, निविद्ग्रन्थाः, गृह्यसूत्रग्रन्थाः, प्रातिशाख्यग्रन्थाः, पद्धतिग्रन्थाश्च यावदुपलब्धं संग्राह्यः ।

एकैकस्य च ग्रन्थस्य पुस्तकप्रतिकृतिचतुष्कमेकीकृत्य सुष्ठु संपाद्य च संमुद्रणं कार्यम् ।

अथ यथा ऐतरेयब्राह्मणस्य संशोधकेन मिस्टर हागमहोदयेन पुण्यपत्तने शुष्केष्टिः कारितासीत् तथैव कार्यां प्रयागेऽन्यत्र वा कस्मिंश्चित् सुप्रसिद्धे नगरे यागशाला निर्मातव्या । तत्र च क्रियापरिणता विधेर्यथं प्रवर्ततेमा विद्या ।

यथेह 'कर्मचितो लोकः क्षीयते, तथैव पुण्यचितो लोकोऽपि' इति अभियुक्तोक्तिर्वर्तते तदनुसारं कर्मचितिविद्यानां किंविधा प्रक्रियेति न जानन्त्याधुनिकास्तेषामुपकाराय वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य समुचितः समुद्धारः सम्पेक्षितोऽधुना ।

यदि भवेदत्र कृपाकटाक्षनिक्षेपो सभास्ताराणां न तदा किमपि दुःसाध्यं नाम । यूनिवर्सिटी (विश्वविद्यालयेषु) पठनपाठनक्रमे संनिवेश्या वैदिकग्रन्थाः । आधुनिका विद्वांसश्च वैदिकग्रन्थमूलकानां नूतनानां ग्रन्थानां रचनायै संप्राथ्याः संनियोज्याश्च । एवं करणेन स्वल्पीयसैव कालेन ग्रन्थानां समुद्धारः स्यात्, नोचेदधुना समुपलब्धा अपि वैदिकग्रन्थाः कृमिकीटादिभक्षिताः सर्वथा निर्मूलाः स्युः ।

अधुना वेदोद्धरणं प्रथमां कर्तव्यकोटिमवगाहते । अतो नोपेक्ष्योऽयं विषयः । अथ च 'विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति' इति समुक्तिं मनसि निधाय विदुषामप्रगण्यैर्महानुभावैर्ज्ञानाभिवृद्धिमूलकस्य वेदवाङ्मयस्य सुपरिष्कारो विधेयः ।

पाश्चात्यैर्विद्वद्भ्यः ब्लूमफील्डप्रभृतिभिः यथा 'वैदिककङ्कालडेन्स' नामकग्रन्थस्यारचितः कृता तथैवात्रत्यैरपि नूतननूतनकोशादिरचना करणीया । सत्यावश्यके च पाश्चात्यदेशेषु संमुद्रितानां ग्रन्थानामनुवादाश्च देववाण्या अन्यया वा सरलभाषया करणीयाः ।

पाश्चात्याश्च वैदिकविद्वांसः सम्प्राथ्याः साहाय्याय कार्यस्यास्येति मम भूयो भूयो विनिवेदना ।

आशासे यदत्र चतुर्थकान्फरेन्सनाम्नि समुत्सवे विद्वत्समुदायेन वैदिकवाङ्मयविषयेऽवश्यमेव कश्चन समुद्यमः प्रारब्धः स्यात् । इति संप्रार्थयते ।

विदुषामनुचरः

जयपुरराजपण्डितः, केदारनाथः,

महामहोपाध्यायपण्डितदुर्गाप्रसादपुत्रः, काव्यमालासम्पादकश्च ।

(३)

द्वैततत्त्वमीमांसा

(PANDIT ĪŚVARA CHANDRA PANT.)

शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा पूर्वभवीयसदसत्कर्मविपाकभोगाय नर-
पशुपक्ष्यादयोनिस्तृज्योत्सृज्योपाददानः जगति संसरति । सर्वज्ञस्य
जगत्स्रष्टुरनन्तसद्गुणाश्रयस्य परमेश्वरस्य प्रसक्तगुणेन कर्मकलापेन
जीवन् समाधिविधूतमलः समासाद्य भगवतो हरेः प्रसादमधिगच्छति
परमपुमर्थरूपेयमिति द्वैतिनः प्राहुः । अद्वैतिनस्तु ब्रुवते सर्व एष कर्मफल-
भोगादिप्रपञ्चो मायामूलः । ऋते निर्विशेषब्रह्मणोऽखिलमपि जगत् मिथ्या ।
मिथ्यात्वेऽपि यावदविद्याविलसितमाम्नायोपदिष्टकर्माण्याचरणीयानि ।
मिथ्यात्वभावनया विरज्यतस्तु कर्माण्यकुर्वाणस्य प्रत्यगात्मतत्त्वाबोधे जातं
ब्रह्मस्वरूपता संपद्यते । आत्मनि विविधसुखदुःखादिविप्लवानुभवस्तु आवि-
द्यक एकाद्वितीयब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारात् रज्जुसाक्षात्कारादुरगविभ्रम इव
विलीयते ।

एष निर्विशेषब्रह्माद्वैतवादे विश्वमिथ्यात्वमन्तरा नावतिष्ठत इति
प्रथमं तदेव विचार्यते । मिथ्यात्वसिषाधयिषयानुमानं प्रयुञ्जते, विमति-
विषयो मिथ्या दृश्यत्वात् शुक्तिरूप्यवत् इति । इदं चानुमानं प्रत्यक्ष-
बाधितं न साध्यसिद्धावीष्टे । सन् घटः सती शुक्तिरित्यादि प्रत्यक्षं घटा-
द्यसत्त्वं विषयीकुर्वाणामनुमितिं निरुन्धे । प्रत्यक्षमनुमानस्योपजीव्यमिति
प्रबलतया सति विरोधे समर्थं बाधितुम् । अनुमानं स्वपक्षस्य स्वसाध्यस्य
व्याप्तिग्रहस्य वा सिद्ध्यै प्रत्यक्षमपेक्षते । अपेक्षितार्थसमर्पणम् एव च
प्रतिकूलधियमादधदनुमानजन्मैव प्रतिबध्नाति । रसश्चक्षुर्ग्राह्यो बहिरिन्द्रि-
यवेद्यत्वाद्रूपवदित्यत्र साध्यैकदेशभूतचक्षुष्टुं येन गृह्यते . तदेवैतदनुमान-
मप्यास्कन्दति । रूपादिषु मध्ये रूपमात्रव्यञ्जकेन्द्रियत्वं चक्षुष्टुम्, तथा
चेष्टाचक्षुष्टुस्य प्रत्यये रसस्य चक्षुर्ग्राह्यत्वानुमितिः दूरापेता । हृदे बहिर्मान्
जलादेत्यत्र व्याप्तिग्राहकमेव हृदे बह्वरभावमपि परिच्छिनत्तीति प्रतिब-
धानुमा न किञ्चिदपि चेष्टितुमीष्टे । मिथ्यात्वानुमितावपि

काणि प्रत्यक्षाणि पक्षादिसत्यत्वं प्रत्याययन्तीति मिथ्यात्वानुमानमुदेतुमपि नोत्सहते । सर्वस्य चानुमानस्य प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वादशक्यप्रतिक्षेपं प्रत्यक्षोपजीव्यत्वम् । यत्तु अद्वैतसिद्धौ उपजीव्यत्वहेतुकप्रत्यक्षप्राबल्यनिराकरणपरसंदर्भव्याख्यानावसरं ब्रह्मानन्दैरुक्तं “यद्यप्यतीन्द्रियपक्षसाध्यहेतुकानुमानस्य प्रत्यक्षापेक्षणे मानाभावः, पूर्वपूर्वानुमानपरम्परयैव तत्सम्भवात् । शाब्दबोधस्य क्वचिदपेक्षणेऽपि तस्य शब्दानुमानादिनैव संभवेन शब्दप्रत्यक्षानपेक्षणा” इति । तदसंगतम्, अपेक्षितार्थं ग्राहयन्ती पूर्वपूर्वानुमानपरम्परा कचिद्विश्राम्येद्वा न वा ? न तावदविश्रान्तं धावन्ती स्वयमलभमाना प्रतिष्ठां शक्नुयात्परमवस्थापयितुम्, परिश्रान्ता तु यत्रावतिष्ठेत् तत्र चरमानुमाने व्याप्तिग्रहः प्रत्यक्षायत्तः । शाब्दबोधापेक्षणस्थलेऽपि शब्दानुमाने व्याप्तिधीः प्रत्यक्षारतन्त्रेति दृढं तदुपजीव्यत्वम् । अत एव प्रत्यक्षलक्षणेऽव्यभिचारिपदतात्पर्यं निरूपयद्विवाचस्पतिमिश्रैस्तात्पर्यटीकायां प्रत्यक्षव्यभिचारोऽनुमानागमयोरव्यभिचारं कारणत्वेन प्रतिपादितः—

“अथवा प्रत्यक्षाद्यव्यभिचार एवानुमानाद्यव्यभिचारे कारणम् । नह्यस्ति संभवोऽव्यभिचरितप्रत्यक्षगृहीतपक्षधर्मताकं तर्कसहायप्रत्यक्षगृहीताविनाभावं वाऽनुमानं व्यभिचरतीति । यत्तु बाधितविषयं सत्प्रतिपक्षितं चानुमानं तदपि यद्यपि प्रथमं व्याप्तिग्रहणदोषेण न खण्डितं तथापि खण्डनोत्तरकालं सोऽपि प्रतीयते । तथा च व्याप्तिग्राहि प्रत्यक्षं तत्रापि व्यभिचरतीति । एवमागमोऽपि साक्षात् कचिन् पारम्पर्येण प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकस्तदव्यभिचारेणैव व्यभिचरति” इति ।

सति तु कचित्प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वव्यभिचारं अनुमानादिप्रामाण्यं किं निबन्धनं स्यात् ? अत एव च तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धानुदयनाचार्यैः तृतीयसूत्रे “यद्यपि किञ्चिदनुमानमननुमानपूर्वकमपि तथापि प्रायेण प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकम्” इति तात्पर्यटीकां व्याचक्ष्णैरुक्तम्—“प्रायेण प्रत्यक्षमात्रपूर्वकमिति साक्षात्, परम्परया तु सर्वमेवानुमानमित्यर्थः” इति ।

न च प्रत्यक्षमेवाप्रामाण्यमिति कथमनुमानं बाधतामिति वाच्यम्, प्रत्यक्षाप्रामाण्ये प्रत्यक्षसिद्धव्याप्ताद्यप्रामाण्येनानुमेये बाध आपद्येत । अयमभिसन्धिः अनुमेयसत्ता हेत्वादिनिष्ठाबाधितत्वसत्तासमानसत्ता-केति नियमः । दवीयसि देशे उत्पतन्तीं धूलिमालोक्य ‘धूम’ इति विपर्यस्तश्चेदनलमनुमिमीते नानुमितिप्रमा संपद्यते । किं कारणम् ? धूमभ्रमेऽबाधितत्वाभावः; अस्ति हि धूमविभ्रमे बह्वरभावनिश्चयः । यत्र तु

कश्चिदग्निं निधाय गतस्तस्मात् स्थानात् उत्पत्य नभसि प्रसरति मरुद्विभूत
धूलिजाले धूममिथ्याप्रत्ययेन यथार्थानुमितिरुदेति धूम-भ्रमेऽबाधितत्व-
सद्भावात् । नहि तत्र साध्याभावो निर्णीतः । एवं रूपप्रागभावावच्छिन्ने
घटे पृथ्वीत्वेन रूपानुमितिव्याप्तिपक्षधर्मतयोर्विद्यमानत्वेऽपि रूपाभावस्य
घटपृथिकरणतया निश्चितत्वेनाबाधितत्वाभावान्न प्रमात्वमासादयति । अथ
मिथ्यात्वानुमितिः प्रपञ्चस्य कालत्रयेऽप्यबाध्यतां बाधते, प्रत्यक्षं च वस्तूनां
वर्तमानकालमात्रवृत्तिसत्यत्वग्रहणममर्थं वस्तुतत्त्वमतीतानागतयोरावेदयितुं
न प्रभवति । अतीतानागतयोरपि वस्तुनोऽबाध्यत्वावबोधे व्याप्रियमाणं
स्वभावच्युतं प्रत्यक्षत्वमेव जह्यात् । तथा च प्रत्यक्षावेदितमपेक्षितं स्वरूपं
न बाध्यमिति कुतस्त्यो बाध्यबाधकभावः ? अत्राभिधीय, न चेदपहरे-
दर्थस्य वर्तमानकालसत्तां न स्यात्प्रत्यक्षविरोधो मिथ्यात्वानुमानस्य, त्रैका-
लिकनिषेधेन मिथ्यात्वप्रकाशकस्य तु वर्तमानेऽप्यसत्त्वं प्रतिपादयतः
कथं विरोधोपशमः । अपि च मरुमरीचिकायां तोयभ्रमे तुङ्गशिखरिशिख-
रवर्तिने यूनि वा बालभ्रमे दोषबाधयोः सद्भावादुचितमप्रामाण्यम्, घटादि-
प्रत्यक्षे तु निपुणनिरूपणेऽपि दोषबाधयोरनुपलम्भेन बाध्यत्वं नोपपद्यते ।
अतीतेऽनागते वा वस्तूनामभावं निरूपयन् मानान्तरमनित्यतामावेदयेन्न
मिथ्यात्वम् । आगमोऽपि स्वप्रामाण्यसिद्धयर्थं साक्षात् परम्परया वा
प्रत्यक्षापेक्षी न तद्बाधकः । यदि च प्रत्यक्षं शब्दबाध्यं तर्हि “आदित्यो
यूप” इत्यादौ भगवता जैमिनिना “सारूप्यात्” (मी० द० १ अ० ४ पा०
२५ सू०) इत्यादि सूत्रैः कस्माद् गौणीवृत्त्यर्थः प्रतिपादितः ? यज्ञनिखा-
तयूपस्तुत्यर्थमस्ति वाक्यम् आदित्यो यूप इति, आपाततश्च तदर्थः यूपसूर्य-
योरभेदमवगाहते स च प्रत्यक्षविरोधादनुपपन्नः, तस्माद् घृतलेपहेतुक-
चक्षुर्ग्राह्यतेजस्वित्वरूपसादृश्यगुणयोगादादित्यशब्दः सूर्ये प्रवर्तते । प्रत्यक्षा-
प्रामाण्ये तु मुख्यवृत्त्यैवार्थः प्रतिपाद्यमानः निरस्तशङ्कमवतिष्ठेत् । अपि
चाप्रामाण्येनैव शक्यनिरासे प्रत्यक्षविरोधे तत्त्वमसीत्यत्र तत्त्वंपदयोर्भागत्या-
गलक्षणा कस्मादाश्रीयते । न प्रत्यक्षाविरोधाय लक्षणा अपि तु परम-
तात्पर्यविषयीभूतार्थनिर्वाहाय । अतएव इयं गौः क्रय्येति विधिशेषभूते
इयं गौः बहुक्षीरा मनोहरवत्सेत्यादिवचने प्रत्यक्षे विरोधमनातन्वानेऽपि
गोप्राशस्त्यलक्षणा विधीयते । आदित्यो यूप इत्यस्यापि “यूपे पशुं बध्ना-
तीति” विधिशेषत्वेन विध्यर्थप्राशस्त्ये तात्पर्यवक्त्या गौणी वृत्तिराश्रीयते ।
एवम् उपक्रमोपसंहारादिलिङ्गैरखण्डब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यमवधार्यते, तस्यानुपपत्तेः

तात्पर्यविषयीभूतैक्यनिर्वाहाय लक्षणाङ्गीक्रियते । इदमभिसन्धाय मधु-
सूदनसरस्वतीभिः अद्वैतसिद्धौ प्रत्यक्षस्यागमबाध्यत्वनिरूपणावसरे उक्तम्—
“अतएव—मानान्तरविरोध एव लक्षणेति—अपास्तम्, ‘इयं गौः क्रय्या
बहुक्षीरे’ त्यादिना प्राशस्त्यलक्षणायां व्यभिचारात्, किं तु पुरमतात्पर्यविषयी-
भूतार्थप्रतीतिनिर्वाहायैव सर्वार्थवादेषु लक्षणा, एतावांस्तु विशेषः—त्रिधि-
प्राशस्त्ये लक्षणातः प्रागर्थवादवाक्यार्थज्ञानम्, तस्य प्रमाणान्तरविरोधे
बाध एव यथा ‘प्रजापतिरात्मनो वषामुदखिदत्’ इत्यादौ । अतएव तत्र
गुणवादमात्रम्, प्रमाणान्तरप्राप्तौ त्वनुवादमात्रम् ‘अग्निर्हिमस्य भेषज’
मित्यादौ । अतएव तदुभयत्राबाधिताज्ञातज्ञापकत्वरूपप्रामाण्यानिर्वाहाद-
प्रामाण्यम् । यत्र पुनः प्रमाणान्तरप्राप्तिविरोधौ न स्तस्तत्र प्रामाण्यशरीर-
निर्वाहात् भूतार्थवादत्वम्—यथा ‘इन्द्रो वृत्राय वज्रमुदयच्छ’ इत्यादौ, अय-
मेव देवताधिकरणन्यायः” —इति । तस्मादागमस्य प्रत्यक्षबाधकत्वं निर्दुष्ट-
मिति चेत्, अवधेहि, ‘आदित्यो यूषः’ इत्याद्यर्थवादवाक्येषु गौणीवृत्ति-
रभ्युपेयते परं ‘बर्हिषि रजतं न देय’ मिति विधेः ‘हिरण्यं दक्षिणे’ तिविधेश्च
शेषभूते सोऽरोदीद्यदरोदीत्तदुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वं यदश्वशीर्यत तद्रजतमभवत् पुरास्य
संवत्सरात् गृहे रोदनं भवति तस्मात् बर्हिषि रजतं न देय’ मित्यस्मिन्नर्थ-
वादे गौणीमनालम्ब्यैव लक्षणया रजतदानाप्राशस्त्यं प्रतिपाद्यते । लोकेऽपि
‘क्रेतव्ये’ति विधेरर्थवादः ‘इयं गौः बहुक्षीरे’त्यादिरूपो न गौणीमालम्बते ।
इदं च वृत्तिभेदाश्रयणं प्रत्यक्षविरोधाविरोधौ विहाय नान्यमूलकम् ? तत्त्वम-
सीत्यत्र उपक्रमादिलिङ्गैः प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धाद्वैते तात्पर्याभ्युपगमेऽपि तत्त्वंपदे
तात्पर्यविषयीभूतार्थनिर्वाहाय कुतो लक्षणाचरणशरणीकरणम् । प्रबलः
प्रत्यक्षबाधक आगमः प्राणितुं भीरुरिव जघन्या वृत्तिमाश्रयते इत्यसाम्प्रतम् ।
तथाचात्रैव तात्पर्यमिति प्रत्यवातिष्ठमानस्य शब्दस्य विरुन्धानं प्रत्यक्षमी-
क्षित्वा जघन्यवृत्त्याश्रयणं चतुरसारथ्यभावेनास्मि विवशः, सूतलाभे तु
एकाक्येवाहं लुण्ठककौरवाणां गर्वमपहरेयमिति नारीसम्मुखं
कथ्यमानस्य वैराटेरुत्तरस्य शिञ्जिनीशिञ्जामिर्दिगन्तान्बधिरयतो धनु-
र्धरान्कर्णादीनालोक्य पलायनमनुहरति । वस्तुतस्तु प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धेऽर्थे
तात्पर्यमेव न संभवति, शतवारमपि प्रयुक्ते भीरौ सिंहशब्दे मूर्खे च प्राज्ञ-
शब्दे कस्तयोस्तत्र तात्पर्यमङ्गीकुरुते ।

अपि चानुमानागमाभ्यां प्रत्यक्षस्याबाध्यत्वमपि तत्प्राबल्यं द्योतयति ।
कचित् मानान्तरेण प्रत्यक्षबाधः प्रत्यक्षान्तरशक्तिहेतुकः, प्रत्यक्षविभ्रमास्तु

साक्षात्कारवतोभिरेव प्रमाभिः समूलकाषं कथितुं शक्यन्ते न परोक्षाभिः । इदं रजतमित्यत्र भ्रमे नेदं रजतमिति प्रत्यक्षं बाधकं न युक्तिमात्रम् । ननु रजताभेदभ्रमे जागरूके रजतप्रत्यक्षमपहृतविषयमुदेतुमपि नालं किमुत बाधितुं, ग्राह्याभावव्याप्यवत्त्वनिश्चयात्मिका युक्तिस्तु रजताभेदवत्त्वनिश्चयेनाद्भुतिबध्यत्वात् क्षमा बाधन इति चेद्, न, यत्रोत्तरं पूर्वमपेक्षते तत्रानुत्पन्नविरोधिना पूर्वोक्तोत्तरं बाध्यते । यथा प्रत्यक्षापेक्षि प्रत्यक्षेणैव विरोधमनुतिष्ठदनुमानं बाधमश्नुते । सैषा कथा प्रत्यक्षापेक्षिणी अनुमाने, नापेक्षारहिते प्रत्यक्षान्तरे । रजतभ्रमो दोषोपहृतेन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षात् रजतप्रमा च दोषानुपहृतेन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षाज्जायते । उभावपि न परस्परमपेक्षतस्तत्र पूर्वं विरोधिन्यमति किं बाधताम् ? परा तु प्रमा स्वकारणप्रभावादुदयमाना सती पूर्वोक्त भ्रमेण न निरोद्धुं शक्यते । उपजाता तु प्रमा विरोधिनः सत्त्वात्पूर्वं बाधते । अनुच्छिद्य भ्रमं हि प्रमा न भवितुमलम् । उक्तं च भट्टपादैः—

पूर्वात्परबलीयस्त्वं तत्र नाम प्रतीयताम् ।

अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणां यत्र जन्म धियां भवेत् ॥

प्रत्यक्षभ्रमेण युक्तेरप्रतिबन्धस्तु इष्यत एव, तत्रापि व्याप्तिग्रहः प्रत्यक्षान्तरायत्त इति ध्येयम् । रज्जावुरगविभ्रमोऽपि रज्जुमाक्षात्कारबाध्यो न शब्दसदृशैरपि निवर्तते । ज्वालैक्यप्रत्यक्षान्तु यथा युक्त्या बाध्यते तस्या व्याप्तिग्राहि प्रत्यक्षं सामर्थ्यं जनयति । अत्र अद्वैतसिद्धौ मधुसूदनसरस्वत्य आहुः—“न च नायं सर्प इत्युक्तेऽपि किमेवं वदमि परं ? अपि पुनः परामृश्य पश्यसि ! इति प्रतिवचनदर्शनान्न शब्दमात्रं रज्जुसर्पादिभ्रमनिवर्तकम्, किन्तु प्रत्यक्षमेवेति वाच्यम् ; प्रतिवचनस्थले भ्रमप्रमादादिशङ्काक्रान्तत्वेन ‘नायं सर्प’ इत्यादेर्दुर्बलतया न भ्रमनिवर्तकत्वम् । यत्र तु तादृक्शङ्कानाक्रान्तत्वं, तत्र भ्रमनिवर्तकतैव । अत एव तादृक्शङ्कानाक्रान्तपित्रादिवचसि नद्वयप्रतिवचनः, किन्तु सिद्धवत्प्रवृत्त्यादिकमेव । ज्वालैक्यप्रत्यक्षमप्येवमेव युक्तिबाध्यम् । न च—निर्वापितारोपितस्थले स्पष्टतरभेदप्रत्यक्षबाधितमित्यन्यत्रापि दीर्घेयं न ह्रस्वेति भेदप्रत्यक्षमेव तद्बाधकमिति—वाच्यम् ; निर्वापितारोपितातिरिक्तस्थले तावदयं विचारः, तत्र दीर्घेयं न ह्रस्वेति भेदप्रत्यक्षं वक्तुमशक्यम् ; यैव ह्रस्वा सैवेदानीं दीर्घेति ह्रस्वत्वदीर्घत्वाभ्यामुपस्थितयोरभेदस्य साक्षात्क्रियमाणत्वात् । तथा च ज्वालाप्रत्यभिज्ञा युक्तिबाध्यैव । सर्वदा पित्तदूषितनेत्रस्य ‘पीतः शङ्ख’ इति प्रत्यक्षे चन्द्रप्रादेशिकत्वप्रत्यक्षे च

परोक्षातिरिक्तस्य बाधकस्य शङ्कितुमप्यशक्तत्वात् युक्त्यादिबाध्यतैव वक्तव्या” — इति । अथेदमालोच्यताम्, भ्रमप्रमादादिशङ्कानाक्रान्तं जनकादे-
र्वचनमाकर्ण्यसंदिहानो यत् प्रवर्त्तते तत्र किं पित्रादिवचनमेव कारणमुतान्य-
दपि किञ्चित् ? अयं तावत् पित्रादिवचने भ्रमप्रमादादिशङ्कानाक्रान्तत्व-
प्रत्ययः पित्रादेराप्तत्वनिश्चयहेतुकः, आप्तत्वनिश्चयश्च प्रत्यक्षमन्तः स न
संपद्यते । मधुरं रसालफलं दुग्धपानं शरीरद्रढिमानमापादयतीत्यादिवचना-
न्युपश्रुत्य पुत्रादिः रसालफलमभ्यवहृत्य तन्माधुर्यं दुग्धपानेन च देहदान्यं
प्रत्यक्षेणानुभवन्पित्रादावाप्तत्वं प्रत्येति । निश्चिताप्तभावश्च नायं सर्प इत्यादि-
वाक्याद् गृहीतप्रामाण्यादनुन्मिषितशङ्कातङ्कः प्रवर्त्तते । तथा च शब्दस्य
प्रत्यक्षभ्रमबाधकत्वे परम्परया प्रत्यक्षमेव कारणम् । हीयते तैलं वर्धते च
ज्वाला, ततः प्रतीयते पूर्वं ज्वालावयवा भिद्यमाना विनाशमुपयन्ति परे चोत्प-
द्यन्ते । अवयवविशरणे चावयविविनाशो ध्रुवभावी । निर्वापितारोपितस्थले
अल्पतैलसंसर्गे ह्रस्वा भूयसा च संसर्गे दीर्घेति प्रत्यक्षेण तैलाल्पत्व-
भूयस्त्वहेतुके ज्वालाया ह्रस्वत्वदीर्घत्वे निश्चित्य निर्वापितारोपितव्यतिरिक्त-
स्थलेऽपि ज्वालाप्रत्यभिज्ञां सति तैलक्षये वर्धमानत्वात् मिथ्यावबुध्यते ।
स्फुटमवभासतेऽत्रापि व्याप्तिप्रत्यक्षं युक्तं प्रत्यक्षबाधकत्वे निदानभूतम् ।
तथा च भुक्तपूर्वव्यतिरिक्तेषु गोधूमेषु त एव गोधूमा इति विपरीतप्रत्ययवत्
सैवेयं ज्वालेति प्रत्यभिज्ञा सादृश्यमाश्रित्योपपद्यते । सर्वदा पित्तदूषितलोचन-
पीतः शंख इति प्रत्यक्षेऽपि पित्राद्याप्तवचनं चेद्बाधकं तदा भुजगभ्रमनिवर्त्त-
काप्तवचनोक्तरीत्या प्रत्यक्षान्तरगौरवमेषणीयम् । अथानुमानमवश्यानुसर-
णीयं प्रत्यक्षमित्यसकृत्प्रतिपादितम् । चन्द्रप्रादेशिकत्वप्रत्यक्षेऽपि ‘यत् दवि-
ष्टाल्पपरिमाणज्ञानं तद्द्रोषनिबन्धनमप्रमाशिखरिशिखरस्थविटप्यल्पपरि-
माणज्ञानवत् इदमपि तथे’ति बाधिका युक्तिः व्याप्तिप्रत्यक्षमन्तरा नात्मान-
मासादयितुं प्रभवति । सोऽयं प्रत्यक्षप्रतापो यत्तत्प्रसादमवाप्य दुर्बलान्यप्य-
नुमानादीनि प्रत्यक्षमाक्रामन्ति । सारमेयो यत् कसरिमूर्धनि पदं निधत्ते
तत् शिक्तकस्य प्रभावेण नात्मनः उक्तं च मीमांसकैरपि—

अत्यन्तबलवन्तोऽपि पौरजानपदा जनाः ।

दुर्बलैरपि बाध्यन्ते पुरुषैः पार्थिवाश्रितैः ॥

कविभिश्च सेनापत्यादिभ्यो रिपूणां तिरस्कारेण भूपतीनां प्रतापो
रमणीयरीत्या विद्योतितः । यथाह सरसरचनापरमेश्वरो बाणः इत्यनेन
लिरवाः इत्यनेन हारिणि हर्षचरिते ।

“यस्य च त्रिभुवनभुजो भुजशौण्डस्य भवनकमलिनी चक्रवाकीकोप-
कुटिलकटाक्षोक्षितोऽपि भयचकितारुणपरिवर्त्तितरथो नाज्ञया विना
रविरस्तमव्राजीत्” इति ।

अत्र भूपतेर्नरकस्य प्रतापातिशयो व्यज्यते ।

समानेऽपि प्रत्यक्षनिवर्तकत्वे प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षावभासिनीनां तत्त्वधियामियान्
विशेषः । परोक्षप्रमया प्रत्यक्षान्तराहितसामर्थ्यावष्टम्भेन प्रत्यक्षाभासत्वे
ज्ञापितेऽपि विपरीतावभासोऽनुवर्त्तते । साक्षात्कारवता प्रत्ययेन तु समूल-
मुन्मूलितो भ्रमः न पुनः प्ररोहाय कल्पते । अत एव पित्तदूषितनयनोऽनुमाना-
गमाभ्यां शंखे पीतप्रत्ययाप्रामाण्यं गृहीत्वापि पीतधियमपाकर्तुं न प्रभवति ।
अगदसेवनापयातविकारस्तु शंखे धवलवर्णमालोकते । घटादिसत्त्वप्रत्यक्षे
तु मिथ्यात्वानुमितिरप्रामाण्यं ज्ञापयितुमपि न प्रभवति । गृहीतप्रामाण्यक-
प्रत्यक्षविरोधेनोत्पत्तुमप्यसमर्था सा कथं परबाधने व्याप्रियेत । बाधकाभा-
वात् सत्त्वप्रत्यक्षमप्रमा नेति प्रागेव निरूपितम् ।

अयं चापरो दोषः प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वानुमाने उज्जृम्भते । मिथ्यात्वानुमानं
यदि मिथ्यात्वसाधकप्रतिज्ञाहेत्वादीनां मिथ्यात्वं बाधयेत् तदासत्त्वविरहि-
तास्ते न कुत्रापि साधकतां भजेरन् । तेषां सत्यत्वे न सर्वमिथ्यात्वं सिध्येत् ।
अथ न पारमार्थिकसत्त्वं साधकतायां प्रयोजकं किन्तु व्यावहारिकसत्त्वम् अतो
मिथ्यात्वसाधकप्रतिज्ञाहेत्वादीनां पारमार्थिकत्वाभावेऽपि न क्षतिः । यत्र
च यत्साधकं व्यावहारिकं तत्र तत्फलमपि व्यावहारिकम्, यत्र तु साधकं
प्रातीतिकं तत्र फलमपि तथैव । सद्विविक्ते च साधकत्वदर्शनात् पारमार्थिक-
सत्तायामप्रयोजकता निश्चोयते तथाहि रेखात्मत्वेनावबुध्यमाना वर्णा
एवार्थं प्रत्याययन्ति ।

नगो नाग इत्यादौ चारोपितदीर्घत्वह्रस्वत्वाभ्यामर्थविशेषोऽवबुध्यते
इति चेत् । न, सद्भ्यतिरिक्तं कुत्रापि न साधकम् । रेखास्थलेषु ईदृशी रेखा
ककारस्य ईदृशी च गकारस्येत्यादिक्रमेण कृतसंकेतग्रहस्य रेखादर्शना-
दुद्बुद्धसंस्कारस्य वर्णमृत्तिषूदयमानासु अर्थप्रत्यय उपजायते । नगो नाग इत्या-
दावपि वर्णवृत्तित्वेनासत्ययोर्दीर्घत्वह्रस्वत्वाः सत्यं ज्ञानमेवार्थप्रतीतिमादधाति ।
एवेन अध्यासभाष्ये आचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्राणां “तथा च वर्णे ह्रस्वदीर्घत्वाद-
योऽन्यधर्मा अपि समारोपितास्तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तिहेतवः, नहि लौकिका नाग इति
वा नग इति वा पदात् कुञ्जरं वा तरुं वा प्रतिपद्यमानाः भवन्ति भ्रान्ताः”
इति आमत्युक्तं पराहृतम् । एवमुरगहस्त्यादिविभ्रमे उरगहस्त्यादेः प्रत्यय

एव स्वरूपतः सत्यत्वात् भयकम्पादिकमुपजनयति न तु मिथ्याप्रतीत उरगहस्त्यादिः । यद्यपि विषयावच्छिन्नमेव ज्ञानं कारणं तथापि विषय उपलक्ष-
णत्वात् न कारणतामाप्नोति । बह्मरादेरनुमितिर्न दृश्यमानधूमादिरेव जायते
अतीतानागतधूमादिस्थले तदभावात् । तथा चातीतानागतधूमज्ञानस्य बह्म-
नुमितिजनकतायां यथा धूमस्योपलक्षणत्वं तथा प्रकृतेऽपि विषयस्योपल-
क्षणत्वं निराबाधम् । न च तत्र धूमस्योपलक्षणत्वाभावे भविष्यतो भूतस्य वा
बह्मेरनुमितिर्न स्यात् अनुमितिकाले तस्याविद्यमानत्वादिति बाधकबलेनोपल-
क्षणत्वमङ्गीकृतं, प्रकृते तु बाधकाभावाद् विषयस्य विशेषणतैव युक्तम् । नहि
क्वचिद् बाधकबलेन मुख्यस्य विशेषणत्वस्य परित्यागः कृत इति सर्वत्रैव
तत्त्याग औचित्यमवगाहते इति वाच्यम् ; प्रकृतेऽपि बाधकसद्भावात् । सुहृद-
र्शनजन्य आनन्दे विषयस्य सुहृदो विद्यमानत्वात् विशेषणत्वेन कारणत्वम-
भ्युपगम्यते । सुहृदं द्रष्टुमिच्छामि सुधामधुरांस्तदालापानानुपश्रुत्य जनुःसाफल्यं
विधास्यामीत्यादिसंकल्पेऽपि क्रियमाणे मानसप्रत्यक्षवेदनीय आनन्दविशेषः
प्रथते । तत्राविद्यमानत्वात् सुहृद उपलक्षणत्वं मनोरथस्य च हेतुत्वमव-
श्यमभ्युपेयम् एवं प्रकृतेऽपि विषयस्याभावाद् विशेषणत्वं विहायोपलक्षणत्व-
मेवाचितम् । संकल्पस्थले सखा भ्रमे च सर्पादिर्न वर्तते इत्युभयत्र साम्यम् ।
भ्रमे प्रातीतिकः सर्पादिरस्तीति चेत् स्वशिष्येषु इयं गाथा गीयता कोऽन्यः
स्वीकुरुते । विषयस्य हेतुत्वाभावे भ्रमे अलङ्कारादिविद्यमानस्य सर्पस्य दर्शने
यद्वयं तदपेक्षया दीर्घस्यास्फालितविशालफणस्य फूत्कारैर्विषात्ममरुतमुद्गिरतो
मुजगस्य दर्शने भयाधिक्यं नोपजायेत । नहि अकारणोत्कर्षे कार्योत्कर्षो
दृष्टः । ज्ञानप्रकर्षादेव तत्प्रकर्ष इति तु न युक्तम्, विषयगतोत्कर्षे विहाय
ज्ञानवृत्तिप्रकर्षाभावादिति चेत्, दोषोत्कर्षेणैव ज्ञानोत्कर्ष उपपत्स्यते इति न
विषयस्य हेतुता कल्पनीया । विषय इव ज्ञाने बाधाभावात् ज्ञानस्य
सत्यत्वम् । नायं सर्प इति प्रतीतिर्विषयमेव निषेधति न तु तज्ज्ञानमपि । अत्र
मधुसूदनसरस्वत्यः अद्वैतसिद्धौ अन्यप्रकारेणासतः कारणत्वं प्रतिपादयितु-
माहुः—“वस्तुस्तु—दण्डतन्त्वादिसाधारणमेकं कारणत्वं नास्त्येव, यत्र तव
सत्त्वमवच्छेदकं तत्र न मम तुच्छविलक्षणादिकम् ; किन्तु कार्त्तव्यत्वात्
घटत्वपटत्वादि कारणतावच्छेदकं च दण्डत्वतन्तुत्वादि । तद्भेदाच्च
कारणत्वं भिन्नम् । यथा गोगवयसादृश्यमन्यत् भ्रातृभगिन्यादिसादृश्य-
मन्यत् ; तत्र नैकमवच्छेदकम्, किन्तु गवयत्वमप्यन्यत्वादिमेव ; तद्वदत्रापि
दण्डत्वादिकमेव सत्त्वासत्त्वादासीनमवच्छेदकं वाच्यम् । तथा च

जनकत्वानुसारेण न सत्त्वासत्त्वसिद्धिः । तदुक्तं खण्डनकृद्भिः—‘पूर्वसंबन्ध-
नियमे हेतुत्वे तुल्य एव नौ । हेतुतत्त्वबहिर्भूतसत्त्वासत्त्वकथा वृथा ॥’ इति ।
‘अन्तर्भावितसत्त्वं चेत्कारणं तदसत्ततः । नान्तर्भावितसत्त्वं चेत् कारणं
तदसत्ततः ॥’ इति च ।”

नास्ति चेत् दण्डादिसाधारणमेकं कारणत्वं तर्हि सत्त्वासत्त्वोदासीन-
मवच्छेदकं दण्डत्वादि प्रातिभासिकदण्डेऽपि विद्यते इति ततोऽपि घट
उत्पद्येत । कृषीवलाश्रयापार्थक्यमिति न सहेरन् वर्षातपादिकलेशान् । गोगेव-
यस्य चावयवाः परस्परं नातिभिद्यन्त इति तयोः सादृश्यं प्रतीयते ।
भ्रातृभगिन्याद्यवयवास्तु गोगवयावयवेभ्यः स्पष्टतरमेव भेदेनावभासन्ते;
अत आकृतिभेदेन गोभ्रातृभगिन्यादिसाधारणसादृश्याभावाद् गवादि-
सादृश्यभेद आवश्यकः । घटपटादिनियतपूर्ववर्तिषु दण्डतन्त्वादिषु सत्ता-
प्रत्ययो निष्कम्पं जायते इति तेषु सत्त्वं कारणतावच्छेदकत्वेनाभ्युपेयम् ।
न च दण्डे वर्त्तमाना सत्ता तन्तोः, गोसादृश्यमिव भ्रातुः, व्यावर्त्तते ।
तथा च सत्त्वमन्तरा न जनकत्वमित्युपपन्नम् । अथ प्रातीतिकदण्डाद्
घटोत्पत्तेः परिहाराय व्यावहारिकदण्डत्वेन कारणतावच्छेदकता अभिमता;
त्यक्तमुदासीनदण्डत्वं सत्त्वं चाभ्युपगतम्, तथा च सिद्धोऽस्मदभिप्रायः ।
अबाधितसत्त्वप्रत्यक्षसिद्धायाश्च सत्तायाः पारमार्थिकत्वात् तावकीनव्याव-
हारिकसत्त्वालापो न युक्तः । खण्डनकारगर्जितं चेत्यमुपाशमनीयम्,
विद्यमाना हेतवः कार्योत्पत्तिक्षणाव्यवहितपूर्ववर्त्तिनः सामग्रीसहाया
कार्यं जनयितुं शक्ताः । अमत्त्वे विशेषाभावात् यस्मिन् क्षणे घट उत्पन्नस्ततः
पूर्वेष्वपि क्षणेषूपपद्येत । सामग्री केवलं पूर्वस्मिन् क्षणे विद्यते तदसत्त्वं तु
सर्वत्रापि; एतेन पूर्वक्षणवर्त्तिसामग्र्यसत्त्वस्य कार्योत्पत्तिनियामकत्वं
निरस्तम् । कारणे च सत्ताविशिष्टे एव सत्ता विद्यते सर्वदा तस्य सत्ताविशिष्ट-
त्वात् । संयोगो नेत्यन्नस्यैव दृश्यत इति संयोगविरहिणि संयोगो युज्यते,
भावास्तु सत्तासमवायिन एवादयन्ते सत्तास्वाभाव्यात्, नहि स्वभावोऽपि
नियोगपर्युद्योगावर्हति । तथा च समवायस्थले एषैव गतिः । अपि च
सत्ता तत्सत्कारणानां तत्तत्कार्यं प्रति नियतप्राग्वृत्तित्वा सुकरावबोधुं दुष्करा
त्वविद्यमानत्वे । अथ विपर्यस्तसत्त्वप्रत्ययेनोपपाद्यते, अलाभे ईदृशधियः
का गतिः । कादाचित्कतादृशीविषयतायाः रासभेऽपि सत्त्वात्कारणस्य
सत्त्वमेव आवश्यकम् । वितत्य चेदं शङ्करमिश्रैः खण्डनव्याख्यायां
निरूपितम् ।

दुर्निरूपं च शुक्तिरूप्यप्रपञ्चसाधारणं मिथ्यात्वस्वरूपम् । ननु मिथ्यात्वं नामानिर्वचनीयत्वम्, तच्च न निरुक्तिविरहः येन अनिर्वाच्य इत्यनेन इदं रूप्यमित्यनेन च निर्वचनेन व्याहृतिरापद्यते; अपि तु सत्त्वा-सत्त्वाभ्यां विचारासहत्वे सति सदसत्त्वेन विचारासहत्वम् । निर्वचन-निमित्तभूतः प्रत्यर्थस्तदालम्बनं चार्थः सन्नपि व्यवहारगोचरः सत्त्वेनासत्त्वेन सत्त्वासत्त्वसमुच्चयात्मकेन वा रूपेण न निर्वक्तुं शक्यते । तदिदमुक्तं 'तत्त्व-प्रदीपिकायामनिर्वचनीयत्वनिरूपणे चित्सुखाचार्यैः—

प्रत्येकं सदसत्त्वाभ्यां विचारपदवीं न यत् ।

गाहते तदनिर्वाच्यमाहुर्वेदान्तवेदिनः ॥

इति चेत्—भवद्विचारानुसारेण विशीर्यन्तां तत्त्वानि, नैतावता अर्था निवर्तन्ते । सोऽयं विचारस्यापराधो नार्थस्य । अत्र समुचितनिदर्शनेनायमर्थ उदय-नाचार्यैरात्मतत्त्वविवेके प्रकाशितः ।

“सोऽयं पवनतनयवार्त्तामुपश्रुत्य तत्सर्धया बालवानरः कियदपि दूर-मुत्स्रुत्य महार्णवे पतितः प्राह अपार एवायमकूपारो मिथ्या रामायणमिति” ।

यथा च वस्तूनां सत्त्वमसत्त्वं वा तथानुपदमेवोपपादयिष्यते । कीदृशे तु सत्त्वासत्त्वे विवक्षिते ययोर्निषेधसमुच्चय इष्यते । न तावत्पराभिमते, तयोः परस्परविरोधितया एकनिषेधे अपरस्य विधिः पर्यवस्येत् । पारिभाषिकयोस्त-योर्निषेधे क्रियमाणे न किमपि परिहीयते । नहि लोकविलक्षणकल्पितधर्म-सहस्राणां प्रतिषेधे पदार्थाः स्वभावाच्च्यवन्ते । ईदृशहेतूनामाभासतापि अनेन दृष्टान्तेन उदयनाचार्यैरात्मतत्त्वविवेके व्यञ्जिता ।

‘तथाहि केनचिद्भूतेन राजद्वारि द्विरदमालोक्य विकल्पितं किमय-मन्धकारो मूलकमत्ति, आहोस्विज्जलवाहो बलाकान् वर्षति गर्जति च, यद्वा बान्धवोऽयं राजद्वारे श्मशाने च यस्तिष्ठति स बान्धव इति परमा-चार्यवचनात् । अथवा योऽयं भूमौ दृश्यते तस्यच्छायेति । दूषितश्च, तत्र नाद्यः तस्य सूर्ययुगलप्रस्फोटनाभावात् । न द्वितीयस्तस्य स्तम्भचतुष्टया-भावात् । न तृतीयः तस्य लगुडभ्रामणाभावात् । न चतुर्थः तस्य नरशिरः-शतोद्गिरणाभावात् । ततो न किञ्चिदिदमिति, किमेतावता द्विरदरूपं निवर्तताम्’ इति ।

अथोच्यते—पराभिमतयोरपि निषेधसमुच्चय उपपद्यते तस्य तात्त्विकत्वानङ्गीकारात्, नह्यतात्त्विकरजतेन शुक्तेर्विरोधः । तत्तत्प्रतियोगिदुर्वि-

रूपतामात्रप्रकटनाय सदादिवैलक्षण्योक्तिः । नहि स्वरूपतो दुर्निरूप्य
किञ्चिदपि रूपं वास्तवं संभवति । तदनुपपन्नम्, अन्योन्यप्रातिकूल्यं
उभयोरेकत्र तात्त्विकत्वाभावो दर्शनादेव व्यवस्थाप्यते, समं चैतदतात्त्विक-
त्वेऽपि, नहि विरुद्ध्यमानौ तमःप्रकाशौ कचिदेकत्र संभवतः । रजतभ्रमे
तु रजतावभासप्रत्यये समुन्मिषति शुक्तिधीर्निलीयते शुक्तिबाधे रजत-
धीरस्तमेति, समानकाले शुक्तिरजतधियौ पुरावर्तिसितभास्वरद्रव्यं नाव-
लम्बते । सत्त्वासत्त्वयोरेकतरनिषेधस्य तात्त्विकत्वे उपपद्यतामपरस्यातात्त्विको
निषेधः न चैतद् इष्टम् । अत्र अमून् चित्तुखीयहेतून् समर्थयन्तां मधुसूदन-
सरस्वत्यः अद्वैतसिद्धौ दोषानेवं परिहरन्ति—“न चोभयतात्त्विकत्ववदुभया-
तात्त्विकत्वमप्येकत्र विरुद्धम्; वस्मीकादावेकत्र स्थाणुपुरुषयोरतात्त्विकत्व-
दर्शनात् । न च परस्परविरुद्धरूपयोरैकत्राभयोरतात्त्विकत्वं विरुद्धम्; एकत्र
तन्त्वादौ घटतत्प्रागभावयोरुभयोरपि अतात्त्विकत्वदर्शनात् । न च प्रतियोगि-
तदत्यन्ताभावयोरैवायं नियमः, नियामकाभावादस्माकसंप्रतिपत्तः” । इदं
वक्तव्यम् अतात्त्विकस्य द्वे विधे अनुभूयते, धूमो वा रेणुर्वा इति संदेहः
रेणुरिति विपर्यासश्च, तत्र संदेहे प्रतीतिर्द्वयी कोटिमवगाहते विपर्यासे
एकामित्यनुभवसिद्धम् । तद्यदि तन्त्वादौ घटतत्प्रागभावयोः अत्र घटः
तत्प्रागभावो वेति संदिग्धप्रतीतिविषयतया अतात्त्विकत्वमभिधीयते तर्हि
दृष्टान्तानुसारेण प्रपञ्चेऽपि दोलायमानमेव सदादिवैलक्षण्यं स्यान्न तु अव-
धारितं संदिग्धे च विचारासहत्वे तात्त्विकस्य प्रपञ्चसत्त्वस्य न कापि क्षतिः ।
संदेहसहत्वेऽपि वस्तुस्वभावानपायात् । सोऽयं संशयविपर्ययोर्भेदः यत्रानव-
दद्यता ब्रह्मानन्देन लघुचन्द्रिकायां पूर्वनिर्दिष्टसिद्धिसंदर्भव्याख्याने इद-
मभिहितम्—“प्रतियोगिसमवायिन्यन्ताभावास्वीकारमते कपालादौ भावि-
घटादेस्तदभावस्य च अतात्त्विकस्य अत्रेदानीं घटो न वेति संशयदर्शनात्
प्रतियोगितदभावयोरतात्त्विकयोरेकत्र सत्त्वं न विरुद्धमित्यपि द्रष्टव्यम्” ।
इति न च यथा मरीचीनालोच्य आप इति मिथ्या जानानो वस्तुतत्त्वं न
लभते तथैव विकल्पयन्नपीति संशयवत् भ्रमे विरुद्धयोरेकत्वातिष्ठमानत्व-
स्योपपन्नत्वात् प्रपञ्चेऽपि तथात्वमिति युक्तम्; एककोट्यवगाहिनि विभ्रमे
प्रतिभानमेकस्यैवार्थस्य, तत्र द्वितीयस्य विषयभावः कथं स्यात् । नहि यत्र
यत्र भासते तत्तत्र विषयोऽतिप्रसंगात् । किं च यथादर्शनं वस्तुव्यवस्था
संभवति नान्यथा, तथाहि हरिचन्द्रस्य कर्णे कुण्डलसंयोगो हस्तयोश्च तद-
भावः, तथा च संयोगतदभावावेकाधिकरणे वर्तते । लोहितं तु रूपं यदा

काष्ठिमकुसुमे तदा काशपुष्पे धवलवर्णे तदभावः । येषु च नवेषु तरुपत्रेषु हरितो वर्णः प्रागवलोक्यते तेष्वेव परिपक्वेषु पीतं रूपम्, तथा च रूपतदभावौ अधिकरणभेदेन स्तः । नात्र गुणत्वसामान्यात् संयोगतदभाववत् रूपादीनामव्याप्यवृत्तिता रूपादिवत् वा संयोगादीनां व्याप्यवृत्तिता संभवति । तस्माद् यथादर्शनं संशय एवातात्त्विकयोरुभयोरेकदा एकत्रावस्थातुं न विपर्यये ।

यदि पुनः ब्रूयात्—पारिभाषिकसदादिवैलक्षण्यमेव मिथ्यात्वम्, तस्मिंश्च सति पराभिमतसत्त्वं न युज्यते । तथा चाहुरत्रैव मधुसूदेनसरस्वत्यः अद्वैतसिद्धौ—“वस्तुतस्तु सत्त्वासत्त्वयोर्न परस्परविरहरूपत्वम्, किं तु परस्परविरहव्याप्यतामात्रम् । न च तादृशपारिभाषिकसदसद्वैलक्षण्योक्तौ च नास्माकमनिष्टमिति—वाच्यम्, सत्त्वमबाध्यत्वम्, असत्त्वं सत्त्वेन प्रतीत्यनर्हत्वम्, तदुभयवैलक्षण्यं च तव जगत्यसंप्रतिपन्नमिति कथमिष्टापत्यवकाशः ? इष्टापत्तौ च कथं न मतक्षतिः ?” इति । तन्न, अन्यत्राप्युपप्लवापत्तेः; तथाहि ध्वंसाप्रतियोगित्वरूपं नित्यत्वं गगनात्मसामान्यादिषु वर्तते, प्रागभावप्रतियोगित्वरूपं चानित्यत्वं घटप्रागभावादिषु अन्वेति, परस्परपरिहारेणोभयोर्वृत्तिरिति वस्तुस्थितिः । परिभाष्य तु उभयोरपि निषेधसमुच्चयः शक्यः कर्तुम्, तथाहि ध्वंसानुपलक्षितसत्तायोगित्वरूपनित्यत्वस्य, ध्वंसेपक्षितसत्तायोगित्वरूपानित्यत्वस्य च व्यतिरेकः सामान्यादौ प्रागभावे च संभवति । इत्थं च नित्यत्वानित्यत्वयोर्निषेधसमुच्चय आपद्यते । इष्टमेवैतदिति चेत्, सत्त्वासत्त्वयोरप्येकत्र समुच्चय आस्ताम्, किमर्थं सदादिवैलक्षण्यग्रहः । अथोच्यते न दृष्टान्तमात्रेण सदादिविलक्षणत्वं ब्रूमहे किन्तु प्रमाणैर्निषेधसमुच्चयं सिद्धे, तथा च युष्मन्नक्षानुसारं नित्यत्वानित्यत्वयोर्व्यतिरेकाभावेऽपि न क्षतिः, तर्हि प्रमाणान्येवालोक्यन्तां किं व्यवस्थापयन्तीति ।

तत्र प्रत्यक्षानुमानार्था पक्षिषु कतमत् साधकम् ? त्रिभिरेव प्रमीयते, तथाहि प्रत्यक्षं तावत् “मिथ्यैव रजतमभात्” इत्यादि । अनुमानमपि, विमतं सत्त्वरहितत्वे सति असत्त्वरहितत्वे सति सत्त्वासत्त्वरहितम्, बाध्यत्वात् दोषप्रयुक्तभानत्वाद् वा यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा ब्रह्म । साध्यविशेषणप्रथापि सामान्यतोऽनुमानाद्विधेया, सत्त्वासत्त्वे समानाधिकरण्यात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिनी, धर्मत्वात्, रूपरसवत्, सत्त्वमसत्त्वानधिकरणानिष्ठं, असत्त्वं वा सत्त्वानधिकरणानिष्ठं, धर्मत्वात्, रूपवत् । अर्थापत्तिरपि.

विमतं रूप्यादि सञ्चेन्न बाध्यते, असञ्चेन्न प्रतीयते, बाध्यते प्रतीयतेऽपि तस्मात् सदसद्विलक्षणत्वादनिर्वचनीयम्, इति चेत्, अत्रोच्यते । मिथ्या-शब्दोऽसत्पर्यायः, अत एव असद्रजतमभादित्युल्लिखन्त्यपि प्रतीतिरुदेति । ख्यातिबाधान्यथानुपपत्त्या मिथ्याशब्दस्य नामत्पर्यायता, असद्रजतम-भादित्यत्रासत्प्रत्ययस्य सद्रैलक्षण्यापरता चेत् सिद्धाप्रत्यक्षस्य ख्यातिबा-धान्यथानुपपत्तिमुखापेक्षिता । अनुमानेऽपि-विमतं सदसदात्मकं बाध्यत्वात् व्यतिरेकेण ब्रह्मवत् इत्याभाससाम्यं विमतमसत् सत्त्वानधि-करणत्वात् नृशृङ्गवत् इति सत्प्रतिपक्षेण प्रतिबन्धश्च विपक्षबाधकेन ख्यातिबाधान्यथानुपपत्तिरूपतर्केण विना न प्रतिक्षेप्तुं शक्यते । तस्मादन्य-थानुपपत्तिरेव विमृश्यते यदवष्टम्भेन प्रत्यक्षानुमानं व्याप्रियेत । तत्र असञ्चेत् न प्रतीयतेत्यत्र प्रतीतिसामान्यविरहापादनं असत् नरशृङ्गं शशशृङ्गं वेतिशब्दजन्या प्रतीतिरेव निरस्यति । अन्यथा कथं भवतामपि प्रतीतिपथ-मवतीर्णमसद्रैलक्षण्यम् ? ननु-असन्नृशृङ्गमित्यतो विकल्पमात्रं जायते न प्रतीतिः, यदाह भगवान् पतञ्जलिः—‘शब्दज्ञानानुपाती वस्तुशून्या विकल्पः’ इति । नहि शशविषाणमनुभवामीति जातुचित् प्रत्ययो जायते । विकल्पस्य वस्तुशून्यता च सोपाख्यधर्मानुल्लेखित्वम् अतः आपादनं युक्तम् इति चेत्, न, शब्दात् स्वर्गं प्रत्येमीतिवत् शब्दाच्छशशृङ्गं प्रत्येमीत्यपि अनुभवः सहृदयसाक्षिकोऽन्यत्राभिनिवेशात् । पातञ्जलसूत्रेऽपि ज्ञानमेव विभक्तं ‘प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रास्मृतयः’ इति । विकल्पान्यज्ञानविषया न स्यात् इत्यापाद्यते इति चेत् विकल्पातिरिक्तयथार्थप्रतीतौ तावन्न भवत्येव विषयः, अयथार्था तु प्रतीतिः प्राग्विज्ञातशशाधिकरणकशृङ्गाभावस्य मेषविषाणमस्तीत्यतो यथार्थेव, शशशृङ्गमस्तीत्यस्मादपि प्राप्नोत्येव जन्म, सा उपालभ्यतां यदि तादृग्भ्रान्तिविरहा बाधकत्वेनोपन्यस्यते । एतेन सत्त्वेन प्रतीत्यभावस्यापि आपाद्यता विगलति । इदं रजतमिति प्रत्यक्षभ्रमवद-निर्वाच्यं विषय ईदृश्याः प्रतीतेर्न तु निःस्वरूपम् । अयं च निःस्वरूपस्या-निर्वाच्याद् भेदे यत् ‘असच्छशशृङ्गम्’ इत्यत्राखण्डशशशृङ्गं विकल्प-गोचरः, शशशृङ्गमस्तीत्यत्र तु शशे शृङ्गारोपेण शृङ्गे वा शशीयत्वारोपेणा-निर्वाच्यं विषयः । शशशृङ्गमस्तीत्यत्रास्तित्वमनिर्वाच्यमधिष्ठानमपेक्षते, असच्छशशृङ्गमित्यत्र चानिर्वाच्याप्रतीतेरधिष्ठानज्ञानापेक्षाभावः प्रतीत्यो-र्विषयभेदे प्रयोजक इति चेत् । अत्राभिधीयते—अश्वे गोशृङ्गमस्तीति भ्रमे विशिष्टानुभवे भासते, नहि तत्राश्वे शृङ्गारोपोऽश्वीयत्वारोपो वा शृङ्गे

विवक्षित इति वक्तुं शक्यम्, अनुभवानां सिद्धान्तमनुसृत्य अनर्हत्वात् । किं च शशशृङ्गमस्तोत्यत्रानिर्वाच्यस्यास्तित्वस्यासिद्धता, असदेव सदात्मना प्रतीयत इति तु अनुभवानुसारी पन्थाः ? तस्मात् शशशृङ्गमस्तोत्यत्रासदेव विषय इति रमणीयम् । एतन्न-शशशृङ्गादीनामपार्थक्यताभिधानास्तार्किकम्भन्या निरस्ताः । अस्ति हि भवतामपि वचनं 'संविदेव हि भगवती वस्तूपगमे शरणम्' इति । एवं अपरोक्षप्रतीत्यभावोऽपि नापाद्यः, नहि गवादिशृङ्गे शशशृङ्गमिति भ्राम्यन् वित्तिं पराक्षाभासादयति । अथ ब्रूयात् सत्त्वेनापरोक्षप्रतीतिविषयत्वाभाव आपाद्यते । अत्यन्तासतो हि सत्त्वेन प्रत्यक्ष-प्रत्ययः इन्द्रियसन्निकर्षरूपप्रत्यक्षसामान्यसामग्र्या अभावान्न संभवति । सत्यपि दोषं सन्निकर्षं विनेन्द्रियं न धियं जनयितुमलम् इति । तदयुक्तम्, तदेवेदं पुस्तकमित्यादिप्रत्यभिज्ञा तावत् प्रथतं । न चार्थस्य पूर्वकालवर्त्तितेन्द्रियगोचरस्तस्य वर्त्तमानगोचरत्वनियमात् । तत्र यथा संस्कारसहायनेन्द्रियेण तत्ताविशिष्टेन वस्तुना संबध्य प्रत्यक्षा प्रत्यभिज्ञा जायतं तथा दोषसचिवेनेन्द्रियेण सच्छ्रुतयादिनासंबद्धेनासद्वर्जतं सदात्मना प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते । अपि च प्रत्येकात्मत्वे अनुपपत्त्या सदसदात्मकतैवारताम् बाधकाभावात् यथा चानिर्वाच्यविषयत्वेन भवन्मते भ्रमत्वं तथा सदसदात्मकत्वे यत् सत्त्वं तद्विषयत्वेन भ्रमत्वमुपपत्स्यतं । एवं सति भ्रमस्याकारः सञ्चासञ्च रजतमिति भवेदिति चेत् भवत्पक्षे सदसद्विलक्षणमिति समुल्लेखः कस्मान्न भवति ? किं च असद्विलक्षणं चेन्न बाध्येत सद्विलक्षणं चेन्न प्रतीयतेत्यनुपपत्त्या अनिर्वाच्यत्वाभाव एव सिध्यति । न च-विपर्ययं सत्त्वस्य प्रतीतिप्रयोजकत्वे उभयमतेऽपि रूप्यं नानुभूयत, उभयमतसिद्धासति बाधादर्शनात् असत्त्वस्य बाधप्रयोजकतापि न संभवतीति-वाच्यम्, रूप्यस्य वस्तुतोऽसत्त्वेऽपि सदात्मना भानकाले प्रतीतेः सत्त्वसिद्धेः सत्त्वस्य प्रतीतिप्रयोजकत्वे न कोऽपि दोषः । असच्च नरशृङ्गादिप्रसक्त्यभावान्न बाध्यते, अतोऽसतः बाधप्रयोजकत्वमप्युपपन्नम् । असतो रूप्यादेरपरोक्षप्रतीतिविषयत्वे शशशृङ्गादिरपि प्रत्यक्षत्वेन प्रतीयेत रूप्यशशशृङ्गादीनामसत्त्वे विशेषाभावात् । न च-दुष्टेन्द्रियादेः रूप्यसंस्कारः सहायः शशशृङ्गे च संस्काराभावोऽतः तस्य नापरोक्षविभ्रमे भानमिति वाच्यम्, संस्कारस्तावदर्थोत्पत्तिद्वारोपयुज्यते तथा चानिर्वाच्यता । साक्षात्तूपयोगे स्मृतित्वमापद्येत इति चेत् न, संस्कारस्य ज्ञाने साक्षादुपयोगे तदैव स्मृतित्वं यदि पूर्वानुभूतदेशकालविशिष्टवस्तुनः पूर्वरूपेणैव प्रत्ययः स्यात्, अत्र तु न देशकालयोः प्राचोरनुभवः

पुरोवर्त्तितया च प्रतिपत्तिः । तथा चास्त्येव रजतस्मृतिः परं न तन्मान्त्रम्, नापि भ्रमकाले रजतरय स्मर्यमाणता भ्रमस्यैवानुपपत्तेः अनिर्वाच्यत्वपक्षेऽपि च कथं न रजतभ्रमे अनिर्वाच्यान्तरं वृत्तादि जन्मासादयति ! तस्मादसत्ख्यात्मावपि रजतसंस्कारसद्भावात् रजतस्यैवासतो भानं न शश-शृङ्गादेरिति युक्तम् । यस्य प्रथमतां रजतभ्रमस्तस्य वास्तवरजतसंस्कार एव भ्रमहेतुरनिर्वाच्यवादिनापि वक्तव्यः, सत्यपि चानिर्वाच्यत्वाविशेषे रजतमेवोत्पद्यते न वृत्तादि । अस्तख्यातावपि प्राथमिकभ्रमे सत्यरजतसंस्कारो हेतुर्नियमेन चासतोरूप्यस्य प्रत्ययः । तस्माद् बाधकानुपपत्तेरभावात् मिथ्याशब्दस्य रजतं मिथ्या अभवादिति प्रत्यक्षेऽसत एव पर्यायता । विमतं सत्त्वरहितत्वे सति इत्याद्यनुमानमपि विमतं सदसदात्मकमित्याद्याभाससाम्यात् सत्प्रतिक्षक्रान्तत्वाच्च साध्यसिद्धौ न समर्थम् । सत्त्वासत्त्वे समानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिनीत्याद्यनुमानेऽपि सत्त्वासत्त्वे समानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिनी न भवतः, परस्परात्यन्ताभावत्वात्, घटत्वाघटत्ववत्, असत्त्वं सत्त्वानधिकरणानिष्ठं न, तत्प्रतिपेक्षरूपत्वात्, यथा अनित्यत्वं नित्यत्वानधिकरणानिष्ठं नेत्यादिसत्प्रतिपक्षप्रयोगो विज्ञेयः । एतेन—प्रपञ्चनिष्ठव्यतिरेकप्रयोगित्वं, सत्त्वासत्त्वोभयवृत्तिः, प्रपञ्चनिष्ठव्यतिरेकप्रतियोगिमात्रवृत्तित्वात् व्यवहार्यत्ववत्, सदसदुभयवृत्तित्वं प्रपञ्चनिष्ठव्यतिरेकप्रतियोगित्ववृत्तिः सत्त्वासत्त्वोभयवद्बृत्त्यशेषवृत्तित्वात् भेदप्रतियोगित्ववत् इत्याद्यनुमानानि—पराहतानि अप्रयोजकत्वात् ।

असतो भानेऽसत्ख्यातिवादिनां बौद्धानां मतं प्रवेश आपद्यते इति चेत् न, बौद्धमते रजतं परमार्थतः ज्ञाने, बाह्यतया च तदुपलम्भः, अस्मन्मतं त्वसतो रूप्यस्य सत्या प्रतीतिरिति भेदान् । किञ्चित्सादृश्यनान्यमतप्रवेशापादने भवतोऽप्येष दांषा दुर्निवारः । पुरोवर्त्तिद्रव्यसंयोगादिदमिति शुक्तिविषयमन्तःकरणवृत्तिरूपं ज्ञानं जायते दोषवशात् शुक्तित्वं भासते, तदनन्तरं चाकचिक्यादिसादृश्यदर्शनेन संस्कारं जागरितं शुक्तयवच्छिन्नचैतन्यावरणरूपाविद्या रजतज्ञानाकारेण रजताभामाकारेण च विवर्त्तते । यथाहुः इष्टसिद्धिकाराः—

शुक्तयवस्थात्ममोहोत्था रूप्यधीः शुक्तिमोहजा ।

कथ्यते मृदवस्थात्मजातो मृज्जो यथा घटः ॥ .

उभयोश्च तादात्म्यभानात् एकत्वाभिमान इति भवतां प्रक्रिया, अस्ति चात्र प्राभाकरमतेन सादृश्यम्, तथाहि तन्मतेऽयं क्रमः, इदमिति पुरोवर्त्ति-

द्रव्यमात्रं गृह्यते दोषाच्छ्रुतिकारत्वात्स्याग्रहे सादृश्याद् रजतस्मृतिरुदयते, दोषवशादेव न तत्तोल्लेखः, तथा च रजतस्मृतेः पुरोवर्त्तिमात्रं ग्रहणस्य च विवेकाग्रहाद् भिन्नेऽपि इदं रजतमिति ग्रहणस्मरणं एकत्वावभासिनं बोधं सामानाधिकरण्यव्यवहारं च जनयतः इति । एवं चोभयत्र विशिष्टज्ञानानभ्युपगमस्य तुल्यत्वाद्भवतोऽपि प्राभाकरता स्यात् । प्राभाकरैर्मिथ्यारजतानङ्गीकाराद् भेदोपपादने निरूपित एवास्माभिरपि विभेदः । 'अपि चैवमाक्षिपता नूनं विस्मृत आत्मा भवता, यां हि प्रमाणं प्रमेयं च मिथ्याभ्युपैति वेदोपदिष्टकर्माचरणजन्यसुखानां वेदविरुद्धानुष्ठानहेतुकदुःखानां च नानाभवेषु भोगं भ्रमत्वेनाङ्गीकुरुते तस्य करुणाकरसर्वज्ञपरमेश्वरापलापिनः स्फुटतरा बौद्धता । अत एव च तत्र तत्र प्रच्छन्नबौद्धत्वेन प्रसिद्धिरपि । खण्डनकारेणापि प्रकाशितमेवेदं "यदि शून्यवादानिर्वचनीयपक्षयोराश्रयणं तदा तावदमूषां निराबाधैव सार्वपथीनते" ति स्वयुक्तिषु प्रौढिवादं कुर्वता । संवृतिः अविद्या, शून्यं ब्रह्म, संवृत्तिमत्त्वं प्रातिभासिकसत्त्वमिति नान्नि केवलं भिदानार्थे ।

विश्वमिथ्यात्ववत् ब्रह्मणो निर्विशेषत्वमपि न युक्तम् । 'बृहन्तोऽस्य धर्मा' इति श्रुतिः ब्रह्मधर्मान्प्रतिपादयति । ईश्वरः, सदावाप्तसमस्तकल्याणगुणः, सदाप्रेप्सुत्वे सति तत्र शक्तत्वात्, यो यदा यत्प्रेप्सुर्यत्र शक्तः स तदा तद्वान् यथा चैत्रः, ईश्वरः सदा त्यक्तसमस्तदोषः, सदा तज्जिहासुत्वे सति तत्त्यागे शक्तत्वात् यश्चैवं स तथा यथा चैत्र इत्याद्यनुमानान्यपि ब्रह्मणः सगुणत्वं साधयन्ति । 'य आत्माऽपहतपाप्मे' त्यारभ्य 'सत्यकामः सत्यसङ्कल्पः सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्य' इत्यपहतपाप्मत्वादिभिः सहश्रुताः सत्यसंकल्पत्वादयोऽप्यत्रैवानुकूलाः । 'यः सर्वज्ञः सर्ववित् यस्यैष महिमा भुवी' ति श्रुत्यन्तरेण च ब्रह्मसर्वज्ञतायाः सत्यत्वसिद्धिः । अत एव 'अन्तस्तद्धर्मोपदेशात्' इत्यादिसूत्रेषु ब्रह्मगुणानां सूत्रकृतोपपादनं कृतम् । यद्युच्यते सविशेषनिरूपणं निर्विशेषज्ञानार्थम्, यथाहुः कल्पतरुकाराः—

“निर्विशेषं परं ब्रह्म साक्षात्कर्तुमनीश्वराः ।

ये मन्दास्तेऽनुकम्प्यन्ते सविशेषनिरूपणैः ॥

वशीकृते मनस्येषां सगुणब्रह्मशीलनात् ।

तदेवाविर्भवेत् साक्षादपेतोपाधिकल्पनम् ॥” इति,

एवंत्वे 'सत्यं ज्ञान'मित्यादि सद्ब्रह्मनिरूपणमपि 'असद्वा इदम् अस्मीत्' इत्यादिश्रुतिसिद्धासद्ब्रह्मज्ञानार्थं स्यात् । तदेतदाहुराचार्यव्यास-
तीर्थास्तात्पर्यचन्द्रिकायां—

“असद्रूपं परं ब्रह्म साक्षात्कर्तुमनीश्वराः ।

ये मन्दास्तेऽनुकम्प्यन्ते सद्ब्रह्मप्रतिपादनैः ॥

निर्विशेषं परं धर्ममनुष्ठातुमनीश्वराः ।

ये मन्दास्तेऽनुकम्प्यन्ते सविशेषनिरूपणैः ॥”

इति स्यात् । शक्यं हि ब्रह्मकाण्डं लक्षण्या निर्विशेषब्रह्मैव
कर्मकाण्डेऽप्यभिहोत्रादिसविशेषधर्मविलक्षणः कश्चिन्निर्विशेषो धर्मः प्रति-
पाद्यत इति वक्तुम् । अत्रैव तात्पर्यचन्द्रिकाकारैर्निर्विशेषार्थकत्वे उत्सूत्रतापि
प्रतिपादिता—

“किं च

आद्यासूत्रे धर्मशब्दाद्वितीयं भेदशब्दतः ।

निर्धर्मकत्वमैक्यं च निरस्तं परवस्तुनः ॥

धर्मो भेदश्च मिथ्या चेच्छ्रुतिसूत्राप्रमाणात् ।

व्याख्याव्याजेन चोक्तास्यात्त्वया सौगतसौहृदात् ॥” इति ।

आकाशाधिकरणेऽपि श्रीभगवत्पादपूर्णप्रज्ञाचार्यैः सर्वोत्तमत्वादि-
लिङ्गैर्ब्रह्मणो गुणवत्त्वं भाषितम् । आकाशशब्द आ समन्तात् काशते इति
यागानुसारेण ब्रह्मणि मुख्यो द्वैतमतं, अद्वैतमतं तु आकाशपदं जघन्यवृत्त्या
ब्रह्मपरमितीयान् भेदः । उपनिषत्सु चाकाशादिपदानां ब्रह्मणि मुख्यतैव
युक्ता । वेदार्थे यागः प्रधानं लोकप्रसिद्धिस्तु दुर्बला । लोके रूढेर्बलवत्ता
योगस्य निर्बलतेति च वैपरीत्यम् । अत एवाकाशादिपदानां ब्रह्मणि विद्वद्रूढि-
रप्युपपद्यते । अज्ञानरूढ्यपेक्षया च विद्वद्रूढिर्यवराहाधिकरणन्यायेन बल-
वती । “स प्रथमः संकृतिर्विश्वकर्मा स प्रथमो मित्रो वरुणश्चमिः । स प्रथमो
बृहस्पतिः” इति श्रुत्यन्तरंऽन्यत्र प्रसिद्धानां लोकं, विश्वकर्मादिपदानां ब्रह्म-
परता प्रतिपादिता । इदमभिसंधाय भगवत्पादा आकाशाधिकरणपरिशेषे
आकाशपदस्य ब्रह्मणि मुख्यतां द्योतयितुमनुजगृह्युः श्रुत्युपन्यासेन “नामानि
सर्वाणि यमाविशन्तीति चोक्तम्” इति । अत एव लोकप्रसिद्धार्थाश्रयेण श्रुतीः
कदर्थ्यतां विपरीतार्थमुपदिशतामविद्यायास्तिरस्कृत्तारः चिरेण देशरूढप्रति-

विरुद्धार्थानुष्ठानेन विषमां क्लेशपरम्परामनुभवन्त्या आर्यजातेरथवा मनुष्य-
जातेरुद्धारकाः परमवैदिकाः भगवन्तो दयानन्दस्वामिनः “इन्द्रं मित्रं
वरुणमग्निमाहु रथो दिव्यस्स सुपर्णा गरुत्मान् । एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं
यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः” रित्यादिमन्त्रोल्लेखपुरस्सरं भूयसां नाम्नां ब्रह्मपरत्वं
प्रदर्शयामासुः । प्राणाद्यधिकरणान्यपि ब्रह्मणः सगुणत्वमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति ।
‘केवलो निर्गुण’ इत्यादि श्रुतिस्तु हेयगुणराहित्यं वक्ति । तस्मात् सर्वज्ञः
सर्वशक्तिः करुणावान् भगवान् मुमुक्षुणोपास्य इति द्वैतमतमेव रमणीयम् ॥

—ईश्वरचन्द्रपन्तः



नृपः सदसत्ख्यातिश्च

NĀGEŚA AND SADASAT-KHYĀTI

(A CRITICISM)

PANDIT T. V. RĀMACHANDRA DIKSHITA

(Professor of Vādānta, Madras Sanskrit College.)

शब्दब्रह्मेति यच्चेदं शास्त्रं वेदाख्यमुच्यते ।

तदप्यधिष्ठितं येन नमस्तस्मै चिदात्मने ॥

अस्ति विविधदर्शनपरिशीलनपचेलिमस्वान्तानां स्वरसपरिवाहिनी समेषां समा संप्रतिपत्तिः यत्किंल श्रुतिशिरसां परममैदम्पर्यं भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं दर्शनेषु विच्छिन्नास्वविच्छिन्नं प्रक्रियासु महासामान्यमेव भाव-
याथात्म्यं यत्र च प्रतिस्वं स्वप्रधानान्येव बहूनि तन्त्राण्युपनिबध्नन्तोऽपि सर्वज्ञकल्पा एके भवन्ति मुनयः । तस्यैतस्य वस्तुयाथात्म्यस्य विना प्रमादं विना च सङ्करं अखिलदर्शनगतिसामान्यापदर्शनेनोद्ग्रहणं नाम भवति तथा व्यवस्यतो दार्शनिकलोकस्य परा प्रतिष्ठा, अनुरूपञ्च प्रयोजनं तथाविधायाः श्रुतिशीलयोः संपद इति । अस्य च गतिसामान्यस्य लम्भने द्वौ क्रमौ भवतः । द्रष्टृणां भावोपज्ञानमिति प्रथमः परमार्थः । द्वितीयश्च ग्रन्थानां योजनावैचित्र्यम् अपरमार्थ इति । तत्र क्षुण्णं प्रथमं पन्थान-
मनुरुन्धानैः विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणैः आचार्यमधुसूदनसरस्वतीभिः अन्यैश्चास्य तात्त्विकं पर्यवसानं यथावदुपलेभे । मन्यामहे श्रीभगवत्पादा अपि स्थाने इममर्थमविरोधगत्या द्वितीयलक्षणे संसूचयन्ति स्म । द्वितीयेन पथा प्रतिष्ठमानास्तु विज्ञानभिन्नुप्रमुखाः विरूपया ग्रन्थयोजनया नितरां क्षिण्यन्तः न पारमधिजगुः । नहि क्षिष्टयोजनया लम्भितो ग्रन्थार्थो भाविको भवति । यद्यपि आदिमेन मार्गेण क्रममाणा नामपि विरुद्धवदाभासाः प्रक्रियाविशेषाः समापतन्त्येव तत्र तत्र, तथापि स्थिरस्थिति गतिसामान्ये पर्यवसितफले न बह्वि अभिनिवेष्टव्यं प्रेक्षावद्भिः प्रक्रियासु । यथाहुः—

“यथा यथा भवेत्पुंसां व्युत्पत्तिः प्रत्यगात्मनि ।

सा सैव प्रक्रिया ज्ञेया साचाप्यत्रानवस्थिता ॥”

“उपायाः शिचमाणां बालानामुपहापनाः ।

असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ॥” इति

तदेतद्व्यवस्थितं विचार्यैवं बहुधा संग्रहणीयस्तत्त्वदर्शनाभिमुखो लोकः पण्डितकुलेन नत्वेव यथासिद्धप्रक्रियार्थामन्यथाकृत्यानुगन्तव्यं विषमेण पथेति ।

तदिह निर्भेदस्वभावं आन्तरमखण्डवाक्यम्फोटं तत्तद्वाह्यार्थाध्यास-कल्पनाया अधिष्ठानं व्युत्पाद्य तदनुप्रसङ्गेन व्यसनितयेवाधिकमधिकं विज्ञानमिच्छुणा सङ्कल्प्यताम् । सदसत्ख्यातिं सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य श्रीभट्टनागेशस्य लघुमञ्जूषायामनुक्रमणमुपादीयते उदाहरणप्रदर्शनस्य कृते कस्यचित् । चित्रमिदं ग्रहीष्यन्ति भावुकाः कथमिव सर्वतन्त्र-निष्णातोऽयमप्यसन्तमर्थमभिधीतेति । अथवा गमनीयं कथञ्चित्सर्व-शास्त्राणां प्रक्रियांशोऽपि गतिसामान्यमिति स्वयङ्कृतसुदृढाभिनिवेशस्य मनोरथसंपत्तौ पुष्कलेयं साधनसंपत्, यदखिलशास्त्रेषु पारगतं प्रावीण्यम् अप्रतिहतश्चास्य प्रज्ञाप्रसरः । तदिममेवार्थं कृतविमर्शमुपहरामः अस्म सारासारयोः सन्तः प्रमाणम् ।

आलक्ष्यते हि श्रुतिपथमवतीर्णेषु शब्देषु समनन्तरभाविन्यर्थस्फूर्तिः । तत्कः खलु शब्दभ्यर्थेन सम्बन्धो यं प्रतिनियतोऽर्थप्रतिभासः । एवं विचिन्वाना नानैवानयाः सम्बन्धभेदान्पृथग्वर्त्मानः शास्त्रस्थाः संदृश्यः । तत्रेश्वरेच्छा शब्दार्थयोः सम्बन्ध इति केचित् । अनुभावकत्वं तदित्यन्ये । तादात्म्यं शब्दार्थयोः परस्पराध्यासगृहीतं तन्मूलः सङ्केतो वा स इति वैयाकरणाः । तत्र विच्छिन्नयोरिव सतोरनयोरसंभाव्यमभेदाध्यसनमिति एवद्व्युत्पादयितुमना अयं ससाक्षिकया बुद्धिवृत्त्या बहिर्निर्दिशितान्विषयानेक-निगरणकन्यायेन तस्या एव बुद्धिवृत्तेः शिरसि प्रत्यतिष्ठिपत् । एवमन्तः-सञ्चारितेष्वर्थेषु तेषां रूपग्राहिण्या बुद्धेः शब्दस्य च तत्र तादात्म्यं संभवदध्यासमुपकल्प्य सर्वं रमणीयं मेने । अथ च यथेयं प्रक्रिया सर्वेषां सिद्धान्तः स्यान् श्रीरी च तथा विधानाय सुदूरमन्विष्यता सांख्यप्रवचन-भाष्यं नाम कश्चिद्ग्रन्थ उपलेभे । वितर्कयामो यय प्रणेता विज्ञानभिद्धः तथात्वे परिगृहीतो बहुभिः प्रामाणिकेष्वन्यतम इति । तत्त्वतः सर्वसङ्करवादी सोऽयं विज्ञानमिच्छुरन्वर्थनामा यस्य विज्ञानं बहुभी रूपैराकीर्णं दृश्यते, तत आच्छिन्नैः प्रकीर्णकैरर्थैः सङ्घटितेयं प्रक्रिया कथं हृदयमधिरोहेदिति न प्रतीमः । प्रसाध्यैवं बौद्धयोः शब्दार्थयोरभेदं ततस्त्रस्यन्नात्मख्यातिभयात्

सदसत्त्व्याति' नाम कश्चन वादमुपचितेप । सर्वङ्गिल वस्तुजातं
 आन्तरंणात्मना सदपि बाह्येन रूपेणासदेव, तस्य भानं ख्यातिरिति
 सदसत्त्व्यातिर्बाधाबाधाभ्यामिति भिन्नधृतं सांख्यसूत्रं प्रमाणं कृत्वा
 सविस्तरं न्यरूपंत् । अत्रेदं वक्तव्यम् । भवेदेतदेवं समञ्जसं यन्नाम ख्यात्यंशं
 वैयाकरणाः सांख्यमवलम्बन्त इति प्रमाणं लभ्येत निश्चयाय पर्याप्तम् ।
 यदि वा यथोक्ता ख्यातिः सांख्यैराहता । तत्रानादरणादेव नेद्विविधा
 ख्यातिमपेक्षते कोऽपि वैयाकरणः इति बहिर्गव प्रथमः पक्षो निरोद्धव्यः ।
 अथापि म्यादपुरस्कृतापि स्वैरियं अनुज्ञातैवाप्रत्यादेशान् इत्युपगच्छंम
 यद्यवतिष्ठेत लब्धरूपा केपाविचदर्शने । यावदियं प्रतिपन्नभूतैः अख्यात्यन्य-
 थाख्यातिवादैः प्रतिषिद्धप्रमरा नात्मानं लभते सांख्यादिदर्शनेषु तदा का
 कथा अप्रतिषिद्धेयमिति प्रागंवानुमता—तथाहि विधीयमाने सांख्य-
 दर्शनस्य कोष्ठशोधने न कचिदपि निलीनरूपं ख्यातिर्निर्ज्ञायते ।
 'सत्त्वपुरुषान्यताख्यातिर्मोक्षबन्धना' 'विवेकख्यातिपर्यन्तं ज्ञेयं प्रकृति-
 चेष्टितं' 'लिङ्गभ्याविनिवृत्तेः तस्माद् दुःखं स्वभावेन' इति च तत्र तत्र प्रकृति-
 पुरुषयोः भेदाग्रहप्रतिबद्धमिव तद्ग्रहणमात्रायचालाभमिव च मोक्षं
 व्याहरन्तः स्वरसोन्नीतामख्यातिमेवाभिप्रयन्ति सांख्या इति गम्यते ।
 या त्वख्यातिवादिनः प्राभाकरा इति पण्डितकुलविसृमरा प्रतीतिः न
 तयाप्यस्य वादस्यासांख्यत्वं श्रद्धातुं शक्यम् । युक्तञ्च प्रभाकरा इमं वादं
 सांख्येभ्यः परिजगृह्णुः इति । यदख्यातिनिरूपणगतम् 'एतेनान्यसंप्रयोगेऽन्य-
 विषयज्ञानस्य स्मृतिवत्तत्प्रमोषौ सर्वत्र व्याख्यातौ' इति पञ्चपादिकाम्
 एवमवतारयांबभूवुर्विवरणाचार्याः 'नन्वतत्त्वे तत्त्वज्ञानमिति शास्त्रकारेणैव
 दर्शितः संसर्गविभ्रम इति—नेत्याहे'—ति । एतदुक्तं भवति प्रमास्मृतिभ्यामन्यः
 भ्रमो नाम न तृतीयो ज्ञानस्य राशिः समस्ति । सेयं भ्रमज्ञानम्यासंभवोऽ-
 ख्यातिरिति प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानैः यथामूलादितं प्रत्यवस्थातव्यं, न विपर्ययेण ।
 तदिह अतस्त्वे इति संसर्गार्था विभक्तिं प्रयुज्य शास्त्रकारः सांख्य एव संसर्ग-
 विभ्रममाह । तत्कथम् ? असंसर्गाग्रहणमात्रं भ्रम इति । ज्ञानाधानवाक्यस्य
 भावविवरणं, वक्तव्ये च पूर्ववादिनाप्यविवेके संसर्गज्ञानकल्पना गौरवा-
 दख्यातिरेवेत्यतिरोहितार्थम् । एतेनासति संसर्गविमर्शे संसर्गव्यपदेशः
 फलं भ्रमत्वाभिमतज्ञानस्येत्येवमर्थं शास्त्रकृद्भवनं वर्णितम् । अपिच न्याय-
 सिद्धस्यार्थस्येदमपि लिङ्गदर्शनं भवति । एतद्वाददूषणोपसंहारं पञ्चपाद्या-
 भिदमुक्तं "तथा च तन्त्रान्तरीया आहुः 'अनुभूतविषयासंप्रमोषः स्मृतिः'"

इति । अत्र तन्त्रान्तरशब्दः प्रकृतादन्यद्योगतन्त्रं परामृशति । तत्प्रतिसंबन्धि प्रकृतमख्यातिवादितन्त्रं सांख्यमेवेति इदमपि गमकं भवति । प्रायेण हि अस्मादन्यदिति वचने सजातीयमेवान्यत्प्रतीयत इति । तस्मादख्यातिवादी सांख्य इत्येष पक्षः साधीयान् । 'अवश्यञ्चायमेव पक्षः साधीयान् । सांख्यादिबहुदर्शनविचारशीर्लिनां हि एतत्स्कर-बदरनिर्विशेषं प्रतिभायात् यदुतोपयन्तोऽपि सांख्याः षष्टिं पदार्थानां परम-तात्पर्येणामङ्गस्वभावमात्मानमेव स्वशास्त्रे प्रतिपिपादयिष्यन्ति । न च तत्क्रमेण, कस्य चित्प्रक्रियाविशेषस्याश्रयणादृत इति तादर्थ्येनेतरदर्शजातं निरूपयन्ति । अत एव 'एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्त इति' सूत्रे सांख्यादिदर्शनानि अंशेन वेदान्तार्थान्व्याचक्षाणानि कामं पुरुषबुद्धिसौकर्यमपेक्ष्य कामपि प्रक्रियां रचयन्तु ; तात्पर्यगृहीतेश्वर्थेषु अनपेक्ष्यमेषां प्रामाण्यमिति भाष्य-भामत्योः स्थितम् । अतएव चांशेनापि तत्त्वयाथात्म्यं व्याचिकीर्षद्विर-स्मदीयैः प्रक्रियैका समाश्रीयते । यत्र प्रमाणप्रमंयविभागः प्रतिकर्मव्यवस्था चेति सर्वं लोकयात्रानिर्वहणाय साधु समर्थितं चकास्ति । यस्याश्चा-भावहेतोः हन्त कति वा दर्शनाभासाः पुनः पुनर्न वा उद्भिन्नमात्रा एव स्वरूपनाशमनशन्निति क एनान्सञ्चक्षीत । तदन्यार्थे प्रक्रियामात्रे नातितरा बद्धदृष्टिभिरपि प्रेक्षावद्विरदमेकं नोपेक्ष्येत यस्यादेशाय भगवन्तो मुनयोऽवतेरुः । अनया च विधया सांख्यदर्शने परीक्ष्यमाणे पुरुष एवैकः तत्र स्वप्रधानो निरीक्ष्यत इति मुख्यस्यार्थस्य स्थापनायां कियानुपकारो भवति केन वा ख्यातिवादेनेति विवेक्तव्यम् । अस्ति संसारित्वाभिमतस्यात्मनो बन्धो नाम यस्मान्मोक्षमाणान्प्रति प्रववृते शास्त्रजातम् । तत्र कैवल्य-प्राप्तावनपहतकर्तृभोक्तृत्वशक्तिरपि प्रत्यगात्मा विषयसंप्रयोगाभावादकुर्वन्न-भुञ्जानश्च भोगान्विधूतबन्धो मुक्तस्तिष्ठतीति वैशेषिकादयः प्रतिपन्नाः । प्राक् च तत्त्वज्ञानान्नित्योऽप्यपरिच्छिन्नोपि सदेहादिगतैः उपजनोऽपायः परिच्छेदः इति धर्मैः स्वस्मिन्नारोपितेऽन्यथैव विभाव्यत इति मिथ्याज्ञान-निर्मूलनाय तैरन्यथाख्यातिवादिभिः तत्त्वनिर्णयप्रधानं शास्त्रमारब्धम् । शक्तेरपि शक्यनिरूपणाधीननिरूपणाया अवश्याभ्युपेयं तदा शक्यस-बन्धेऽनिर्मेक्षः प्रसज्यत इत्यौपनिषदा इदं दर्शनं व्युदस्थापयन् अन्तः-करणपर्यन्तस्यैव कार्यकरणसङ्घातस्य कर्तृत्वं भोक्तृता च, आत्मा तु सदैव शुद्धः सदैव मुक्तः केवलमविद्ययैवानिर्वचनीयबन्धेन तद्वा निवाजायत इति अविद्यानिवर्तकसाक्षात्कारपर्यन्ताय तत्त्वज्ञानाय तैः सर्वे वेदान्ता भार-

भ्यन्ते । तदत्रापि दर्शनेऽनिर्वचनीयधर्मैः कल्पितेनापि संसर्गेण तद्वानिवेति सापेक्षवचनकरणात् कियानपि बन्धसंस्पर्शः आत्मनोऽभिप्रेतः स्यादिति अनुशयानैः सांख्यैरख्यातिवादो दर्शितोपपत्तिरुपाजह । अहो तस्य महर्षिक-
पिलस्य भावगाम्भीर्यं न बुद्धिगोचरं तिष्ठति तदाहुरार्यमतयः—‘तस्मान्न बध्य-
तंऽद्धा, नापि मुच्यते नापि संसरति कश्चित्’ । एतदुक्तं भवति—बुद्धिधर्मा
बुद्धावेव नारापिता अप्यात्मनि आरांभमात्रस्यैवालोक्तवादिति । परमार्थ-
तस्तु, अनया गमनिकयात्मनोऽसङ्गत्वं सेत्स्यतीति इदं मनोरथमात्रं, प्रकृति-
पुरुषयोः स्वस्वामिभावस्य प्रतिबिम्बलक्षणस्य वा संयोगस्योपगमं मुक्तानां
पुनरुत्पत्तिः अनिर्मुक्तो वा प्रसज्येत । अतश्चात्मव्यतिरेकेणोपाधिमात्र-
स्यासत्त्वे शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते । स च—कल्पनैकशरीरानुपाधिधर्मानुपपत्तपि
तैरसंस्पृष्ट एवेत्याध्यासमनिर्वचनीयं व्युत्पाद्य मन्यामहे श्रीभगवत्पादा आत्मन
ऐकान्तिकासङ्गतप्रतिपादनाय विशेषतः सांख्यस्य यथोपलक्षितासङ्गतिप्रति-
समाधानाय चैवमादिशन्ति “तत्रैवं सति यत्र यदध्यासः तत्कृतंन दोषं
गुणेन वाऽणुमात्रेणापि स न संबध्यत” इति । अत एव तथ्यतापके सत्त्व-
रजसीत्युक्त्वा स्वमत एवात्मानं विशुद्धं मन्यमानस्य तन्मतंऽपि अनिर्मुक्ता-
पादनपरिहारसाम्यं प्रदर्श्य सांख्यस्यैव दुर्निवारमिमं दोषं प्रसज्यन्ति स्म
अदर्शनस्य तमसां नित्यत्वादित्यादिनेत्यलम् । तदीदृश्यामर्थव्यवस्थितौ
भिच्छुणा वा तद्धृतसूत्रेण वा नीतस्य ख्यातिवादस्य नंहावसराऽस्ति कश्चित् ।
ततो विमुच्यार्वाचीनेषु सांख्यसूत्रेषु अकस्मात्परमार्थप्रत्ययं आभ्यन्त-
रविषयपरीक्षणनाख्यातिवादी सांख्य इति व्यवसंयम् ।

स्यादेतत् । चमसाधिकरणंऽजामन्त्रं व्याचक्षाणानां भगवत्पादानाम्
ईदृशी वचनव्यक्तिरालक्ष्यते ‘तां प्रकृतिमविद्ययात्मत्वेनापगम्य सुखी दुःखी
मूढोऽहमित्यविवेकतया संसरति’ इति । विवृतञ्चैतदाचार्यवाचस्पति-
मिश्रैः । “चित्तिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसङ्क्रमापि, बुद्धिसत्त्वादात्मनो
विवेकमबुध्यमाना बुद्धिवृत्त्यैव विपर्यासेन बुद्धिस्थानसुखादीनात्मन्यभिमन्य-
माना” इति अनयोराचार्यवाक्ययोः प्रधानवादसंमतमेव विवेकाग्रहपूर्वं
सत्त्वपुरुषयोरभेदाध्यासं संसर्गाध्यासञ्च मुक्तसंशयमनूद्यमानं गृह्णीमः । हन्त !
महता परिकरबन्धेनाख्यातिं निर्णयि कोष्ठशोधनका भाष्यभामतीभ्यां
विरुध्यन्ते; “सांख्यानामप्यास्ति भ्रमः स तु बुद्धावेवेति विशेषः ” इति कल्प-
तरुणा च विशेषतः । सत्यं, महावाक्यस्थानोऽयमजामन्त्रः सांख्यानाम् ।
सत्यञ्चेदृशेन मन्त्रेण स्वमतमौपनिषदं शङ्कमानं सांख्यमवतारयद्विरभि

कृतदीयप्रक्रियमेव संत्रार्थः प्रकाशयते । तथाप्येवं पृच्छामः—स्फुटार्थयोरत्र भाव्यभामत्योः कः खल्वनुशयः यन्निमित्तं व्याकुलीपरिहारायवेदं सांख्यानामपीतिवचनम् ? नन्विदं कस्याप्यनुशयस्य परिहारार्थं स्यात् स्पष्ट-प्रक्षिप्तस्यैव वा; सानुशयमेव सर्वं वाक्यं पश्यतो वा भवेत्तः कः कामः समुद्ध्यते ? एवं तर्हि समर्थयिष्यामः नास्तिभ्रमाः सांख्या इति सिद्धं कृत्वानुक्रममाणमिदमेव भवतां साक्षित्वेनोपन्यस्तं वचनं भवत्यलमस्मत्प-क्षव्यवस्थापन इति । प्रसिद्धञ्च प्रतिवादिनः साक्ष्यवचनं मात्रया सूचितं कदिनोऽर्थं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्ति न्यायविदः । अथवा कृतं लोकव्यवहार-स्थितं कौटसाक्ष्यमिहोदाहृत्य । अस्ति भ्रमः सांख्यानामिति वाक्या-र्क्षोपपत्तिरिति चिन्तनीयैव । न वा किञ्चिदिहापूर्वं चिन्तनीयमस्ति; चिन्तितपूर्वमेतदार्थदीक्षितन्दैः । तथाहि लघूकरणव्याख्यानदिशा [न मूल-बह्वकरणेन] सांख्यानामपीति वाक्यं तैरेव विनियते । “स तु भ्रमः अगृहीतासंसर्गधर्मधर्मिविषयकज्ञानद्वयरूपः धर्मधर्मिसंसर्गविषयकैकज्ञान-रूपो वा इत्यन्यत्” इति । इदमत्राकूतम्—अस्ति यथा सांख्याः पुरुषासङ्ग-त्वभङ्गभीरुकाः नान्यसंसर्गं तत्राध्यस्यमानं राचयन्त । ‘तामात्मत्वेनोप-गम्य, बुद्धिस्थान्मुखदुःखादीनात्मन्यभिनिविशमाना’ इति च भाव्यभामत्यो-रपि नायं संसर्गविभ्रमस्य सिद्धवदनुवाद इति ग्रहीतव्यम्; धर्मधर्मिणोर्विवे-काग्रहेष कृतस्य मिथुनीकरणस्य फलं अभेदसंसर्गयोर्व्यपदेशमात्रं इहानूयते । एवं व्युपगम्याभिनिविशमाना इति पदद्वयं सामञ्जस्येनानुगतं भवति । यस्तु व्युपगतस्वातन्त्र्यः कल्पनाकलेश इतीदं न क्षमते, तस्य प्रतिबोधायेह-शैरव वर्यः समुत्कीर्णमविप्रतिपन्नमख्यातिनिरूपणग्रन्थकलापं निदर्शयेत् । “अन्ये तु यत्र यदध्यासः तद्विवेकाग्रहणनिबन्धनो भ्रम इति” “दूरस्थयो-रिव वनस्थोऽरनुत्पन्न एवैकत्वावभासे उत्पन्नभ्रमः” इति चैवंजातीयकम् । किं बहुना ? यावत्प्राभाकरा अपि इदं रजतमित्येवं ज्ञानस्याकारमवमृशन्ति । अथवा यथाश्रुतात्तरार्थग्रहणमात्रपरिश्रान्तमतय इत्थं व्युत्पादनीयाः—अस्तु संसर्गविभ्रमः, न तावता पुरुषस्यात्याहितमिव किञ्चित्, छायाया हि बुद्धि-वृत्तिं ग्राहमात्रे पुरुषतत्त्वे अयं संसर्गविभ्रमो नाम । तत्रस्थः प्रतिबिम्बा-त्मैव तेन संस्पन्द्यते इति । तदिदमप्युक्तं ‘चित्तिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसंक्र-मग्री’ति । तथाच ‘तस्मात्तत्संयोगादचेतनं चेतनावदिव लिङ्गम्’ इति सांख्या वदन्ति । अनेनाभिसन्धिनाक्तं स तु ‘बुद्धावेवेति विशेष’ इति । इदमपि विशेषाभिधानं कल्पतरौ ‘यद्यपि पुरुषसमारापेऽपि शब्दादि-

विज्ञानवत् बुद्धिवृत्तिः, यद्यपि च प्राकृतत्वेनाचिद्रूपतयानुभाव्य' इति
 योगवाचस्पत्यमूलं प्रमाणं, न स्वोपज्ञमिति द्रष्टव्यम् । वस्तुतः अनेनापि
 विशेषाश्रयणेन नात्मनः सङ्गदोषः शाम्यति । प्रतिबिम्बश्च नामोपाध्यान्त-
 रूपलभ्यमानो बिम्ब एव, न स एव साक्षान्नापि वस्त्वन्तरम् । तेन यदिदं
 प्रतिबिम्बे बुद्धिधर्मा आरोप्यन्ते बिम्ब एव तदारोपितास्ते भवन्ति ।
 तथाचाभाणकः 'भक्षितेऽपि लशुने न व्याधिशान्तिरिति' । अत एवैतद्दोष-
 परिजीहीर्षयेवाह 'इत्यन्यदि' इति । अन्यशब्देन द्वितीयाध्याये विशिष्य
 सांख्यानुवादग्रन्थसमालोचनेन सर्वेषामेवाचार्याणामख्यातिवादी सांख्य
 इत्येव निर्भरो' व्यक्तो भविष्यतीति सूच्यते । तानीमानि वाक्यान्य-
 नुक्रम्यन्ते । "अतश्चाविद्याकृतोऽयं तप्यतापकभावो न पारमार्थिक इत्य-
 भ्युपगन्तव्यम्" । "दर्शितविषयत्वात्तु बुद्धिसत्त्वे तप्ये तदविभागापत्त्या पुरु-
 षोऽनुतप्यत इव, नतु तप्यतेऽपरिणामित्वादित्युक्तम्" "तदविभागापत्तिश्चा-
 विद्येति अविवेको ह्यविभागः" इति । यद्वोचाम 'अन्यशब्देनाभिप्रायविशेषः
 संसूचितं' इति तत्स्फुटीकरणाय दीक्षितेन्द्राणामिदं व्याख्यानम् "अख्याति-
 वादिनः सांख्यस्य मते भ्रमविषयैक्यविवर्ताभावात् इत्याशंक्य विवेकाग्रह
 एवाविभागशब्देन विवक्षित इति व्याचष्ट" इति । आबध्नन्तु वा यथोक्त-
 सांख्यसूत्रेषु केचिन्महर्षी श्रद्धाम् । श्रद्धधानानामपि ततः सदसत्ख्यात्युप-
 जीवनं न क्षेमाय भवेत् 'सदसत्ख्यातिर्बाधाबाधाभ्यामिति' सूत्रस्य
 नायमभिप्रायो यत्सत्त्वासच्च बाह्याभ्यन्तररूपाभ्यां प्रख्यायते, अव्यक्तादिकं
 हि प्राग्व्याकरणात् अदोरूपमित्यगृह्यमाणविशेषं लोकदृष्टिमाश्रित्यास-
 दिव व्यपदिश्यते । परस्ताद्व्यक्तिभावात्, सदिति च लोकवदेव ।
 'असदेवेद' मिति श्रुतौ योगभाष्ये च तत्र तत्र निरूढव्यवहारादपि
 अव्यक्तमेवासच्छब्दमिति संप्रधार्यते । सांख्या अपि अव्यक्ताव्यक्ती-
 भावमेव सत्तामात्रस्य महत् उत्पत्तिमिच्छन्ति न चैवं सति अन्यदीयस्य
 सदसतः किमप्यायास्यति । अथ तु विज्ञानभिन्नुणा कृतं व्याख्यान्तरमपि
 अस्य सूत्रस्य प्रमाणं, यतो बहुभिर्लिङ्गैः सूत्रमपि तदीयमेवेति निश्चु-
 नुमः, तथापि बहिःस्थितस्य शब्दादेर्वृत्तिप्रणालिकयान्तःसञ्चारितस्य
 पुरुषेऽसतः भानमस्मात्प्रसिद्धयेत् । परेषामभीष्टस्य तु बाह्यवस्तु-
 नोऽसत्त्वस्य न प्रत्याशाप्यस्ति । स यदि ब्रूयाद् 'नायं संवादोपन्यासः,
 सत्त्वासत्त्वयोरन्येषां दर्शनेऽभिमतं रूपमुपेत्य स्थिते सदसत्प्रख्यायत इति
 न्यायतत्त्वे विधान्तरेण तयो रूपमस्माभिः परिग्रहीष्यत' इति । अथ किमि-

द्वानीं विपर्यासमात्रे सदसतोर्भानुमुपयन्तो बाह्यत्वं धर्मोऽप्यन्तासन्न
भातीत्येव वक्तुमध्यवसितायते, भासमानस्य वा सदसत्त्वम् । अहो दर्शित-
मेभिः ख्यातिविवेचनवैदग्ध्यं, यत्खलु येनात्मना भवत्यसत् तद्वस्तु तेन
गृह्णन्विपर्यय इत्युक्त्वा सदसत्त्वसम्मार्जनाय बाह्यत्वमप्यान्तरमेव बहिर्बदव-
भासत इति कल्पनान्मुखानामेषामपर्यवसितबाह्यत्वपरम्पराग्रहणविमुखो
विपर्यासो विप्लवते । अनेनैव क्रमेण मरीचिष्वसतस्तोयभावस्य ज्ञानात्मनि
रजतेऽसत् इदन्वयस्य शुक्तिकायामसतो रजतत्वसंसर्गस्य च भानं मन्यमानाः
'सद्भासते ज्ञानाकारः, अन्यथाचे'ति किमपि वदन्तः सर्वे ख्यातिवादिनः
प्रकारासत्ख्यातिवादे केवलमात्मनः पक्षपातं प्रकाशयन्ति । असन्तं संसर्गं
व्यपदिशन्तोऽख्यातिवादिनश्चादूरविप्रकर्षेण । अतएव ख्यातिपरम्परापर-
विश्रामधामभूतामनिर्वचनीयख्यातिं व्युत्पादयावभूतः श्रीभगवत्पादाः एवं
सति सांख्यैरन्यैश्च सदसद्वादः पुरस्कृत इति किमिदं विभीषिकामात्रमिति
मर्मज्ञा विदांकुर्वन्तु । किञ्चान्यत् येयं सदसन्नाम्ना ख्यातिः परिभाष्यते न
खल्वेषा परीक्ष्यमाणे स्वतन्त्रं ख्यात्यन्तरमवतिष्ठेत, सत्ख्यातेः अन्यथाख्या-
तेर्वा प्रकारविशेषतया तदन्तर्भावगमने च कृतमस्याः स्वातन्त्र्येण । भवदीया तु
ज्ञानाकारख्यातौ निलीनरूपेति व्यक्तम् । किमधिकेन ? यावता श्रीभट्टनागेशः
स्वयमन्वमन्यतास्या अन्यथाख्यात्यनतिरेकं “यद्यप्यन्यथाख्यातिः सौत्रा-
न्तिकस्ये” त्यादिना । यदपि ‘नान्यथाख्यातिः स्ववचोव्याघाता’ दिति
नैयायिकाभिराचिकीर्षन्ति, तत्र चोद्यपरिहारयोः स्वमतेऽपि समानः पन्था
इति द्रष्टव्यम् । एतेनानया विलक्षणख्यात्या पातञ्जलदर्शनस्याप्यामर्शः परैः
कृतः प्रत्याख्यातः । पातञ्जला अन्यथाख्यातिवादिन इति हि संप्रदायः । ये
तु निर्बन्धं कुर्वन्ति संप्रदायविहीनाः तेषां प्रतिबन्दीं गृह्णन्वैरभियोजितानां
मृगतृष्णकापिपासोपमं प्रतिसमाधानवचनम् । तदन्ये आहुः—‘विपर्ययो
मिथ्याज्ञानमतद्रूपप्रतिष्ठमि’ ति सूत्रमर्थापयतां वाचस्पतिमिश्राणां, “यज्ज्ञान-
प्रतिभासिरूपं तद्रूपाप्रतिष्ठमेव ‘अतद्रूपप्रतिष्ठ’ यथा श्राद्धभोजीति” वचनं
श्रुत्वा कल्पयिष्यामः, अन्यथाख्यातिं परिहृत्याख्यातिस्थापनार्यैव न तद् अत-
दिति यथाश्रुतार्थम् आचार्या उपेक्षाश्चक्रिरे । तथाचांशान्तरवत् ख्यातिविष-
येऽपि सांख्ययोगिनाम् एकवाक्यता लभ्यत इति । ननु च भगवान्योगव्यासः
व्यक्ताव्यक्ततया सदसद्रूपाणां गुणानां भानं स्वशब्देनैवाह स्म ? एतदपि न
सम्यगिव कथं कृत्वा सदसच्छब्दप्रयोगमात्रच्छलेनापूर्वा ख्यातिः प्रकल्प्यते ।
एवं वा ‘निःसत्ता सत्त्वं निःसदसद्’ इति च वाक्यमवष्टभ्यानिर्वचनीयवार्द

कल्पयतः को वा निवारकः स्यात्? सर्वथा 'अनित्याशुचिदुःखानात्मसु नित्यशुचिसुखात्मख्यातिरविद्या' इति सूत्रेण स्वरसनः प्रतीयमानामनपहु-
त्यैवान्यथाख्यातिः । अलञ्चात्र बहुक्त्वा 'अतद्रूपप्रतिष्ठमितिवचनादन्यथा-
ख्यातिरत्र दर्शने' इति अकामैरपि स्ववचनेनैवास्यार्थस्योपगमात् ।
तस्मादुत्सृज्याभिनवाः कल्पनाः संप्रदायसिद्धायाः प्रक्रियाया आश्रयणमुप-
पन्नतरं मन्यामहे ।

अथवा किमत्र चित्रम् ? यद्विज्ञानभिक्तुः तदनुयायिनश्चान्ये स्वं
साख्यं पातञ्जलञ्च दर्शनमयुक्तरूपमेकीकुर्वन्ति, 'यावत्सदसदनिर्वचनीयं
दृश्यमात्रं मिथ्या' इत्यनतिशङ्कनीयमौपनिषदं दर्शनमपि अन्यथा कर्तुं
व्याप्रियन्ते । तत्तिष्ठतु तावत् । विस्तराद्विभ्यङ्गिः बहुधा बहुभिश्च सूरिभिः
पराक्रान्तत्वान्न तन्निराकरणाय प्रयत्यते । यस्माच्चैवं अप्रधृष्यमतिविभव-
स्यापि श्रीभट्टनागेशस्याकाण्डे विज्ञानभिक्तौ निहितादरस्यैवमादयोऽसत्क-
ल्पनाः प्रसजन्ति, तस्मादपरमार्थेन सद्भिरनाचरितेन निखिलप्रक्रिया-
विपर्यावर्तनमार्गेण गच्छद्भिः नान्येषां नात्मनस्तत्त्वज्ञानोपकारः क्रियानपि
संपाद्यत इति सिद्धम् ।

यथाचैवं सति अध्वभेदेन प्रस्थितयोरपि शब्दब्रह्माद्वैतदर्शनयोः
पर्यवसितेन भावेनाविप्रतिपत्तिः सुनिरूपा तथा सच्चिदानन्दवपुषः
परस्यात्मनश्चिच्छक्तिप्रकाशगुणयोगात्स्फोटं व्यपदिश्य प्राधान्येन तद्याथात्म्य-
व्युत्पादनाय भगवन्तः पतञ्जलिहरिप्रमुखाः इमां प्रक्रियामारचयन्ति
स्मेति उपपत्तिभिर्निबन्धान्तरे दर्शयिष्यामः । अत्राप्यर्थे सूत्रभूताविमौ
श्लोकौ भवतः—

“अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।

विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥”

“अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।

प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥”

इति

श्रीम्

— रामचन्द्रदीक्षितः ।

(४)

प्राचीनभारतीयदण्डनीतिः

CRIMINAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

Pt. ŚITIKANṬHA VĀCHASPATI

(Professor of Law, Sanskrit College, Calcutta).

संस्कृतभाषायां विधिशब्देन इंराजि “ल” इति शब्दस्य अनुवादः सर्वैरस्माभिः क्रियते । परन्तु प्राचीनभारतीयधर्मशास्त्रे इंगलण्डीयभाषया अभिहितस्य ‘ल’ इति शब्दस्य प्रतिपाद्यार्थबोधको यथार्थप्रतिशब्दो न खलु उपलभ्यते । तथापि धर्मशास्त्रोक्तविधिशब्द एव सामान्यतो “ल” शब्दस्य कथञ्चित् अर्थबोधकतया सर्वैः परिगण्यते । राजादेशेन अथवा प्रजासभाया अनुमोदनेन इंराजि “ल” इत्यस्य प्रामाण्यं तावत् परिगण्येत, भारतीयधर्मशास्त्रविधेः प्रामाण्यन्तु अपौरुषेयवेदेनैव । विधेर्वक्तारः सङ्कलयितारं वा त्रिकालज्ञा महर्षयः । वर्तमानसमये “ल” इत्यनेन सह धर्मस्य नीत्याः पातकस्य वा न कश्चित् सम्बन्धः परिलक्ष्यते परन्तु भारतीयधर्मशास्त्रोक्तविधयस्तावन्न केवलं लौकिकव्यावहारिकविषयेषु पर्यवसिताः किन्तु सर्व एव विधयो धर्ममूलाः, विशेषतस्तु वर्णाश्रमधर्माणामुपरि प्रतिष्ठिततया धर्मेण नीत्या पातकादिना च सह सर्वथैव विधयो मिश्रिताः सन्ति । पृथिव्यां सभ्यजातिषु न खल्वेष दृष्टान्तो विरलो भवेत् परन्तु नानास्थलेषु दृश्यत एव । अतश्च स्पष्टमेतत् प्रतीयते “ल” शब्दो विधेर्व्याप्यो विधिस्तु “ल” इति इंराजिशब्दस्य व्यापकः । एवं स्वीकृतेऽपि “ल” इत्यस्य विधिशब्दस्य अर्थगतवैशिष्ट्ये व्यापकविधया विधिशब्द एव “ल” इत्यर्थे प्रयुज्येत । अत एव निबन्धकाराः शास्त्रकृतोऽपि “ल” इत्यस्यार्थव्यञ्जकतया विधिशब्दमेव प्रयुज्जन्ति । तथा च “दण्डविधौ संज्ञा-प्रयोजनसम्भवादि” ति शूलपाणिः (प्रायश्चित्तविवेके) । मनुष्यकृतानाम-

धिकाशानामवैधानामन्यायानां वा कर्मणां त्रयः स्वभावाः परिलक्ष्यन्ते । प्रथमस्तावत् राज्यस्य अथवा समाजशृङ्खलाविधेर्भङ्गः यस्य फलेन समाज-विशृङ्खलता, लोकयात्रानिरोधः साधारणानामशुभञ्च लोकेषु घटते, द्वितीयस्तावत् व्यक्तिविशेषस्य क्षतिः, तृतीयस्तावत् पातकं पापं वा । अवैधानां कार्याणामुक्तेषु त्रिषु स्वरूपेषु वर्तमानसमये प्रायशः सभ्यजातिषु प्रथम-स्वरूपमेव इराजिभाषोक्त crime इत्यर्थे परिगृहीतं भवेत् । एवं ये तावदन्यायकर्तारस्ते राजदण्डमात्रमुपभुञ्जन्ति । अतो यत् खलु समाजस्याशुभजनकं यदर्थं च राजदण्डो विहितोऽस्ति इराजिभाषया तदेव crime इत्युच्यते । अवैधकार्यानुष्ठानेन व्यक्तिविशेषस्य या क्षतिर्जायते अवैधकर्तृणां वा यत् पापमुपजायते तत्प्रतिविधानञ्च न खलु वर्तमान-सामयिकदण्डविधेः Criminal Law इत्यस्यान्तर्गतम्, परन्तु व्यक्तिविशेषस्य अवैधकार्यजनितक्षतिपूरणं Civil Law इत्यत्र परिगृहीतं भवति । प्राचीन-सभ्यजातीनामितिहासपर्यालोचनया च एतत् खलु परिज्ञातं भवेत् यत् पुरा खल्ववैधकार्यमात्रमेव व्यक्तिविशेषत्रयैवापराधस्वरूपेण परिगृहीतमासीत् । अर्थतस्तु उक्तेषु त्रिषु स्वरूपेषु यद् द्वितीयं तदेव परिगृहीतं बभूव, यस्य च फलेन अपराधिनो जना व्यक्तिविशेषस्यापराधजनितक्षतिपूरणेनैव निष्कृतिमलभन्त । किं बहुना प्राचीनसभ्यजातीनामितिहासपर्यालोचनया परिज्ञातमेतदपि भवेत् यत् इउरोपप्रदेशे व्यवहारनीतिप्रवर्तकव्यवहार-कुशलरोमानजातिमध्यंऽपि चौर्यसाहसादावपि व्यक्तिविशेषस्य क्षतिपूरणेनैव अपराधिनां मुक्तिरभवत् अवैधकार्याणामुक्तेषु त्रिषु स्वरूपेषु प्रथम-स्वरूपेण अपरिगणिततया अर्थात् अपराधिनामपराधानां समाजविरोधि-स्वरूपेण अपरिगणिततया अपराधिनं प्रति राजदण्डस्य न किञ्चिद्विधान-मासीत् । मुसलमानजातीनामितिहासपर्यालोचनयाप्येतत् परिदृष्टं भवेत् यत् प्रतिहिंसया क्षतिपूरणेन वा शरीरस्यापराधस्य प्रतिविधानमासीत् सम्पत्तिविषयकापराधेषु अवस्थानुसारेण चोरितद्रव्यस्य प्रत्यर्पणेन नष्टद्रव्यस्य मूल्यप्रदानादिद्वारा वा क्षतिपूरणं विहितमासीत् । किं बहुना मुसलमान-दण्डनीती हत्यास्थलेऽपि हन्तुः सकाशात् रक्तमूल्यं गृहीत्वा हतव्यक्तेरात्मि-यानां क्षमाधिकारस्तावदासीत् । उक्तविधया च क्षमया हत्याकारिणो निष्कृतिर्बभूव । प्राचीनजारमानदण्डनीतावपि एषैव नीतिरनुसृतेति परिल-क्षितं भवेत् । वङ्गेषु मुसलमानदण्डनीतिश्च नवत्यधिकसप्तशतखृष्टाब्दं गावत् प्रावर्त्तत । अपि च तत्रैव वत्सरे घातकं प्रति तादृशक्षमाधिकारः

प्रत्याहृतोऽभवत् । यथा यथा राष्ट्रशक्तिः क्रमशः सञ्चिताऽभवत् तत्रा तथैव राजा समाजशृङ्खलां शान्तिस्थापनञ्च विधातुं स्वहस्तेनैव भारं ग्रहीतु-
मारेभे । ततः प्रभृत्येव मानवानामपराधमात्रं प्रजावृन्दस्यामङ्गलजनकत्वेन विवेचितं सत् व्यक्तिविशेषं प्रति विरोधिस्वरूपेण न तावत् परिगृहीतं परन्तु समाजविरोधिस्वरूपेण गृहीतमभवत् ।

भारतीयदण्डनीतौ पर्यालोचितायामेतावत् परिदृश्यते, यत् अतिप्राचीन-
कालात् प्रभृति अवैधकार्यकारिणं प्रति समाजविरुद्धापराधित्वेन राजदण्ड-
विधानं व्यक्तिविशेषं प्रति विरुद्धत्वेनापराधितया क्षतिपूरणप्रदानं पातकितया च व्रतनियमोपवासादिद्वारा प्रायश्चित्तमिति त्रिविधमेव विहितमासीत् । येषु च अवैधकार्येषु लोकैरनुष्ठितेषु राजदण्डो विहितो भवेत् तेषामनुष्ठानम-
पराधनाम्ना तत्रैव प्रायश्चित्तविधानाच्च पातकनाम्ना च धर्मशास्त्रेष्वभि-
धीयते । अतएव अपराधमात्रं पातकापरपर्यायं परन्तु पापमात्रं न खलु राजदण्डाहर्षापराधपर्यायगतमासीत्, यतः खलु समन्तेषु अपराधेषु राजदण्डस्य प्रायश्चित्तस्य च प्रसक्तेः प्रमाणमुपलभ्यते । परन्तु अनेकविधविधि-
भङ्गेषु प्रायश्चित्तविधानमुपलभ्यते न खलु राजदण्डविधानं प्राप्यते । तथाहि सन्धानुष्ठानविधेः सकृद्भङ्गेऽपि प्रायश्चित्तविधानं श्रूयते न खलु तत्र राजदण्डः श्रूयते तादृशविधिभङ्गे च राजदण्डे व्यवस्थिते राज्यशासनम-
सम्भवं सम्पद्यते ।

अपराधः पातकञ्च ।

उल्लिखितेनैतावता प्रबन्धेनैतत् स्वीकृतं भवति, यथाहि वर्तमान-
समये ईराजिमते अपराधः पापञ्च द्वयमेतत् विभिन्नपर्यायगतम् अर्थात् तन्मते हि अपराधशास्तेर्दण्डविधिः प्राप्यते न खलु तेन दण्डविधिना पापशा-
स्तेर्विधानं किञ्चिदुपलभ्यते । प्राचीनभारतस्यार्यजातेः शास्त्रीयदण्डविधिना सार्द्धमत्रैव विशेषेण पार्थक्यं परिलक्षितं भवति । यतः खलु हिन्दु-
जातेर्दण्डविधौ हि अपराधः पापञ्च द्वयमेतदेकेनैव पर्यायेण परिगृहीतम् अतो येन केनचित् अपराधेन कृतेनैव अपराधी धर्माधिकरणे राजदण्डं विद्वत्सभाया आदेशेन च प्रायश्चित्तमपि स्वीकर्तुं वश आसीत् वयञ्च तं द्विविधमेव दण्डं भारतीयप्राचीनशास्त्रोक्तदण्डविधेरन्तर्गततया विवेचयामः
तथापि ये खल्वपराधा विचारार्थं धर्माधिकरणे नोपस्थिता भवेयुस्तत्र हि प्रायश्चित्तमेव परं दण्डविधेः स्थानमपूरयत् । पक्षान्तरे च स एवापराधो धर्माधिकरणे समुपस्थितश्चेत् तत्र राजदण्डं प्रायश्चित्तरूपं सामाजिकदण्डञ्च

द्विविधमेवापराधी समवाप्नुयात् । एतादृशनीतिमनुसृत्यैव शूलपाणि-
कृतप्रायश्चित्तविवेकग्रन्थे सुवर्णस्तेयप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे विश्वरूपेणोक्तं “दम-
नार्थं दण्डः प्रायश्चित्तन्तु पापक्षयार्थमिति” अपराधिना दमनाय तं प्रति
राजदण्डविधानं पापक्षयार्थञ्च तं प्रति प्रायश्चित्तादेशः द्वयमेतदपराधिषु
प्रयोज्यमिति । नारदस्मृतेः स्त्रीपुंसयोगनामकस्थलेऽपि अगम्यागमनमुद्दिश्य
एतदुक्तमस्ति यत् अगम्यागामिनं प्रति राज्ञा दण्डो विधेयः प्रायश्चित्तविधाने-
नापि तस्य पापानां शोधनं कर्त्तव्यमिति । तथाहि

अगम्यागामिनश्चास्ति दण्डो राज्ञा प्रचोदितः ।

प्रायश्चित्तविधानात्तु पापानां स्यात् विशोधनम् ॥

(नारदस्मृतेः स्त्रीपुंसयोगप्रकरणं ७७ श्लोकः)

ब्रह्महत्यासुरापानादौ महापराधे तप्तलौहशलाकया अपराधिषु चिह्नकरणं
प्राचीनभारतीयराजदण्डविधौ रीतिरासीत् । परन्तु दण्डग्रहणानन्तरं
प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तुमङ्गीकृतवन्तमपराधिनं प्रति तादृशचिह्नकरणं विना राज-
दण्डमन्यं राजा विदधे । एतेनापि प्रतीयते यत् अपराधिनं प्रति राज-
दण्डः प्रायश्चित्तरूपो दण्डश्च द्विविध एव प्रयोज्य आसीत् । याज्ञवल्क्यसं-
हिताटीकाकारेण विज्ञानेश्वरेणापि स्तेयप्रकरणे स्वीकृतमेतद् यथा राजदण्ड-
ग्रहणानन्तरं यः पापी प्रायश्चित्तं नाङ्गीकुर्यात् स च लौहशलाकया
अङ्कितव्यः यथा

प्रायश्चित्तन्तु कुर्वाणाः सर्वे वर्णा यथोदितम् ।

नाङ्क्या राज्ञा ललाटे तु दाप्यास्तूतमसाहसम् ॥

(मिताक्षरास्तेयप्रकरणम् २७० श्लोकः)

परन्तु नैतत् सर्ववादिसम्मतमिति केषाञ्चिन्मतम् । तन्मते हि
अपराधी राजदण्डप्रायश्चित्तयोरन्यतरस्वीकारेणैव निष्कृतिमवाप्नुयात् ।
मनुनाप्युक्तं मानवो यः कश्चित् पापी भवेत् स खलु स्वीकृतेन राजदण्डेनैव
निष्पापतां गच्छेत् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरप्रमाणेनापि एषोऽर्थोऽङ्गीकृतो यथा प्राय-
श्चित्तेन पापमपनुदेत् ये तु प्रायश्चित्तं नाङ्गीकुर्युस्तेषामेव राजदण्डेन
पापानोदनं भवेत् राजदण्डप्रायश्चित्तोभयविहीनस्तु नरकमाप्नुयात् ।
एतन्मते हि राजदण्डप्रायश्चित्तदण्डयोरन्यतरग्रहणेनैव पापिनां पापक्षयः
सञ्जायते । अत्र प्रमाणानि यथा

राजनिर्द्धूतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः ।
 निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ (मनुः ८।३१८)
 प्रायश्चित्तैः शमं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम् ।
 राजदण्डात् क्षयं याति प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् ॥
 प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यदण्डिताः ।
 नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥

(प्रायश्चित्तविवेकस्य सुवर्णस्तेयप्रकरणे विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनम्)

शास्त्रेषु मतान्तरमप्यन्यविधं परिलक्ष्यते, यत् अपराधी राज्ञा धृतश्चेत्
 बलादानीयते तदा तं प्रति द्विविधो दण्डः प्रयोज्यः अनुतप्तश्चेत् स्वयमुप-
 तिष्ठेत तत्र राजदण्डप्रायश्चित्तयोरन्यतरदण्डो विधेय इति ।

आनीयते बलाद्यस्तु स्तेनो वै पार्थिवं प्रति ।
 प्रायश्चित्तन्तु तस्योक्तं दण्डश्च सुरसत्तम ॥

(प्रायश्चित्तविवेकधृतं भविष्यपुराणम्)

स्वयंगमनपक्षे तु ब्राह्मणस्य नृपं प्रति ।
 दण्डदानस्य चाशक्तौ विज्ञेयन्तु तपो गुह ॥

(प्रायश्चित्तविवेके भविष्यपुराणवचनम्)

एतन्मते हि अपराधी राज्ञा धृतो वा तस्य स्वाभाविकेच्छाविरोधेन
 वादिना अभियुक्तो धर्माधिकरणे गमनाय वशश्चेत् तदा तं प्रति द्विविधो
 दण्डः प्रयोज्य इत्यपि तात्पर्यं परिग्रहीतुं वयं शक्नुमः ।

उक्तेषु त्रिविधेषु मतेषु प्रथमतृतीयमतद्वयं समीचीनतया वयं विवेच-
 यामः । द्वितीयमतन्तु राज्यशासनानुकूलतया न खलु समीचीनं भवितु-
 महति । अत्र युक्तिस्तावदवतार्यते, प्रायश्चित्तं हि व्रतादिरूपं मुख्यम्
 अशक्तौ च नोमूल्यदानादिरूपानुकल्पस्वरूपेण गौणमपि लक्ष्यते । तथा च ।

प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तौ धेनुं दद्यात् पयस्विनीम् ।
 धेनोरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशयः ॥

(इति संवत्सः)

अन्यच्च, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदानव्यवस्था हि सामान्यतो विद्वत्सभायामवा-
 तिष्ठत, एतदप्यवश्यमङ्गीकार्यं यत् विद्वत्सभापि राज्ञा अनुमोदितासीदिति
 अत्रापि बहूनि प्रमाणानि विद्यन्ते । परन्त्वत्रैतत् विचारणीयम् अपराधी यदि

प्रायश्चित्तं मुख्यरूपेण नानुष्ठाय गौणरूपेण गोमूल्यकार्षापणधानं किञ्चित् कृत्वा निष्कृतिमुपलभेत तर्हि राज्यशासनशृङ्खला, समाजशृङ्खला, राजदण्ड-भीतिर्न किञ्चित् तिष्ठति । अतः अपराधिषु राजदण्डः प्रायश्चित्तञ्च द्विविधो दण्डः प्रयोज्य इति मतमेव समीचीनतया वयं स्वीकुर्मः । एवञ्च अनुवृत्त्यापराधिना राजसन्निधौ स्वयमुपस्थितिश्चेत्तत्रापि राजा अन्यतर-दण्डं तत्र विदध्यादित्यपि समीचीनं, यतस्तत्रैकस्य दण्डस्य विधानं कृपया चापरस्य परीहारः । मुख्यरूपेण प्रायश्चित्ते स्वीकृते च राजदण्डं विनापि पापिनः शुद्धिरित्येतद् वरं स्वीकार्यं भवितुमर्हति न त्वनुकल्पं कृत्वा राज-दण्डमगृहीत्वा पापी पापक्षयमवाप्नुयादिति मतं समीचीनं भवितुमर्हति ।

ततश्च धर्मशास्त्रे य एव अपराधी स एव पापी, स च अपराधानुरूपं राजदण्डं पापानुरूपं प्रायश्चित्तञ्च अनुतिष्ठेत् । एकस्मिन्नेव कार्ये मानुषः पापी अपराधी च भवितुमर्हतीति तात्पर्यमनुसृत्य दायभागग्रन्थे जीमूतवाह-नेन प्रकटितं यथा यदि कश्चिदंशी विभागात् पूर्वं साधारणसम्पत्तेरंश-विशेषं निहते विभागात् परञ्च स चांशविशेषः प्रकाशम् आप्नुयात् तत्र केचित् मीमांसकाः अपह्नवकारिणं चौरं पापिनञ्च निर्दिशन्ति । अत्र खलु निह्नवकारी चौरत्वेन राजदण्डार्हः पापितया च प्रायश्चित्तार्ह इति तात्पर्यम् । तथा च,

“अत्र च साधारणधने परधनमप्यस्तीति तन्निह्वे स्तेन एव भवति किल्बिषी चेति ये मन्यन्ते तान् प्रत्युच्यते ।” (इति दायभागः)

अवश्यमत्र जीमूतवाहनस्य नैतन्मतम् । तन्मते हि तादृशापह्नवकारी अंशी न चौरः, अतो न पापी यतस्तत्र चौर्यलक्षणं न सङ्गच्छते । एवञ्च

वानस्पत्यं मूलफलं दार्वग्न्यर्थं तथैव च ।

तृणञ्च गोभ्यो प्रासार्थमस्तेयं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥

इति मनुवचनेन अनावृत्तवनस्पतेः फलमूलाद्याहरणे चौर्यं नास्तीति प्रतिपादितं यत्र तत्प्रमाणटीकायां कुल्लूकभट्टेनापि तत्र चौर्याभावात् राजदण्डो नास्ति पापाभावाच्च प्रायश्चित्तमपि नास्तीति स्वयमुक्तम् । एवं पञ्च-वर्षन्यूनवयसो बालस्य अपराधः पापं वा नात्पद्यत इति प्रमाणनिर्देशोऽपि राज-दण्डभोगार्थमपराधः प्रायश्चित्तार्थञ्च पापमिति निर्दिष्टम् । यथाह अङ्गिराः ।

अनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षाधिकस्य च ।

चरेत् गुरुः सुहृन्नापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशुद्ध्यै ॥

ततो न्यूनतरस्यास्य नापराधो न पातकम् ।

न चास्य राजदण्डोऽस्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥

(प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वम्)

उक्तैः प्रमाणैरेतत् प्रतीयते, प्राचीनभारतीयशास्त्रकृद्भिरपराधिना दण्डविधिद्विविधशास्त्रया अर्थात् राजदण्डरूपेण प्रायश्चित्तरूपेण व्यभज्यत । तत्र हि राजदण्डविधिरर्थशास्त्रेषु प्रायश्चित्तविधिश्च धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्तर्भवति । यत्र खलु एकस्मिन्नेव धर्मशास्त्रे द्विविधदण्डविधिर्निर्दिष्टस्तत्र हि प्रकरणभेदेन दण्डद्वयविधेर्व्यवस्था निर्णीता । एवं प्रायश्चित्तञ्च सामाजिकदण्डरूपमित्यपि वक्तुं शक्यते । क्षेत्रविशेषे च शास्त्रकारैरुक्तं कारणवशात् अपराधिने प्रति दण्डद्वैगुण्यं विहिते तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमपि द्विगुणं विहितं भवेत् । “दण्डवत् प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्ति” इतिन्यायस्तत्रानुसरणीयः । उक्तञ्च ।

कालातिरेके द्विगुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ।

द्विगुणं राजदण्डञ्च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

(इति स्मृतिसागरसारे)

संवत्सराभिशास्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्विगुणो दमः ।

(इति मनुस्मृतौ ८।३७३)

परन्त्वेतदत्र स्वीकार्यं राज्ञः प्रजायाश्च द्वयोर्हिन्दुजातित्व एव उक्तो दण्डविधिः सम्भाव्यते नान्यथा । अतो वर्तमानधर्माधिकरणे अपराधी केवलं अपराधस्यापनोदनाय राजदण्डमेव गृह्णीयात्, पापापनोदनार्था हि व्यवस्था न खलु सम्भाविता भवेत् । प्राचीनभारते राजा प्रजावर्गस्य दक्षांशसमधर्माणाञ्च प्रतिपालक आसीदिति तादृशविधानं सम्भावितमासीत् ।

इदानीन्तनदण्डविधिना सह प्राचीनभारतीयदण्डविधेः फलगतमपि वैशिष्ट्यं परिलक्ष्यते । दृश्यते हि वर्तमानदण्डविधेः प्रधानतः फलद्वयम् । तत्र प्रथमं फलन्तावत् प्राप्तदण्डे ह्यपराधिनि दण्डभयात् स एव न पुनस्तादृशमपराधमनुष्ठानमुत्सहेत, द्वितीयन्तु अपराधिना दण्डदर्शनेन अन्योऽपि तादृशमपराधं कर्तुं नाप्रेसरो भवेत् परन्त्वेष दण्डः पापस्य प्रायश्चित्तरूपेण न खलु स्वीकृतो भवितुमर्हति, यतश्चैकस्मिन् पापमपराधश्च द्वयमेतन्नैकपर्यायगतम् । द्वयोनैकपर्यायत्वे युक्तिरप्येषा प्रदर्शिता भवेत्, यः खलु दण्डः अपराधिने प्रति प्रयुक्तः सन् अपराधिनः शासनं राज्यशासनसुशुद्ध-

लामात्रञ्च साधयेत् स च दण्डः प्रकृत्या पापस्य दण्डः इति वक्तुं नेचितं भवेत् । कथमिति प्रश्ने मया प्रत्युच्यते, स च दण्डः न खलु प्राधान्येन आत्मनः कलङ्करेखां प्रोच्छिद्युम् अपराधिनाऽध्यात्मभावोपरि वा आधिपत्यं सम्यग् विस्तारयितुं शक्नुयात् । पक्षान्तरे च यः खलु दण्डः अपराधिनामात्मनः सात्त्विकभावमुत्पादयन्नात्ममालिन्यमपाकर्तुमर्हं भवेत् स एव दण्डः प्रकृत्या पापस्य दण्डो भवितुमर्हति । अतः प्राचीनभारतीयहिन्दुसंस्मृत-दण्डविधेस्तावत् त्रिविधं फलं परिलक्षितं भवेत् । प्रथमन्तावत् अपराध-दण्डरूपेण राजदण्डो विहितः सन्नपराधिषु तच्छासनद्वारा तादृशापराधात् वारान्तरे निवर्त्तयेत् । द्वितीयन्तु, तादृशदण्डदर्शनाच्चान्योऽपि तद्गुणेन तादृशापराधात् दूरे वर्तते । तृतीयन्तावत्, भगवद्भावानुप्राणितो व्रतसंय-मादिरूपप्रायश्चित्तदण्डः प्रयुक्तः सन्नपराधिनामात्मोन्नतिं साधयन् आत्मगतपापमपनोदयन् चरित्रं रचयंश्च जन्मान्तरीयनरकादपि तं निवर्त्तयति ।

वर्त्तमानराजदण्डो यथा आर्थिकदैहिकभेदेन द्विविधः सन् अपरा-धिशासनं प्रजाशृङ्खलाञ्च साधयति, प्राचीनभारतीयदण्डविधिरपि यः खलु पापस्यापराधस्य च दण्डरूपेणाङ्गीकृतस्तत्रापि दैहिकार्थिकभेदेन द्वैविध्यं परिलक्ष्यते ।

शारीरश्चार्थदण्डश्च दण्डो हि द्विविधः स्मृतः । (नारदस्मृतिः) एवं तत्रापि वर्तमानदण्डविधिवत् फलं साधयति, अधिकन्तु जन्मान्तरीय-नरकात् पापिनं परित्रायते । प्रायश्चित्तरूपदण्डस्थलेऽपि दैहिकदण्ड आसीत् पापिनः केशमुण्डनम् उपवासादिभिः शरीरपोषणञ्च, परन्तूपवासो भगवद-र्शनाद्यनुभाविततया पापिना दैहिकपारत्रिकशुभसम्पादनाय समर्थ आसीत् । यद्यप्येष दण्डो न खलु दण्डनीतेरन्तर्गतस्तथापि राज्ञोऽपि सम्पर्कः समवर्त्तत, राजसम्पर्कं विना प्रायश्चित्तरूपदण्डविधानं न केवलं, प्रजावर्गेण परिपुष्टं भवितुमर्हति । प्रायश्चित्तरूपदण्डव्यवहारायां विद्वत्सभायां समादिष्टायामपि प्रमाणमुपलभ्यते महत्सु पापेषु राजापि स्वयमुपस्थितोऽ-भवत् । तथाहि ।

स्वयं वा ब्राह्मणैः कृच्छ्रमल्पदोषे विधीयते ।

राज्ञा च ब्राह्मणैश्चैव महत्सु परिचक्ष्यते ॥

(प्रायश्चित्तविवेके देवलवचनम्)

एवं प्रायश्चित्तशासनविधौ हि अर्थदण्डस्तु राज्ञा न गृहीतोऽभवत् । किन्तु ब्राह्मणमुद्दिश्यैव प्रदत्तोऽभवत् । तच्च दानं क्वचित् मुख्यप्रायश्चित्त-रूपेणोक्तम्, अधिकांशस्थले च कष्टकरतया मुख्यप्रायश्चित्ताशक्तौ धेनुदान-तन्मूल्यदानादिरूपेण गौणतया कथितमासीत् । इदानीमपि सामाजिक-ताया अस्तिव्यबुद्धीः प्रेरणया वा हिन्दुजातौ पापपनोदनाय प्रायश्चित्त-व्यवस्था प्रचलति, परन्तु न तया सह राजसम्बन्धः कश्चिद् विद्यते ।

श्रीशितिकण्ठवाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्यः

(५)

कालिदासस्य आध्यात्मिकी भावना, धार्मिकी सामाजिकी स्थितिश्च ।

THE PHILOSOPHY OF KĀLIDĀSA AND HIS
RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL VIEWS

NĀRĀYAṆA SHĀSTRĪ KHISTE,

SĀHITYĀCHĀRYA

(Government Sanskrit College, Benares.)

केकाः केकिकुलस्य कंकिलकलालापार्श्व वीणागुण-
कायैर्मध्यममन्दवारहविभिर्व्यक्त्या दिशन्ती भृशम् ।
नीरञ्जोरविवेकविश्वविदिते हंसे वसन्ती रसान्-
मुग्धस्निग्धमितस्मिताञ्चितमुखी वाग्देवता दीव्यतु ॥

अपरोक्षमेवेदं प्रेक्षावतां, यत्सर्वोऽपि शास्त्रतत्त्वमननशीलः सचेताः
किमपि पारमार्थिकं प्रस्थानमभिप्रयन्नेवाऽऽस्ते । शास्त्रकर्तारो मुनयः, सम्प्र-
दायप्रवर्तका आचार्याश्च तेनैव निसर्गसिद्धेन नियमेन समाकृष्टा भूतजातो-
पकाराय स्वानुभूतिसाराणि स्वानि स्वानि प्रस्थानानि प्राचीकशन् । प्रकृत-
निबन्धनायकः कविसम्राट् कालिदासो न कस्याऽपि दार्शनिकग्रन्थस्य प्रणता,
नाऽपि कस्याऽपि सम्प्रदायस्य प्रवर्तक इति तदीयं प्रस्थानमवगन्तुं न सुश-
कम् । केवलं तदीयकाव्यनाटकादिग्रन्थेषु तत्तत्प्रसङ्गेषु कचित् कविप्रौढोक्त्या,
कचित् कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्त्या च तदीयं दार्शनिकं मतमाभासय इव ।
तदेव प्रकृतनिबन्धनावलम्बभूतं पुरः परीक्षणीयम् ।

कुमारसंभवे द्वितीयसर्गे देवकृतब्रह्मस्तुतौ सृष्टिकर्म प्रतिपादयता
महाकविना सृष्टेः प्राक् परमात्मनः केवलात्मतावस्थितिः प्रतिपादिता—

‘नमस्मिन्मूर्त्ये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने । .

गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद् भेदमुपेयुषे ॥’—२।४

तत एव गुणत्रयविभागप्रयोज्यः स्वरूपभेदश्च ।

‘तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।

प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकः कारणातां गतः ॥’ कु० सं० २ । ६

इत्थमेव रघुवंशेऽपि—

‘नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु विभ्रते ।

अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधा स्थितात्मने ॥’ र० १० । १६

‘रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।

देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥’ र० १० । १७

अन्यदपि तत्रैव—

‘अनवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं न ते किञ्चन विद्यते ।

लोकानुग्रह एवैको हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्मणोः ॥’ र० १० । ३१

एतावता इदं तावदधिगन्तुं पारयामो यत् कालिदासेन कूटस्थस्यैव परमात्मनो गुणोपाधिप्रयोज्यमवस्थाभेदं प्रदर्शयता मूलभूते परमात्मनि अद्वैतमेवोरीकृतम् । किन्तु द्वैतबीजमपि तत्रैव निहितमभ्युपगतम्, अन्यथा तस्याऽऽकस्मिकत्वं स्यात् ।

‘स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागौ ते भिन्नमूर्तेः सिसृक्षया ।

प्रसूतिभाजः सर्गस्य तावेव पितरौ स्मृतौ ॥’ कु० २ । ७

‘वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥’ र० १ । १

इत्यादिना प्रतिपादितं द्वैतमपि परमार्थतोऽद्वैतमेव । वागर्थदृष्टान्त-विधया द्वैतस्य दुरुदाहरत्वाऽभिधानात् ।

किञ्च—

‘शङ्खादीन् विषयान् भोक्तुं चरितुं दुश्चरं तपः ।

पर्याप्तोऽसि प्रजाः पातुमौदासीन्येन वर्त्तितुम् ॥’ र० १० । २५

इत्यनेन भोगतपसोः पालनौदासीन्ययोश्च परस्परविरुद्धयोरप्याचर-णमपि परमात्मनि अभिप्रेतम् ।

‘आत्मानमात्मना वेत्ति सृजस्यात्मानमात्मना ।

आत्मना कृतिना च त्वमात्मन्येव प्रलीयसे ॥’ कु० २ । १७

इत्यादौ परमात्मना स्वरूपानुसन्धानपूर्वकं सृष्टस्य स्वस्वरूपात्मकस्य प्रपञ्चस्य न 'हेतुव्युत्पत्तिः', किन्तु परमात्मस्वरूपत्वमेवोपवर्णितं दृश्यते ।

किञ्च पूर्वोदाहृतम् 'अनवाप्तमवाप्तव्यम्' इति श्लोकमनुध्यायतामिदं भाति, यद् भगवतः परमात्मन एवाऽवतारग्रहणं, लोकानुग्रहकारित्वेन तत्र पूर्ण-दयाया अवस्थानं च कालिदासस्याऽभिमतं समस्ति ।

अयमत्र निष्कर्षः—कालिदासमते तावत् कूटस्थः परमात्माऽद्वैतात्मा, द्वैताधाररूपः त्रैगुण्यप्रयोजकः, परिपूर्णदयामयः, पारमैश्वर्यसम्पन्नोऽनपा-यिन्या नित्यमिलितयां शक्त्या समवेत इति ।

अत्रेदं विचारणीयम्—ईदृशं परमात्मनो रूपं प्रचलितेषु ब्रह्मविद्या-सम्प्रदायेषु कचिदभ्युपेतं न वा ? तत्र प्रथमतो भगवच्छङ्कराचार्यपादैर्ब्रह्म-सूत्रभाष्ये प्रतिपादितं ब्रह्म अद्वैतात्मकमपि निर्गुणं शुद्धं च । तत्र द्वैत-कल्पनाऽपि नोदेति । विश्वं तु मायिकमिति मिथ्याभूतमेव । माया च न ब्रह्मणः स्वरूपभूता शक्तिरिति न तस्याः सत्त्वम् । किन्तु आभासमात्रसारा अर्थक्रियाकारिणी चेति नालीकत्वं तस्याः किन्त्वनिर्व-चनीयैव सा ।

कालिदासेन तु 'सृजस्यात्मानमात्मना' इत्यभिदधता प्रपञ्चस्याऽपि परमात्मस्वरूपनिर्विशेषतैव प्रतिपादितेति तन्मिथ्यात्वं न तेन सोढव्यम् । इत्यतो नैतन्मते शाङ्कराद्वैतान्तर्भावमर्हति ।

अथ रामानुजमते तावत् चिदचिदोश्वरभेदेन भोक्तृभोग्यनियामकभेदेन वा व्यवस्थितास्त्रयः पदार्थाः सन्ति । तत्र चिच्छब्दवाच्या जीवात्मानः परमात्मनः सकाशात् भिन्ना नित्या अणुपरिमाणाश्च । अचिच्छब्दवाच्यं दृश्यं जडं जगत् त्रिविधम् । भोग्यभोगोपकरणभोगायतनभेदात् । तस्य जगतः उत्पत्तिर्न चेश्वरः पुरुषोत्तमो वासुदेवादिपदवेदनीयः ।

अत्र मतेऽपि विशेष्यरूपे परमात्मनि विशेषणतया जीवानामवस्थि-तेर्दर्शनात् अद्वैतेऽपि विशेष्यविशेषणभावात्मकं शेषशेषिभावात्मकमपि वा द्वैतं दुर्वारमिति परमार्थतो जीवपरमात्मनोरद्वैतमङ्गीकुर्वतः कालिदासस्य नवतन्त्रसम्मतः ।

माध्वमतमपि जीवाणुत्वदासत्त्वप्रपञ्चभेदसत्यत्वादिसामान्येन रामा-नुजकल्पमपि स्वतन्त्रास्वतन्त्रभेदेन तत्त्वद्वयव्यवस्थापकम् । अत्राऽपि जीवस्य अस्वतन्त्रत्वं परमात्मनो भिन्नत्वं चेति द्वैतमिदं कालिदासचक्षुषोपे-क्ष्यमेव ।

विष्णुस्वामिमतानुयायिनो वल्लभाचार्यस्य मन्त्रमपि जीवाणुप्रपञ्च-
भेदसत्यत्वादिभिर्माध्वरूपचमेव । इयातेव किमेषः, वैकुण्ठाधीश्वरो विष्णु-
सुमुच्छ्रिः सेव्य इति माध्वाः सङ्गिरन्ते, गोलोकाधीश्वरः श्रीकृष्णो
निषेव्य इति वल्लभीयाः । माध्वानां तु दास्यरूपैव भक्तिः परमं लक्ष्यम् ।
प्रेमात्मिका भक्तिर्वल्लभीयानामङ्कुरिता । उभयमपीदं द्वैतदर्शनमेवेति न
काश्चिदस्तीयेन संवदति ।

ईश्वरसद्वयदर्शने तु 'अन्तर्लीनविमर्शः पातु महेशः प्रकाशभाषतनुः'
इत्यादिप्रथावलम्बेन परमशिवावस्थायामपि शक्तिकलनादद्वैतमपि शिवशक्ति-
सांख्यस्यात्मकमेव ।

किञ्च यदा चिदात्मा परमेश्वरः स्वस्वातन्त्र्यात् अभेदव्यापितं परि-
त्यज्य भेदव्यभिक्ताश्रयते, तदा तदीया इच्छादिशक्तयः स्फूर्तरत्नसारा क्वमि
सङ्कोचमवलम्बन्ते, तदैव चाऽयं मलावृतः संसारी भवति । तथा च अज्ञ-
जन्मातन्त्र्यात्मा इच्छाशक्तिः सङ्कुचिता सती अपूर्णमन्यत्वरूपमाणा
मलं, ज्ञानशक्तिः क्रमेण सङ्कोचात् भेदे सर्वज्ञत्वस्य किञ्चित्कृत्वत्वात्तेः
अन्तःकरणबुद्धीन्द्रियतापत्तिपूर्वम् अत्यन्तं सङ्कोचग्रहणेन भिन्नवेद्यमात्रपं
मासीत् मलं, क्रियाशक्तिः क्रमेण भेदे सर्वकर्तृत्वस्य किञ्चित्कर्तृत्वात्तेः
कार्त्तिकीयरूपसङ्कोचग्रहणपूर्वम् अत्यन्तं परिमिततां प्राप्ता शुभाशुभानुष्ठान-
मयं कर्म मलम् । तथा सर्वकर्तृत्वसर्वज्ञत्वपूर्णत्वमित्यवस्थापकत्व-
शक्तयः सङ्कुचिता यथाक्रमं कलाविद्यारागकालनियतिरूपतया भ्रान्ति ।
कलाविश्वप्राऽयं वस्तुतः परमात्माऽपि शक्तिदरिद्रः संसारी उच्यते ।
कश्चित्त्रिकाले तु शिव एव ।

किञ्च अस्मिन् ईश्वराद्वयदर्शने सदा पञ्चविधाकृत्यकारित्वं चिदा-
त्मनो भगवतोऽनुपगतम् । यथा च भगवान् स्वहृदयेकात्मनोऽपि
सृष्ट्यधीनि करोति तथा सङ्कुचितचिच्छक्तिर्या संसारभूमिकायामपि
पञ्चकृत्यमपि विधत्ते ।

एवमिदं पञ्चविधकृत्यकारित्वमात्मीयमिति दृढप्रतिपत्त्या परिसी-
लयन्तो भक्ता माहैश्वर्यभाजः स्वरूपविकासमात्रं विश्वमनुभवन्ते । जीवन्मुक्त-
इत्युच्यन्ते । ये तु त्रिभिन्नमेव ज्ञेयजातं पश्यन्ति ते बद्धात्मानः ।

माया तु प्रकृतात्मन एव स्वरूपविकाशिका शक्तिः स्वेच्छयैव भगवता
परिचालिता तत्स्वरूपं सङ्कोचयति । परमात्मा च मुख्यतः प्रवेति ब्रह्म-
नुमहशक्तेः पूर्णतया सार्वकालिकमवस्थानं च ।

सर्वभक्ता कालिदासेन प्रदर्शितमद्वैत उपरिसमुपन्यस्तेश्वराद्वयदर्शन-
मतेन बाह्यं संचक्षति ।

तथाहि—‘वागर्थविषय सम्पृक्तौ’ (२० १ । १) इत्यत्र वागर्थद्वयान्त-
विषयस्य शिवरश्मयोः सामिरस्य नित्यसम्बन्धश्च प्रतिपाद्यते । ‘प्रत्यक्षोऽप्य-
परिच्छेद्यो महयादिर्महिमा तव’ (२० १० । २८) इत्यत्र ‘तव महिमा
महयादिरि’त्युक्तेः प्रपञ्चस्य साक्षाद्गवत्स्वरूपत्वमेव गम्यते । न तु शाङ्क-
राद्वैतदर्शनं इव मायिकत्वेन मिथ्यात्वम् । ‘अत्यन्तमव्यक्तो व्यक्तकारणम्’
(१० १० । १८) इत्यत्र शिवशक्तिसामिरस्यभावापन्नतायामव्यक्तरूपस्यैव
परमात्मनो व्यक्तिकारणताऽप्यभिधीयते । एवमेव अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-
परिसमाप्तौ भरतवाक्यं—

‘ममाऽपि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः

पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ।’

इत्यत्र ‘आत्मभूरपि परिगतशक्तिर्नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं क्षपयतु’ इत्यु-
क्तेरात्मभूः कूटस्थः परमात्मैव परिगतशक्तिरुक्त इत्यपि ईश्वराद्वयदर्शन एव
साधुतरा घटते ।

अत्रेदं विचारणीयम्—इदमीश्वराद्वयदर्शनं भारतवर्षे कदा कुत्र
प्रादुर्भूतमिति ? काश्मीरसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशितानां शैवागमग्रन्था-
नामनुशीलनेनंदं ज्ञायते यद् वसुगुप्तेन सप्तमाष्टमशतकयोरन्तरे अस्थेश्वरा-
द्वयदर्शनस्य पुनरुद्धारः कृतः । पुनरुद्धारशब्देन बाढमिदं साधितं भवति
यद् अन्ततो गत्वा कश्मीरेषु ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनवादे वसुगुप्तात् पूर्वं बहोः
कालात् प्रचलित आसीत् । अन्यान्यपि तथाविधानि बहूनि प्रमाणानि
सन्ति यैरीश्वराद्वयदर्शनस्य वसुगुप्तादपि प्राचीनत्वं सम्भावयितुं शक्यते ।
वसुगुप्तेन तु तदेव प्राचीनं दर्शनं नवप्रणाल्या सूत्रितं, तदनुयायिभिरन्यै-
रभिनवगुप्ताचार्यप्रभृतिभिश्चोपबृंहितमद्यत्वे सुपरिष्कृतं नः पुरो दृश्यते ।

इत्थं तु दुरुदाहरणं, यत्प्राचीनादीश्वराद्वयदर्शनाद् वसुगुप्तीयेश्वराद्व-
यदर्शनस्य कियदंशे भेदः कियदंशे च सामञ्जस्यमिति ।

इदन्तुक्तचरमस्माभिर्यत् कालिदासस्य दार्शनिकविचारसरणिरीश्व-
राद्वयदर्शनमेव बहुशोऽनुगच्छतीति । अत्रेदं विचारणीयं भवति यद्
वसुगुप्तस्य अनुयायिप्रवर्तिताद् दर्शनात् कालिदासीयदर्शनेऽस्ति किमपि वैल-
क्षण्यं न वा ? इदन्तु व्यक्तमेव विज्ञायते यत् कालिदासेन यावान् वैदिक-

ग्रन्थानां वैदिकाचाराणाञ्चावलम्बो धृतः न तथा वसुगुप्ततदनुयायिभिः ।
प्रत्युत वसुगुप्ततदनुयायिप्रचारितेश्वराद्वयदर्शनग्रन्थेषु सम्यगालोच्यमानेषु
तदाचार्याणां श्रुतिप्रमाणेषु न भूयानादरः समुपलभ्यते, आपनिषद्वि-
प्रमाणानि च न भूयस्तरामुपलभ्यन्ते तत्र । किन्तु त्रिकमर्तादितदीयाकर-
ग्रन्थानामेव तत्र प्रामाण्येनोपस्थापनं दृश्यते । तद्दर्शनानुसारिणि कर्मकलापे
पूजापद्धत्यादिष्वपि श्रौतमन्त्रास्तदाचारा अपि नोपलभ्यन्ते ।

कालिदासस्य तु वसुगुप्तायेश्वराद्वयदर्शनानुगुणदर्शनाध्वन्यस्याऽपि
श्रुतौ, श्रौतेषु कर्मसु, वर्णाश्रममर्यादापरिपालने च सबहुमानमभिनवेश
एव दृश्यते । तदीयकाव्यनाटकोपनिबद्धपात्राणां प्रायः सर्वेऽपि सुविहित-
सकलश्रौतसंस्काराः श्रौते कर्मणि दृढं लग्नाश्च दृश्यन्ते ।

किम्बहुना, अध्यात्मविद्याऽपि कालिदासीया श्रुत्यन्वितैव ।
तथाहि—मालविकाग्निमित्रे—

‘मङ्गलालङ्कृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया ।

त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया ॥’

अथ कालिदासीयकाव्यनाटकोपनिबद्धपात्राणां श्रौताचारानुसारित्वं
मनाग् दर्शयामः ।

‘यथाविधिहुताग्नीनाम्’ २० १।६

‘अध्वरस्येव दक्षिणा ’ २० १।३१

‘ग्रामेष्वात्मविसृष्टेषु यूपचिह्नेषु यंज्वनाम् ।’ २० १।४८

‘न प्रकामभुजः श्राद्धे स्वधासङ्ग्रहतत्पराः ।’ २० १।६६

‘सोऽहमिज्याविशुद्धात्मा’ २० १।६८

‘श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्’ २० २।२

‘श्रद्धेव साक्षाद्विधिनापपन्ना’ २० २।१६

‘प्रास्थानिकं स्वस्त्ययनं प्रयुज्य’ २० २।७०

‘सन्मङ्गलोदग्रतरप्रभावः’ २० २।७१

‘यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकाः क्रियाः धृतेश्च धीरः सहशीर्ष्यधत्त सः ।’

२० ३।१०

‘स जातकर्मण्यखिले तपस्विना तपोवनादेत्य पुरोधसा कृते ।

दिलीपसूनुर्मणिराकरोद्भवः प्रयुक्तसंस्कार इवाधिकं बभौ ॥’ २० ३।१८

‘आणामिधानात् स्वयमेव कबलात् तदा पितृणां मुमुचे स बन्धनात् ।’

२० ३।२०

‘स वृत्तचूलश्चलकाकपत्तकः’ २० ३।२८

‘अथोपनीतं विधिवद्विपरिचितः’ २० ३।२८

‘स विश्वजितमांजहे यज्ञं सर्वस्वदक्षिणम् ।’ २० ४।८६

‘क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहृतसहस्रनेत्रः ।’ २० ६।२७

‘आचारशुद्धोभयवंशदीपम् ।’ २० ६।४५

‘नीपान्वयः पार्थिव एष यज्वा’ २० ६।४६

‘प्रीत्याश्वमेधावभृथार्द्रमूर्तेः सौस्नातिको यस्य भवत्यगस्त्यः ।’ २० ६।६१

‘सान्निध्ययोगात् किल तत्र शक्त्याः स्वयंवरचोभकृतामभावः ।’ २० ७।३

मालविकाग्निमित्रे—‘सारसकः—महुअरिए वेअपारआणं वंभणाणं
णिअदक्खिणा दादव्वा । ता अज्जपुरोहिदस्स हत्थं पावइस्सं ।’

‘सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्’ शाकु० ७ अङ्के ।

उपासनाकाण्डे तु कालिदासस्य शिवे भगवति भूयान् रागो दृश्यते,
शिवश्च यादृश ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनादिभिरभिप्रेतस्तथाविध एव शिवशक्ति-
सामरस्यापन्नः पञ्चकृत्यकारी अष्टमूर्तिर्भगवान् कालिदासेनाऽप्यसकृदु-
पवर्णितः । तथाहि—मालविकाग्निमित्रे—

‘एकैश्वर्ये स्थितोऽपि प्रणतबहुफले यः स्वयं कृत्तिवासाः

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनाम् ।

अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुभिर्बिभ्रतो नाऽस्मिमानः

सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु वस्तामसीं दृष्टिमीशः ॥’

अत्र कान्तासंमिश्रदेहस्याऽपि परमात्मनः पारमैश्वर्यम्, अविषयमनसां
यतीनामप्यगोचरत्वं चाऽभिहितम् । इदमपि नित्यसामरस्यभावापन्ने
ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनाभिमत एव परमेश्वरे साधु सङ्गृह्यते ।

शाकुन्तलेऽपि—‘प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः ।’
विक्रमोर्वश्यामपि—

‘वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी

यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो यथार्थात्तरः ।’

अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते

स स्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निःश्रेयसायास्तु वः ॥’

अत्र निःश्रेयसप्रार्थनया तत्प्रदानसमर्थः परमात्मा शिव एव
ईश्वरपदेन व्यपदिश्यते, स च मुमुक्षुभिर्यमनियमाद्यष्टाङ्गयोगाभ्यासबलेन अन्तः

मृग्यते—अन्विष्यते न तु लभ्यते । तस्माभोपायश्च स्थिरभक्तियोग एवेति ज्ञानिनोऽपि परमात्मलाभाय भक्तियोगस्याऽऽवश्यकता प्रतिपादितेति पर्यवसाने ज्ञानकर्मभक्तीनां सामञ्जस्यमित्यप्यस्मन्मतमेव पुष्पाति ।

कुमारसम्भवेऽपि—

‘अकिञ्चनः सन् प्रभवः स सम्पदा त्रिलोकनाथः पितृसङ्गोचरः ।
स भीमरूपः शिव इत्युदीर्यते न सन्ति याथार्थ्यविदः

पिनाकिनः ॥’ ५।७७

‘कपालि वा स्यादश्वेन्दुशेखरं न विश्वमूर्तेरवधार्यते वपुः ।’ कु० ५।७८
‘यमामनन्त्वात्मभुवोऽपि कारणं कथं स लक्ष्यप्रभवो भविष्यति ।’

कु० ५।८०

‘स हि देवः परं ज्योतिः तमःपारे व्यवस्थितम् ।

परिच्छिन्नप्रभावर्द्धिर्न मया न च विष्णुना ॥’ कु० २।५८

इत्यादिभिरनल्पैः प्रमाणजातैर्बाढमिदं समर्थितं भवति यत् परमात्मा भगवानष्टमूर्तिः शिव एव तत्रभवतः कालिदासस्य परमोपास्य आसीत् ।

भगवत्प्राप्तेरयं क्रमः कालिदासाऽभिमतः प्रतिभाति यत्प्रथमं वर्णाश्रमोचिताः क्रियाः, वेदमार्गानुसारेण सम्पादनीयाः, तासामपि सौष्ठवसम्पादनाय यमनियमाद्यष्टाङ्गयोगात्मकस्य क्रियायोगस्य चाऽऽवश्यकता । तेन सम्पादितचित्तशुद्धेः पुरुषस्य स्थिरभक्तियोगद्वारेणैव परमात्मप्राप्तिरिति ।

एतच्च पूर्वोपदर्शितविविधोद्धृतवाक्यैः विक्रमोर्वशीयमङ्गलाचरणेनाऽपि सुसाधितं भवति ।

अन्यदपि विचारणीयमेकं, यत्कालिदासः परमात्मनोऽपि द्यैवहारा-
दशापन्नस्य कर्मकाण्डानुसारित्वमेवाऽभिमन्यते । तथाहि कुमारसम्भवे शिवपार्वतीविवाहवर्णनप्रसङ्गे—

‘इत्थं विधिज्ञेन पुरोहितेन प्रयुक्तपाणिग्रहणोपधारौ ।

प्रणेतुस्तौ पितरौ प्रजानाम् पद्यात्मस्थाय पितामहाय ॥’ ७।८६

‘तत्रेश्वरो विष्टरभाग्यथावत् सरन्नमर्च्य मधुमक्ष गन्धम् ।

नवे दुकूले च नगोपनीतं प्रत्यग्रहीत्सर्वममन्त्रवर्जम् ॥’ ७।७२

[अमन्त्रवर्जम्—मन्त्रान् न वर्जयित्वेत्यर्थः ॥]

‘तौ दम्पती त्रिः परिणीय वक्षिम्’ कु० ७।८०

‘शिवेन अर्वा सह धर्मचर्या कार्या त्वया मुक्तविचारयेति ।’ कु० ७।८३

इष्कादीनि बहूनि वचनानि सन्ति यत्र कालिदासेन परमात्मनेऽपि लोकव्यवहारानुसारित्वं कर्मकाण्डानुगामित्वं चोक्तम् ।

योगे च कालिदासस्य बाढमभिनिवेशो दृश्यते, तदीयकाव्यनाटकोपनिबद्धपत्रेषु प्रायः सर्वेऽपि स्वानुरूपं योगमास्थिता एव लक्ष्यन्ते ।

किं बहुना परमात्मनः शिवस्याऽपि यमनियमादिक्रमेण यागानुष्ठानं, तद्द्वारा परमात्मदर्शनं, तदुपाहितबलेन मलिनकामदहनं, पुनस्तपश्चरणं, पार्वत्या अपि तपश्चरणेन लब्धबलपरिशुद्धेरिव परिग्रहणं, ततः कुमारसम्भव इति क्रमोऽपि किमपि आगमात्थं रहस्यमवगमयति तत्सुधीभिः स्वयमेव विभावनीयम् ।

इदन्तु निःशङ्कं शक्यते वक्तुं, यद् यागं साभिनिवेशस्याऽपि कालिदासस्य पातञ्जलयोगदर्शनात् क्वचित् कचिद् वैलक्षण्यं दृश्यते । विवेकख्यातिद्वारा कैवल्याधिगमः पातञ्जलयोगिनामुपेयः, स्थिरभक्तियोगद्वारा परमात्मप्राप्तिः कालिदासस्य, भक्तियोगे यथा कालिदासस्याऽभिनिवेशो न तथा पातञ्जलानाम् ।

अन्यच्च, पातञ्जलमते स्वरूपतः शब्दार्थज्ञानानि परस्परं विविक्तान्येव । कालिदासेन तु 'वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ' इत्युक्तवता शब्दार्थयोर्नित्यमभेदसम्बन्धो व्यवस्थापितः स चेश्वराद्वयदर्शनमनुसंवदति ।

अथ कालिदासोपवर्णितां धार्मिकीं सामाजिकीं स्थितिं विभावयतामिदमुदेति नश्चेतसि यत्तदानीन्तनेषु जनेषु वर्णाश्रमधर्ममर्यादायाः परिपालनं मन्त्रादिच्युत्तमार्गेण निर्बाधं प्रचलितमासीत् ।

स्वकर्मनिरता आहिताग्नयो मुनिव्रताः क्षत्रिया अपि ब्राह्मणैः सम्मानिता आसन् ।

‘ब्राह्मणं कुशलं पृच्छेत् क्षत्रधन्वमनामयम् ।

वैश्यं क्षेमं समागम्य शूद्रमारोग्यमेव च ॥’

इति धर्मशास्त्रनियमे जाग्रत्यपि वसिष्ठाश्रमं गतवते राज्ञे दिलीपाय वसिष्ठेन अनामयमपृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणोचितः कुशलप्रश्नः कृतः—

‘पप्रच्छ कुशलं राज्ये राज्याश्रममुनिं मुनिः ।’ २० १।५८

अत्र ‘मुनिः राज्याश्रममुनिं कुशलं पप्रच्छ’ इत्युक्तेर्दिलीपस्याऽपि मुनिव्रतादौषपरिहारादपि क्वचित् भ्रमः ।

अन्यदपि, 'वर्णानां ब्राह्मणो गुरुः' इति धर्मशास्त्रे सत्यपि रघुवंशे रघोरन्तिकं कौत्से समुपागते—

‘ततो यथावद्विहिताध्वराय तस्मै स्मयावेशविवर्जिताय ।

वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरवे स वर्णा विचक्षणः प्रस्तुतमाचक्षते ॥’ २० ५।१८

अत्र श्लोके ‘वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरवे’ इति क्षत्रियस्याऽपि रघोर्विशेषणम् । ‘स्मयावेशविवर्जिताय’ इति विशेषणान्तरेण दोषपरिहारोऽपि ध्वनितः ।

अन्यदपि, षट्कर्मकारित्वं ब्राह्मणानामेव, क्षत्रियवैश्ययोस्तु त्रिकर्म-कारित्वेवेति धर्मशास्त्रीयो निर्णयः ।

कालिदासेन तु ‘त्वचं स मेध्यां परिधाय रौरवीमशिक्षताऽस्रं पितुरेव मन्त्रवत्’ इत्यत्र रघोः स्वपितुः सकाशादेव मन्त्रवदस्त्रविद्याया अधिगम उक्तः । तत्रैवोत्तरार्द्धे ‘न केवलं तद्गुरुरेकपार्थिवः क्षितावभूदे-कधनुर्द्धरोऽपि सः’ । अत्र एकधनुर्द्धरपदेन कथञ्चिद्दोषसमाधानाय प्रयतितम् ।

मनुना तु क्षत्रियस्याऽध्यापननिषेधः स्पष्टमेवाक्तः—

‘अधीयीरंस्त्रयो वर्णाः स्वकर्मस्था द्विजातयः ।

प्रब्रूयाद् ब्राह्मणस्तेषां नेतराविति निश्चयः ॥’ मनुः १०।१

दिलीपेनाध्याप्यमाना विद्या शस्त्रविद्या न श्रुतिरित्यपि वा समाधानं स्यात् ।

इतरदपि विवेचनीयमेकमवशिष्यते यद् मन्वादिधर्मशास्त्रानुरोधेन ‘ब्राह्मणः प्रव्रजेत्’ इति श्रुतेश्च यद्यपि ब्राह्मणस्यैव संन्यासाधिकारः, तथाऽपि कालिदाससमये विशिष्टाधिकारिणां क्षत्रियाणामपि संन्यासस्तदानीन्तनै-रनुमोदित आसीदित्यनुमातुं शक्यम् ।

कालिदासेन,—‘शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।

वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥’ २० १ ।

इत्यादिना कार्यमुखेन मनुवंशीयानां राज्ञां चत्वार आश्रमा उक्ताः । दिलीपविषये तु तस्य ‘समारुरुद्धुर्दिवमायुषः क्षये ततान सोपानपरम्परा-मिव’ । इत्युक्त्या तस्य रागक्षयमलक्षयता ‘मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तथा सह शिभ्रिये’ इति कथयता च तस्य संन्यासानधिकारात् वानप्रस्थाश्रम एवा-वस्थितिर्दर्शिता ।

रघुविषये तु—‘तदुपहितकुटुम्बः शान्तिमार्गोत्सुकोऽभूत्

नहि सति कुलधुर्ये सूर्यवंश्या गृहाय ।’ २० ७ । ७१

इत्युक्ते रघोः शान्तिमार्गोत्सुकतैव प्रतिपादिता न स्वर्गेच्छा,
शान्तिमार्गेण संन्यासो लुचितः ।

अन्यच्च, 'अथ वीक्ष्य रघुः प्रतिष्ठितं प्रकृतिष्वात्मजमात्मवत्तया ।

विषयेषु विनाशधर्मसु त्रिदिवस्थेष्वपि निःस्पृहोऽभवत् ॥' २० ८।१०

इत्यनेन स्वर्गारोहणेच्छा रघोर्नासीदिति व्यक्तमेवोक्तम् ।

'गुणवत्सुतरापितश्रियः परिणामे हि दिलीपवंशजाः ।

पदवीं तरुवल्कवाससां प्रयताः संयमिनां प्रपेदिरे ॥' २० ८।११

अत्र संयमिनामित्यस्य मञ्जिनाथेन यतीनामित्येवार्थः कृतः ।

'स किलाश्रममन्यमाश्रितः' २० ८।१४

[टी० अन्त्यमाश्रमं प्रव्रज्यामाश्रितः ।]

'यतिपार्थिवलिङ्गधारिणौ' २० ८।१६

'श्रुतदेहविसर्जनः पितुश्चिरमश्रूणि विमुच्य राघवः ।

विदधे विधिमस्य नैष्ठिकं यतिभिः सार्द्धमनग्निमग्नचित् ॥' २० ८।२५

[टी० अन्त्येष्टिं यतिभिः संन्यासिभिः सह विदधे चक्रे ।]

शाकुन्तले सप्तमेऽङ्के—राजा—अस्त्येतत् पौरवाणां कुलव्रतम्—

'भवनेषु रसाधिकेषु पूर्वं

क्षितिरक्षार्थमुशन्ति ये निवासम् ।

नियतैकयतिव्रतानि पश्चात्

तरुमूलानि गृहीभवन्ति तेषाम् ॥'

इत्याद्युपरिनिर्दिष्टावतरणानुरोधेन कालिदाससमये योग्याधिकारिणां क्षत्रि-
याणामपि संन्यासाधिकार आसीदिति प्रतिभाति ।

एतावत्पर्यन्तं प्रदर्शितैः प्रमाणैस्तदनुसारिभिर्विचारैश्च इदं सम्भावयितुं
शक्यते यत् कालिदासस्तथाविधे समये प्रादुरासीत् यस्मिन् समये वैदिकं
सामाजिकं नियन्त्रणं पूर्णतया प्रचलितमासीत्, दार्शनिकं विचारस्वातन्त्र्यं च ।

ततः परं तथाविधोऽपि समयः समापतितः यत्र वेदप्रामाण्यवादि-
भिरप्यास्तिकैः स्वबुद्धिसमवलम्बनमेव प्रधानतया परिगृहीतम् । इदमपि
व्यक्तमेव यदीदृशं परिवर्तनं बौद्धप्रभावादेवोपनतम् । बौद्धसमाज-
प्राबल्यात् पूर्वकालिकानां बौद्धग्रन्थानामनुशीलनेन ज्ञायते; यत्तदानीं तेषां
मध्ये सूक्ष्मयुक्तिवादपेक्षया स्वानुभूतिरेव प्रधानमासनमगाहत ।
बौद्धेष्वपि युक्तिवादप्राधान्यं न प्राचीनम् । प्राचीनबौद्धानां प्रायः सकलोऽप्य-

भिनिवेशः विनये (आचारे) एवाऽऽसीत् । अर्वाचीनैर्नागार्जुनप्रभृतिभि-
राचार्यैरेव तथाविधो दार्शनिकः प्रवाहः प्रवर्तितः, युक्तिवादस्य प्राधान्यं
च परिष्कृतम् । समयमहिम्ना लब्धबलः प्रवर्द्धमानोऽयं दार्शनिको युक्ति-
वादप्रवाहस्तथा प्रवृद्धः, यदस्य पुरतो वेदवादिभिरास्तिकैरपि अंशतः शिरो
नामितमेव । एवं स्थिते सप्तमाष्टमशतकयोरन्तरे वसुगुप्तप्रवर्तितेश्वराद्वयदर्शने
यदि वेदप्रामाण्यालम्बनं न भूयस्त्वेनोपलभ्यते तर्हि नाऽत्र विस्मयस्याऽवसरः ।

उक्तचरमेवैतत् यत् कालिदासोपनिबद्धकाव्यनाटकादिग्रन्थेषु वैदिक-
प्रामाण्यवादो वैदिकाचारावलम्बनं च भूयस्तरामुपलभ्यत इति, इतः
सुस्पष्टमेवेदं यत् कालिदाससमये युक्तिवादात्मकस्य दार्शनिकप्रवाहस्य
प्राधान्यं नासीत् ।

अस्तु किमपि, न वयं विषयमिममधिकृत्य कण्ठशोषैकफलां काक-
दन्तपरीक्षां करिष्यामः ।

आशास्महे यदितिहासकोविदाः सूत्रमेतदवलम्ब्य कालिदाससमब-
निर्णयशिखरिशेखरारोहणाय प्रयतिष्यन्त इति ।

—नारायणशास्त्री 'खिस्ते' साहित्याचार्यः

(१)

सुद्धमागधी

PURE MĀGADHĪ

BHĪKKHU SŪGATA KĀNTI

नमो तस्स भगवतो अरहतो सम्मासम्बुद्धस्स
सम्बुद्धं मागधं सुद्धं
वन्दित्वाऽद्वयवादिनं ।
सुद्धमागधभासाय
निबन्धं बन्धये धिया ॥

सिरिघनसुगततथागतस्स सब्बगतिविमुत्तस्स अम्हाकं गोतमसम्मा-
सम्बुद्धस्स भगवतो पुब्बापरकालिकानं च भगवन्तानं भवन्तगतानं सन्तानं
सन्तसुखप्पदातानं परमहितविधातानं सकललोकनित्यारकानं सत्थारानं
सकललोकियलोक्कुत्तरत्थमुब्भावयन्तिया तन्तिया तदट्ठकथानं च अवित-
थानं तदनुगतानं च गन्थजातानं भासा सुद्धमागधी भासा नाम । सा
पनेसा जिनविनयनयप्पदीपपालिया नवङ्गपरियत्तिपालिया भासनतो पालि-
भासात्यभिधीयते । यस्मा च सो भगवा मगधजनपदेसु सकलजनमनलु-
म्बिनिया लुम्बिनिया संजातो, तस्मा मागधोऽति बुद्धते । सा च भासा
मागधा मगधदेसुब्भवस्स गोतमस्स भासा ति च कत्वा सम्पच्चेन्ति पक्कतिप्प-
च्चयविभागव्वुनो विव्वुनो ण पच्चयेन जातत्थतद्धितजातियेन । तेनेसा
निरुद्धते मागधा निरुत्तीति, मगधे भवा मागधा मागधीति निव्वचनवसेन ।

अयमेव भासा असेसासु भासासु पाठमिका मूलभासाति पि बुद्धते
पोराणोहि । आदिकप्पजानं जनानं बालकानं च अस्सुतालापानं च रूपभवूप-
गतानं च ब्रह्मानं व्यप्पथप्पवत्तितो—तेन वुत्तं,

“सा मागधी मूल भासा
नरा आयादिकप्पिकत्ता ।

ब्रह्मानो चस्सुतालापा
सम्बुद्धा चापि भासरे ॥”

सा खो पनेसा तन्तिभासा यदिपि मागधीति संखँ गता तथाऽपि न
चेतरहि बुद्धुप्पादे मगधदेसवासीनं तदितरेसं वा विदेसीनं समुदाचारंगता
भवति । तस्मा अलोकिया एवाऽयं तिपिटकस्स भासाति कत्वा पालिभासात्वेव
विसेससमञ्जाय विसुं येवोपलब्धते ।

देसिया मागधी

इदानीं सुद्धदेसियमागधीसु सुद्धमागधिया संक्खित्तेने अभिहितत्ता ताव
देसिया मागधी निरूपियते । सा पनायं देसिया मागधी मगधदेसियानं
समुदाचारगता, सकतप्पभवाय सोरसेनिया सम्भूता ति मब्बन्ति छब्भासा-
लक्खणविब्बुनो विब्बुनो । तेन वुत्तं पाकतवेय्याकरणेन आचरियेन
वररुचिना “मागधी पकति सोरसेनी ति”, तब्बुत्तियं चाभिहितं आचरि-
येन भामहेन “मागधानं भासा मागधी । अस्सा मागधिया पकति
सोरसेनी ति” । विविधभासाविसारदा भारतदेसिया सकतालङ्कारिका
खो पन तस्सा छब्भामन्तोगधाय देसियाय मागधिया हीनपत्तप्पयोजनं
मब्बन्ति येभ्येन—

वुत्तब्ब यथा;

“देवादिं सकतं आहु
पाकतं किन्नरादयो ।
पेसाचादिं पिसाचादी
मागधं हीनजातयो” ति ॥

सा च पन देसिया मागधी महाकविकालिदासप्पभूतीहि विरचितेसु
शाकुन्तलमच्छकटिकादीसु नाटकादिगन्थेसु सुपाकटा येव; तं सरूपनी-
पनत्थमेत्थ देसियमागधीमयं गज्जपज्जमेतमुदाहरीयते; यथा—अज्ज
इइशं, अज्ज ! अद्धं तुण मुक्के, शम्पदं गमिशं, कुदोमे, पिता, इवादि ।

अज्ज ददिस्सं, अय्य ! अद्धं त्वयापि मुत्तं, सम्पति गमिस्सं, कुता मे पिता,
इति परिसुद्धमागधिवा उदाहरणानि,

देसियमागधी-पज्जं यथा:—

कत्ताशद्दे शिण्णाणअशश
हलइ हडकं मनुशशशश ।
ढकाशद्दे त्व णडाधिवशश
पब्भट्टलज्जशश ॥

अथ सुद्धमागधिया परिवत्तनं यथा:—

कत्तासद्दो निन्नानकस्स
हरति हदयं मनुसस्स
ठकासद्दो व नराधिपस्स
पभट्टराजस्स ॥

एवमुदाहटरूपा च छब्भासोगधा मागधी इतराय मूलभासाभूताय
परिसुद्धमागधिया बुद्धवचनालिया पालिया विसदिसीभूता ओमिका पसाद-
स्सरहिता येवाति गम्यते सुतितो, लिपितो व्युत्पत्तितो च ।

इदमासं दुविन्नम्पि मागधीनं मिथावि सदिसीनं अच्चन्तमब्बथत्तं
अनवगन्तारो यदि मन्तारो भवेयुं पालिभासा संखाता एवाऽयं मागधी
छब्भासोगधा मगधे भवत्ताति; तदनिट्ठिं । नहि सा देसिया मागधी
पालिया 'सुद्धमागधिया कदाचिपि पभवो हेस्सति, तस्सा असभाव-
निरुत्तिया च मूलभासातो अवरकालिकत्ता च व्युत्पत्तियो पि तस्सा
पालिव्याकरणेहि परिवाहिरा विसदिसियो येव । तथा हि:—वररुचि-हेम-
चन्द-वसन्तराज-कमदिस्सरादीनं महावेय्याकरणानं . विसेसेन पाकत-
सइसत्थण्णवपारगानं विहितानेकव्याकरणानं देसियमागधसद्धानुसासने-
हि साधनेहि नेवाऽयं पालिभारतीभूता मागधी साधिया होति यथेव हि
सुद्धमागधवेय्याकरणानं कच्चायनमोग्गल्लानादीनं पालिव्याकरणेहि साधनेहि
असाधिया अस्स देसियमागधीति; अलमतिभासनेन विसेसत्तं पनेतासं
अभिन्ने भासानं उदाहटोदाहरणवीमंसनेन विव्वायिस्सति येवाति ।

सुद्धमागधीव्याकरणं

सासनिकानमेवाधीनाय अनञ्जाधीनाय अहीनाय पावचनेगधाय मागधाय भारतिया व्याकरणसत्यनिष्पादनं च सासनिकानं थेवाचरिबानं सुचिण्णमहेसि परियत्तिपतिट्ठापिकाय सुप्पटिपत्तिया वसेन ।

तथाहि सुदेसिताऽपि सा भगवता परियत्ति सभावनिरुत्तिया मागधाय सुविसुद्धाय मूलभासासंखाताय व्यञ्जनबुद्धिसु सङ्गताय सुनेणुण्णस-
नयङ्किताय सचे चस्स सद्धानुसासनरहिता कालन्तरेण सहविप्पटिपत्तिं अत्थविप्पटिपत्तिञ्च पापुण्येय । सब्वासं येव भासानं सहसङ्खरणसङ्गानं साधियमन्तरेण व्याकरणसंखाता साधना न दिप्पते न पि रोचते; तस्माऽयं परियत्ति सहसङ्खरणविप्पटिपत्तिराहिच्चेन सद्धानुसासनसाहिच्चेन यथा अद्धनीया भविस्सति तथा सुविसुद्धेहि सद्धानुसासनेहि खलु भवितव्वन्ति मञ्जन्तेहि सुचिरदट्ठितिसम्पत्थयन्तेहि जीनवरसासनस्स थेरियाचरिय-
केसरीहि सक्कतादिसहसत्यतरीहि सुदुत्तरं खलु तन्तिभासासागरं सन्तरन्तानं सन्तानं तदुपयोगमुल्लसिताय मागधसहलव्वणतरणीमतल्लिकाय रचना च जीनसासना धारकेहि सीहलिकेहि महाविहारियेहि च महदेसियेहि येभुय्येण भारते च सीहले च संसिद्धा भवति । सा पनेसा मागधी साट्ठकथाय पिटकत्तयदेसनाय तन्निस्सितानं टीकानुटीकागण्ठीपदप्पकरणानं सुद्धमा-
गधिकगज्जपञ्जाप्पबन्धानं च निस्सया यावज्जतना सुललिता अनवज्जा पञ्जायते ।

सकलं पन तेपिटकं बुद्धवचनं परिसुद्धाय मागधिया येव विज्जते, तेन भगवता जानता पस्सता अरहता सम्मासम्बुद्धेन सत्तानं विसुद्धिया अभि-
धम्म, सुत्त, विनय, वसेनेव तीणी पिटकानि देसितानि तानि धम्मखण्डवसेन सासीतिचत्तारि सहस्सानि भवन्ति । तस्स च तेपिटकस्स बुद्धवचनस्स दक्खिणभारतदेसियेहि च सीहलदेसियेहि च विब्बूहि सम्बुद्धसासनभार-
धासीहि यत्तिगहपतीहि अट्ठकथाटीकादी अनेकविधविचित्तगन्थजात्तानि निम्मितानि यावज्जतनापि स्याममरम्मसीहलेसु पाकटानि येव ।

एसा पन सुद्धमागधी मगधदेसतो अन्तरहिता समाना दक्खिणभारत-
मण्डले वित्थता अहेसि, ततोपि बुद्धपुत्तानं अभावेन इतो चतुपञ्चसत्त-
वस्सानमुपरी अभावप्पत्वा सीहलद्वीपं पत्वा सीहलदेशे परिपोसिता

समाना तत्थेव थावरत्तमुपागमि । ततो सीहलदीपतो नीता मरम्मस्याग्रदेसे-
सु पि पत्थता येव । .

अहो खेदं एसा भारतदेसुब्भवा भासा भारते न दिस्सते येभुय्येन ।
इदानीं भारतां खलु मागधसकतभासाञ्जयने उदासीना भवन्ति न च
करोन्ति उस्साहं तदभिवुद्धिया । कलिकत्तानगरट्टसमत्तसत्थमन्दिरादिसु
मागधीभासा सिक्खापीयते परिक्खब्भयनं पति, अथ सा परिक्खा
मन्तमभिमत्थयतं विज्जत्थीनं न सक्कोति सब्बत्थमभिसाधेतुं । सचे
विज्जत्थिका अच्चादरेन पठेय्युं किं न ते भविस्सन्ति मागधाय विसारद-
मतिनो ति अलं बहुभासणेन ।

एसो खलु निबन्धो मया महाबोधिसभाय धम्मसत्थञ्जापककम्मनि
नियुत्तेन “सुगतकन्ति” इति नामधेय्येन सोगतेन सीहलदीपे अधीतबुद्धा-
गमेन सम्पादितो पाचीनभासासभाया याचनं पतीति, एसो खलु मम
पयासो सचे तत्रागतानं पण्डितप्पवरानं माननीयानं सभासदानं मनं
रञ्जितुं सक्किस्सति अथ तेनाहमत्तानं धब्बं मब्बिस्सं इति सिवं ।



